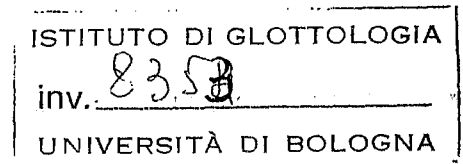


# The Cultic Calendars of the Ancient Near East

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Mark E. Cohen



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*To my parents,  
Albert and Adele Cohen*

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# Table of Contents

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|   |     |
|---|-----|
| Acknowledgments .....   | vii |
| Preface .....   | ix  |
| Abbreviations .....   | xi  |
| \ <i>Introduction</i>   |     |
| \     Overview and Background .....                             | 3   |
| \ <i>The Third Millennium B.C.</i>                              |     |
| \     Early Semitic Calendars .....                             | 23  |
| \     Lagāš and Girsu .....                                     | 37  |
| \     Nippur .....  | 78  |
| \     Ur .....  | 125 |
| \     Umma .....  | 161 |
| \     Other Ur III Sites (Adab, Ishān Mīzyad, Keši, Uruk) ..... | 201 |
| \ <i>The Early Second Millennium B.C.</i>                       |     |
| \     The Southern-Mesopotamian Sumerian Calendar .....         | 225 |
| \     Assyria .....   | 237 |
| \     The Amorite Calendars .....                               | 248 |
| \     Sippar .....  | 269 |
| \     Mari .....  | 280 |
| \ <i>The Second and First Millennia B.C.</i>                    |     |
| \     The Standard Mesopotamian Calendar .....                  | 297 |
| \     Emar .....  | 343 |
| \     From Elam to Alalakh .....                                | 362 |
| \     The Levant .....  | 377 |
| \ <i>Festival Themes</i>  |     |
| \     Festival Traditions .....                                 | 389 |
| \     The <i>Akitu</i> Festival .....                           | 400 |
| \     Festivals for the Men and Gods of the Netherworld .....   | 454 |
| \     Index .....   | 483 |
| \     Selected Bibliography .....                               | 501 |

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The entire book (or major portions) was reviewed by T. Abusch, J.A. Brinkman, S. Greengus, D.I. Owen, and P. Steinkeller—colleagues who freely offered constructive criticism, fresh perspectives, and additional references. We are indebted to these scholars.

We thank J.A. Brinkman for permission to quote unpublished tablets in the Tablet Collection of the Oriental Institute and W.W. Hallo for permission to quote unpublished tablets from tablet collections housed at Yale University.

Our research has included numerous trips to the Yale Babylonian Collection, the University Museum, and the Oriental Institute. We express our appreciation for the warm hospitality and kind assistance shown us at the University Museum by Å.W. Sjöberg, E. Leichty, B. Eichler, and H. Behrens; at the Oriental Institute by J.A. Brinkman and M. Civil; and at the Yale Babylonian Collection by W.W. Hallo, U. Kasten, G. Beckman, and P.-A. Beaulieu.

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Thank you.

MEC



## Preface

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The first major study of the cultic calendars of ancient Mesopotamia was written in 1915 by Benno Landsberger, *Der kultische-Kalender der Babylonier und Assyrer*. Landsberger analyzed the annual and monthly rituals, gathered the then extant calendrical attestations, and presented philological analysis of the Sumerian and Akkadian terminology. In 1935 S. Langdon published his lectures on the Mesopotamian calendar in *Babylonian Menologies and the Semitic Calendars*. Whereas Landsberger had restricted his study to an analysis of the material from cuneiform sources, Langdon incorporated material from the Levant and the Arabian peninsula, using a cross-cultural approach to analyze the festivals in light of biblical, Greek, Roman, and Arabic festivals. In 1949 Landsberger published his study of the Mesopotamian seasons, "Jahreszeiten im Sumerisch-Akkadischen," in the *Journal of Near Eastern Languages*, wherein he discussed the Sumerian and Akkadian terminology as it related to the naming and division of seasons, and analyzed the agricultural activity associated with each season.

Since Landsberger's and Langdon's pioneering efforts new sites have been unearthed, their tablets yielding previously unknown calendars and festivals. In addition, the material from known sites has increased through additional excavations or from publication of tablets from collections housed throughout the world. There have been many excellent studies of the cultic calendars of particular cities or covering certain periods, such as, just to name a few, G. Van Driel, *The Cult of Aššur*, 1969; G. Pettinato, "Il Calendario Semitico del 3. Millennio Ricostruito sulla Base dei Testi di Ebla," *OA* 16 (1977); R. Whiting, "Some Observations on the Drehem Calendar," *ZA* 69 (1979); M. Cooper, "The Drehem Calendars During the Reign of Šulgi," *Acta Sum* 3 (1981); J. Sasson, "The Calendar and Festivals of Mari During the Reign of Zimri Lim," *Studies Jones*; and S. Greengus, "The Akkadian Calendar at Sippar," *JAOS* 107 (1987).

This study presents information from sources which have often been inaccessible to the non-Assyriologist, much of the material residing in tablet copies or in articles unknown to non-Assyriologists or unavailable at many university libraries. We have attempted to provide a basic tool for further re-

search by other scholars which will serve as a basis for either the refinement of ideas presented here or the development of entirely new hypotheses. We hope that by bringing the material together, by enabling the scholar to have access in one location to over two thousand years of calendars and festivals, new insights will be gained in the development of the calendrical systems and the festival practices.

Because of the wealth of material, we have, in the main, restricted our research to annual or semi-annual festivals, celebrations which were assigned a fixed position within the calendar. Monthly and daily cultic events, hemerologies, agricultural rituals unassigned to a specific day in the calendar, and one-time festivals of a political nature are beyond the scope of this volume.

This work presents the material by millennium, then by site. If festivals occur at different sites or in different periods, we have included some repetition of material in order to enable the reader to peruse a chapter without constantly flipping throughout the book. However, we have assigned the major discussion to one chapter, which is referenced in the footnotes. This repetition is most evident in the chapters on "Festival Themes," in which much of the information has been culled from the previous chapters in our effort to present a coherent analysis of the evolution and function of specific holidays.

Whenever possible we have used the translations of *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. All quoted biblical passages are according to the three volumes of *A New Translation of the Holy Scriptures according to the Masoretic Text: The Torah* (1962), *The Prophets* (1978), and *The Writings* (1982), published by the Jewish Publication Society of America, Philadelphia.

Throughout our discussions we have tried to acknowledge the source of our ideas and to give credit to those whose invaluable works have served as a foundation for our research. If we have inadvertently omitted relevant articles or have misrepresented the views of any scholar, we deeply and sincerely apologize.

## Abbreviations

|                                 |   |
|---------------------------------|---|
| A                               | tablets in the collections of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago   |
| AASF                            | <i>Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae</i>   |
| ABAW                            | <i>Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften</i>   |
| AbB                             | <i>Altbabylonische Briefe in Umschrift und Übersetzung</i>  |
| ABL                             | R.F. Harper, <i>Assyrian and Babylonian Letters</i>   |
| ACh                             | C. Virolleaud, <i>L'Astrologie chaldéenne</i>   |
| <i>Acta Sum</i>                 | <i>Acta Sumerologica</i>  |
| <i>Aegyptus</i>                 | <i>Rivista italiana di Egittologia e di Papirologia</i>   |
| AFO                             | <i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i>   |
| AHw                             | W. von Soden, <i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</i>   |
| AJSL                            | <i>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures</i>  |
| <i>Akkadica</i>                 | <i>Akkadica: Périodique bimestriel de la Fondation Assyriologique Georges Dossin</i>  |
| Alberti-Pomponio <i>Ur</i>      | A. Alberti and F. Pomponio, <i>Pre-Sargonic and Sargonic Texts from Ur Edited in UET 2, Supplement (=Studia Pohl 13)</i>  |
| Alster <i>Dumuzi's Dream</i>    | B. Alster, <i>Dumuzi's Dream</i>  |
| AN = <i>Anum</i>                | god-lists edited in <i>A Reconstruction of the Assyro-Babylonian God-Lists</i> , AN: <sup>d</sup> A-nu-um and AN:anu šá amēli, R. Litke dissertation, Yale University |
| AnOr                            | <i>Analecta Orientalia</i>  |
| AnSt                            | <i>Anatolian Studies</i>  |
| AO                              | tablets in the collections of the Musée du Louvre   |
| AOAT                            | <i>Alter Orient und Altes Testament</i>   |
| Archi-Pomponio <i>Drehem I</i>  | Archi and Pomponio, <i>Testi Cuneiformi neo-Sumerio de Drehem, N0001-0412</i>   |
| Archi-Pomponio <i>Tavolette</i> | Archi and Pomponio, <i>Tavolette dell'Università Pontificia Salesiana, (Vicino Oriente 8/1)</i>   |
| ARET                            | <i>Archivi Reali di Ebla Testi</i>  |

|                         |   |
|-------------------------|---|
| ARM                     | <i>Archives royales de Mari</i>   |
| ARMT                    | <i>Archives royales de Mari</i> (texts in transliteration and translation)  |
| Arnaud Emar             | D. Arnaud, <i>Recherches au pays d'Aštata: Emar 6</i>   |
| Arnold Temple Records   | W.R. Arnold, <i>Ancient-Babylonian Temple Records in the Columbia University Library</i>                              |
| AS                      | <i>Assyriological Studies</i> (Chicago)   |
| AS                      | prefix to a year in the reign of Amar-Suen of Ur  |
| AT                      | tablets from Alalakh  |
| AUAM                    | tablets in the collections of the Andrews University Archaeological Museum  |
| AUGT                    | <i>Andrews University Cuneiform Texts</i>   |
| <i>Babylonica</i>       | <i>Babylonica: Études de philologie assyro-babylonienne</i>   |
| <i>Bar Ilan Studies</i> | J. Klein, ed. and A. Skaist, ed., <i>Bar-Ilan Studies in Archaeology</i>  |
| Barton Haverford        | G.A. Barton, <i>Haverford Library Collection of Cuneiform Tablets or Documents from the Temple Archives of Telloh</i> |
| BASOR                   | <i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>  |
| Bauer Lagasch           | J. Bauer, <i>Altsumerische Wirtschaftstexte aus Lagasch</i> (=Studia Pohl 9)  |
| BE                      | <i>Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, Series A: Cuneiform Texts</i>                             |
| Bedale Umma             | C.L. Bedale, <i>Sumerian Tablets from Umma in the John Rylands Library</i>  |
| BHT                     | S. Smith, <i>Babylonian Historical Texts</i>  |
| <i>BiMes</i>            | <i>Bibliotheca Mesopotamica</i>   |
| BIN                     | <i>Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of J. B. Nies</i>  |
| BiOr                    | <i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i>   |
| BJRL                    | <i>Bulletin of the John Rylands Library</i> , Manchester  |
| BM                      | tablets in the collections of the British Museum  |
| Boson Tavolette         | G. Boson, <i>Tavolette cuneiformi sumere</i>  |
| Bottéro Mesopotamia     | J. Bottéro, <i>Mesopotamia: Writing, Reasoning, and the Gods</i>  |
| Brinkman MSKH           | J.A. Brinkman, <i>Materials and Studies for Kassite History</i> , Vol. I  |
| Brinkman PKB            | J.A. Brinkman, <i>A Political History of Post-Kassite Babylonia, 1158-722 B.C.</i> (=AnOr 43)                         |
| BRM                     | <i>Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan</i>  |

|                           |  |
|---------------------------|--|
| BSGW                      | <i>Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften</i>   |
| Bu.                       | tablets in the collections of the British Museum   |
| Buccellati Amorites       | G. Buccellati, <i>The Amorites of the Ur III Period</i>  |
| CAD                       | <i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i>  |
| CBS                       | tablets in the collections of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia  |
| CCT                       | <i>Cuneiform Texts from Cappadocian Tablets</i>  |
| Charpin Durand Strasbourg | D. Charpin and J.-M. Durand, <i>Documents cunéiformes de Strasbourg conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire</i>               |
| Chiera STA                | E. Chiera, <i>Selected Temple Accounts from Telloh, Yokha and Drehem. Cuneiform Tablets in the Library of Princeton University</i>           |
| Çig-Kizilyay NRVN         | M. Çig and H. Kizilyay, <i>Neusumerische Rechts- und Verwaltungsurkunden aus Nippur</i>  |
| Çig-Kizilyay-Kraus Nippur | M. Çig, H. Kizilyay (Bozkurt), and F. R. Kraus, <i>Altbabylonische Rechtsurkunden aus Nippur</i>   |
| M.E. Cohen Eršemma        | M.E. Cohen, <i>Sumerian Hymnology: The Eršemma</i>   |
| M.E. Cohen Lamentations   | M.E. Cohen, <i>The Canonical Lamentations of Ancient Mesopotamia</i>   |
| Contenau Contribution     | G. Contenau, <i>Contribution à l'histoire économique d'Umma</i>  |
| Conteneau Umma            | G. Contenau, <i>Umma sous la Dynastie d'Ur</i>   |
| Cooke NSI                 | G. A. Cooke, <i>A Text-book of North Semitic Inscriptions</i>  |
| Cooper Curse of Agade     | J.S. Cooper, <i>The Curse of Agade</i>   |
| Cooper Inscriptions       | J.S. Cooper, <i>Sumerian and Akkadian Royal Inscriptions, I, Presargonic Inscriptions</i> , The American Oriental Society Translation Series |
| Cros Tello                | G. Cros, <i>Mission française de Chaldée. Nouvelles fouilles de Tello</i>  |
| CRRA                      | <i>Compte rendu, Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale</i>   |
| CT                        | <i>Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets</i>   |
| CTMMA                     | <i>Cuneiform Tablets from the Metropolitan Museum of Art</i>   |
| CUA                       | tablets in the collection of The Catholic University   |

- Delitzsch AL<sup>3</sup>  
 van Dijk Götterlieder  
 van Dijk *La Sagesse*  
 Donbaz-Foster *Telloh*  
 Donner and Röllig *Inschriften*  
  
 DP  
 van Driel *Aššur*  
 Durand Catalogue EPHE  
  
 EAH  
 Eames Coll.  
  
 EBH  
  
 Edzard *Tell ed-Dēr*  
  
 Edzard *Zwischenzeit*  
*Essays on Ebla*  
  
 FAOS  
 Falkenstein *Gerichtsurkunden*  
  
 Falkenstein *Topographie*  
 Ferrara *Nanna's Journey*  
  
 Fish Catalogue  
  
 FLP  
  
 Forde *Dakota*  
 Forde *Nebraska*  
  
 Foster *Umma*  
  
 Fö  
  
 Frankena *Tākalu*  
 F. Delitzsch, *Assyrische Lesestücke*, 3rd ed.  
 J. van Dijk, *Sumerische Götterlieder*, Teil II  
 J. van Dijk, *La sagesse suméro-accadienne*  
 V. Donbaz and B. Foster, *Sargonic Texts from Telloh*  
 H. Donner and W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und Aramäische Inschriften*  
 M. Allotte de la Fuyé, *Documents présargoniques*  
 G. van Dreil, *The Cult of Aššur*  
 J.-M. Durand, *Documents cunéiformes de la IV<sup>e</sup> Section de l'École Pratique des Hautes Etudes*  
 tablets in the collection of E. A. Hoffman  
 A.L. Oppenheim, *Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets of the Wilberforce Eames Babylonian Collection in the New York Public Library* (=AOS 32)  
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 Freiburger altorientalische Studien  
 A. Falkenstein, *Die neusumerischen Gerichtsurkunden* (=ABAW NF 39, 40, 44)  
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 A. J. Ferrara, *Nanna-Suen's Journey to Nippur* (=Studia Pohl 2)  
 T. Fish, *Catalogue of Sumerian Tablets in the John Rylands Library, Manchester*  
 texts in the collections of the Free Library of Philadelphia  
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 R. Frankena, *Tākalu, De sacrale Maaltijd in het assyrische Ritueel*

- Friedrich Festschrift*  
 Gelb *Hurrians*  
 Genouillac *Trouvaille*  
 Genouillac TSA  
 George *Topographical Texts*  
 Gomi *Hirose*  
  
 Gordon *Sumerian Proverbs*  
 Greengus *Ishchali*  
  
 Grégoire AAS  
 Grégoire *Lagaš*  
  
 Harris *Sippar*  
  
 Heimpel *Tierbilder*  
  
 Hb  
 Hilprecht AV  
  
 Holma-Salonen *Cuneiform Tablets*  
  
 HSS  
 HUCA  
 ICK  
 IM  
  
 Iraq  
 IS  
 Ismail  
  
 ITT  
 Jacobsen *Copenhagen*  
  
 Jacobsen *Harps*  
 Jacobsen *Tammuz*  
 Jacobsen *Treasures*  
  
 JAOS  
 JCS  
  
 R. von Kienle, ed., *Festschrift Johannes Friedrich*  
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 H. de Genouillac, *La trouvaille de Dréhem*  
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 the lexical series HAR-ra = *hubullu*  
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 H. Holma and A. Salonen, *Some Cuneiform Tablets from the Time of the Third Dynasty of Ur* (=StOr 9/1)  
 Harvard Semitic Series  
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*Inscriptions cunéiformes du Kuliépé*  
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 Iraq (The British School of Archaeology in Iraq)  
 prefix to a year in the reign of Ibbi-Sin of Ur  
 Farouk Ismail, *Altbabylonische Wirtschaftsurkunden aus Tell Leilan (Syrien)*, diss. Tübingen (1991)  
*Inventaire des tablettes de Tello*  
 T. Jacobsen, *Cuneiform Texts in the National Museum, Copenhagen*  
 T. Jacobsen, *The Harps That Once . . .*  
 T. Jacobsen, *Toward the Image of Tammuz*  
 T. Jacobsen, *The Treasures of Darkness: A History of Mesopotamian Religion*  
 Journal of the American Oriental Society  
 Journal of Cuneiform Studies

- Jean *Larsa* C.-F. Jean, *Larsa d'après les textes cunéiformes* \*2187 à \*1901
- Jestin NTSS R. Jestin, *Nouvelles tablettes sumériennes de Šuruppak*
- Jestin *Šuruppak* R. Jestin, *Tablettes sumériennes de Šuruppak*
- JNES *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
- Jones-Snyder SET T.B. Jones and J. Snyder, *Sumerian Economic Texts from the Third Ur Dynasty*
- JRAS *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
- K tablets in the Kouyunjik collection of the British Museum
- KAH *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts*
- Kang *Drehem* S.T. Kang, *Sumerian Economic Texts from the Drehem Archive*
- Kang *Umma* S.T. Kang, *Sumerian Economic Texts from the Umma Archive*
- KAR *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts*
- KAV *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts*
- Kienast *Kisurra* B. Kienast, *Die altbabylonischen Briefe und Urkunden aus Kisurra*
- KTS J. Lewy, *Die altassyrischen Texte vom Kültepe bei Kaiserije*
- Kramer AV *Kramer Anniversary Volume* (=AOAT 25)
- Krecher *Kultlyrik* J. Krecher, *Sumerische Kultlyrik*
- L tablets in the collections of the Archaeological Museum, Istanbul
- Labat TDP R. Labat, *Traité akkadien de diagnostics et pronostics médicaux*
- Lafont Tello B. Lafont, *Documents administratifs sumériens provenant du site de Tello*
- Lambert-Millard *Atra-hasīs* W.G. Lambert and A. R. Millard, *Atra-hasīs: The Babylonian Story of the Flood*
- Langdon *Archives of Drehem* S. Langdon, *Tablets from the Archives of Drehem*
- Langdon *Menologies* S. Langdon, *Babylonian Menologies*
- Larsen *City-State* M. Larsen, *The Old Assyrian City-State*
- Lau *OB Temple Records* R.J. Lau, *Old Babylonian Temple Records*
- Legrain TRU L. Legrain, *Le temps des rois d'Ur*
- LIH L.W. King, *The Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi*
- Limet *Anthroponymie* H. Limet, *L'anthroponymie sumérienne dans les documents de la 3<sup>e</sup> dynastie d'Ur*

- Limet *Textes Sumériens* H. Limet, *Textes sumériens de la III<sup>e</sup> dynastie d'Ur* (= Documents du Proche-Orient Ancien des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Epigraphie 1)
- Livingstone *Court Poetry* A. Livingstone, *Court Poetry and Literary Miscellanea*, SAA III
- Livingstone *Explanatory Works* A. Livingstone, *Mystical and Mythological Explanatory Works of Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars*
- LKA E. Ebeling, *Literarische Keilschrifttexte aus Assur*
- Loding *Ur* D. Loding, *Ur: Economic Texts from the Third Dynasty*
- Loretz *Chagar Bazar* O. Loretz, *Texte aus Chagar Bazar und Tell Brak* (=AOAT 3)
- LSS *Leipziger semitistische Studien*
- MAD *Materials for the Sumerian Dictionary*
- MARI Mari, *Annales de Recherches Interdisciplinaires*
- Mari in Retrospect* Gordon D. Young, ed., *Mari in Retrospect: Fifty Years of Mari and Mari Studies*
- Matouš Festschrift* *Festschrift Lubor Matouš*
- Matouš KK L. Matouš and M. Matoušová-Rajmová, *Kappadokische Keilschrifttafeln mit Siegeln aus den Sammlungen der Karlsuniversität in Prag*
- Mayer *Nuzi* W. Mayer, *Nuzi-Studien I*, AOAT Band 205/1
- MCAAS *Memoirs of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*
- McEwan *Priest and Temple* G.J.P. McEwan, *Priest and Temple in Hellenistic Babylonia*, FAOS 4
- MCS *Manchester Cuneiform Studies*
- MEE *Materiali Epigrafici di Ebla*
- Michalowski *Sumer and Ur* P. Michalowski, *The Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur*
- MN month name
- MSL *Materials for the Sumerian Lexicon*
- MVAG *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft*
- MVN *Materiali per il vocabolario neosumerico*, - I: G. Pettinato and H. Waetzoldt, *La Collezione Schollmeyer*, (1974); II: H. Sauren, *Wirtschaftsurkunden des Musée d'Art et d'Histoire in Genf*, (1974); III: D. Owen, *The John Frederick Lewis Collection*, (1975); IV: L. Cagni, *La collezione del Pontificio Istituto Biblico - Roma*; G. Pettinato, *La collezione della Collegiata dei SS. Pietro e Orso - Aosta*, (1976); V: E. Sollberger, *The Pinches Manuscript*, (1987); VI: G. Pettinato in

- collaborazione con H. Waetzoldt e F. Pomponio, *Testi economici di Lagaš del Museo di Istanbul, Parte I: La. 7001 - 7600*, (1977); VII: G. Pettinato and S. A. Picchioni in collaborazione con H. Waetzoldt, *Testi economici di Lagaš del Museo di Istanbul, Parte II: La. 7601 - 8200*, (1978); VIII: D. Calvot, *Textes économiques de Šelūš-Dagan du Musée du Louvre et du Collège de France*, G. Pettinato, S. A. Picchioni, and F. Reshid, *Testi economici dell'Iraq Museum-Baghdad* (1979); IX: D. Snell, *The E. A. Hoffman Collection and Other American Collections*, (1979); X: J.P. Grégoire, *Inscriptions et archives administratives cunéiformes (1<sup>e</sup> partie)*, (1981); XI: D. Owen, *Selected Ur III Texts from the Harvard Semitic Museum*, (1982); XII: T. Gomi, *Wirtschaftstexte der Ur III-Zeit aus dem British Museum*, (1982); XIII: M. Sigrist, D. Owen, and G. Young, *The John Frederick Lewis Collection, Part II*, (1984); XIV: F. Yildiz, H. Waetzoldt, and H. Renner, *Die Umma-Texte aus den archäologischen Museen zu Istanbul Nr. 1 - 600*, (1988); XV: D. Owen, *Neo-Sumerian Texts from American Collections*, (1991)
- N tablets in the collections of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia
- Nakahara Sumerian Tablets Y. Nakahara, *Sumerian Tablets in the Imperial University of Kyoto*
- Nesbit *Drehem* W.M. Nesbit, *Sumerian Records from Drehem*
- NCBT Newell Collection of Babylonian Tablets of the Babylonian Collection of Yale University
- Ni tablets excavated at Nippur, in the collections of the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul
- Nies UDT J.B. Nies, *Ur Dynasty Tablets*
- Nikolski M.V. Nikolski, *Dokumenty khoziaistvennoi otchetnosti*
- Nuzi and the Hurrians* Morrison and Owen, ed., *Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians*
- OA *Oriens Antiquus*
- Oberhuber Florenz K. Oberhuber, *Sumerische und akkadische Keilschriftdenkmäler des Archäologischen Museums zu Florenz*
- OBT Tell Rimah S. Dalley, C.B.F. Walker, J.D. Hawkins, *Old Babylonian Texts from Tell Rimah*
- OECT *Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts*
- OIP *Oriental Institute Publications*

- OLZ *Orientalische Literaturzeitung*
- Oppenheim Beer L.F. Hartman and A.L. Oppenheim, *On Beer and Brewing Techniques in Ancient Mesopotamia* (=JAOS Supp. 10)
- Oppenheim Letters A.L. Oppenheim, *Letters from Mesopotamia*
- Or. *Orientalia*
- Orient *Bulletin of the Society for Near Eastern Studies in Japan*
- Or NS *Orientalia Nova Series*
- Owen NATN D.I. Owen, *Neo-Sumerian Archival Texts Primarily from Nippur in the University Museum, the Oriental Institute, and the Iraq Museum*
- Pallis Akītu S.A. Pallis, *The Babylonian akītu Festival*
- Parker and Dubberstein R. Parker and W. Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology 626 B.C. - A.D. 75*
- PBS *Publications of the Babylonian Section, University Museum, University of Pennsylvania*
- PDT *Die Puzriš-Dagan-Texte der Istanbul Archäologischen Museen*; 1 = M. Çig, H. Kizilyay and A. Salonen, AASF 92; 2 = F. Yildiz and T. Gomi, FAOS 16
- Pettinato Archives G. Pettinato, *The Archives of Ebla*
- Pettinato *Il Culto* G. Pettinato, *Il culto ufficiale*
- Pinches Amherst T.G. Pinches, *The Amherst Tablets*
- Pinches Berens Coll. T.G. Pinches, *The Babylonian Tablets of the Berens Collection*
- PSBA *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*
- PSD *The Pennsylvania Sumerian Dictionary*
- R H.C. Rawlinson, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*
- RA *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale*
- RAcc. F. Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels accadiens*
- RBC tablets in the collections of the Yale Babylonian Collection
- Reisner Telloh G.A. Reisner, *Tempelurkunden aus Telloh*
- Rép. géogr. *Répertoire géographique des textes cunéiformes*
- RIM *Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia*
- RIM Annual Review *Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia Annual Review*
- Rim-Sin 11 royal inscriptions; I. Kārki, StOr 49, 141ff.
- RIA *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*

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|----------------------------|---|
| RO                         | <i>Rocznik Orientalistyczny</i>   |
| Roberts Pantheon           | J.J.M. Roberts, <i>The Earliest Semitic Pantheon</i>  |
| Rosengarten Consommation   | Y. Rosengarten, <i>Le concept sumérien de consommation dans la vie économique et religieuse, étude linguistique et sociale d'après les textes présargoniques de Lagas</i> |
| RSO                        | <i>Rivista degli studi orientali</i>  |
| RT                         | <i>Receuil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes</i>  |
| RTC                        | F. Thureau-Dangin, <i>Recueil de tablettes chaldéennes</i>  |
| SAKI                       | F. Thureau-Dangin, <i>Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften</i> (=VAB 1)  |
| Salonen Fischerei          | A. Salonen, <i>Die Fischerei im alten Mesopotamien</i>  |
| Salonen Vögel              | A. Salonen, <i>Die Vögel im alten Mesopotamien</i>  |
| SANE                       | <i>Sources from the Ancient Near East</i>   |
| Sauren NY Public Library   | H. Sauren, <i>Les Tablettes Cunéiformes de l'époque d'Ur</i>  |
| Sauren Umma                | H. Sauren, <i>Topographie der Provinz Umma nach den Urkunden der Zeit der III. Dynastie von Ur</i>  |
| Sauren Wirtschaftsurkunden | H. Sauren, <i>Wirtschaftsurkunden aus der Zeit der III. Dynastie von Ur im Besitz des Musée d'Art et d'Histoire in Genf</i>   |
| SBH                        | G.A. Reisner, <i>Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen nach Thontafeln griechischer Zeit</i>  |
| Selz Wirtschaftsurkunden   | G.J. Selz, <i>Die Altsumerischen Wirtschaftsurkunden der Ermitage zu Leningrad</i> (=FAOS 15, 1)  |
| Sigrist Messenger          | M. Sigrist, <i>Messenger Texts from the British Museum</i>  |
| Sigrist TPTS               | M. Sigrist, <i>Tablettes du Princeton Theological Seminary</i>  |
| Sigrist Rochester          | M. Sigrist, <i>Documents from Tablet Collections in Rochester, New York</i>   |
| Sigrist Syracuse           | M. Sigrist, <i>Textes Économiques de l'Université de Syracuse</i>   |
| Siniddinam A               | lit. comp.; UET 6/1, 98 and dupl.   |
| SLB                        | <i>Studia ad tabulas cuneiformes collectas a F. M. Th. de Liagre Böhl pertinentia</i>   |
| SMN                        | tablets excavated at Nuzi, in the Semitic Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge   |
| SNSAT                      | T. Gomi, <i>Selected Neo-Sumerian Administrative Texts from the British Museum</i>  |
| Speelers Recueil           | L. Speelers, <i>Recueil des inscriptions de l'Asie antérieure des Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire à Bruxelles</i>   |

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|-----------------------------|---|
| ŠSB                         | F.X. Kugler, <i>Sternkunde und Sterndienst in Babel</i>   |
| Steible Rimsin              | H. Steible, <i>Rämsin, Mein König</i> (=FAOS 1)   |
| Steinkeller Sales Documents | P. Steinkeller, <i>Sale Documents of the Ur-III-Period</i> (=FAOS 17)   |
| Stolper Tall-I Malyan       | M. Stolper, <i>Texts from Tall-I Malyan</i>   |
| StOr                        | <i>Studia Orientalia</i> (Helsinki)   |
| Streck Asb.                 | M. Streck, <i>Assurbanipal</i> (=VAB 7)   |
| Studia Pohl                 | <i>Studia Pohl: Dissertationes scientificae de rebus orientis antiqui</i>   |
| Studies Falkenstein         | <i>Heidelberger Studien zum Alten Orient, Adam Falkenstein zum 17. September 1966</i>   |
| Studies Jones               | <i>Studies in Honor of Tom B. Jones</i> (AOAT Band 203)   |
| Studies Oppenheim           | <i>Studies Presented to A. Leo Oppenheim</i>  |
| Studies Sachs               | <i>A Scientific Humanist: Studies in Memory of Abraham Sachs</i>  |
| Studies Sjöberg             | DUMU-E <sub>2</sub> -DUB-BA-A, <i>Studies in Honor of Åke W. Sjöberg</i>  |
| Studies Speiser             | <i>Essays in Memory of E. A. Speiser</i> (=AOS 53)  |
| STVC                        | E. Chiera, <i>Sumerian Texts of Varied Contents</i> (=OIP 16)   |
| Sumer                       | <i>Sumer: A Journal of Archaeology and History in Iraq</i>  |
| Symbolae Böhl               | <i>Symbolae Biblicae et Mesopotamicae Francisco Mario Theodoro de Liagre Böhl Dedicatae</i>   |
| Syria                       | <i>Syria: Revue d'art oriental et d'archéologie</i>   |
| Szlechter Tablettes         | E. Szlechter, <i>Tablettes juridiques de la 1<sup>re</sup> Dynastie de Babylone</i>   |
| Szlechter TJA               | E. Szlechter, <i>Tablettes juridiques et administratives de la III<sup>e</sup> Dynastie d'Ur et de la 1<sup>re</sup> Dynastie de Babylone</i> |
| S                           | prefix to a year in the reign of Šulgi of Ur  |
| ŠL                          | A. Deimel, <i>Šumerisches Lexikon</i>   |
| ŠS                          | prefix to a year in the reign of Šu-Sin of Ur   |
| TA                          | tablets excavated at Tell Asmar, in the collections of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago  |
| Tallquist Götterepitheta    | K. Tallquist, <i>Akkadische Götterepitheta</i>  |
| TCL                         | <i>Textes cunéiformes du Louvre</i>   |
| TCS                         | <i>Texts from Cuneiform Sources</i>   |
| Thompson Esarh.             | R.C. Thompson, <i>The Prisms of Esarhaddon and of Ashurbanipal</i>  |

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| TIM                           | <i>Texts in the Iraq Museum</i>   |
| TLB                           | <i>Tabulae Cuneiformes a F. M. Th. de Liagre Böhl collectae</i>   |
| Touzalin Ur                   | <i>L'Administration palatiale a l'époque de la troisième dynastie d'Ur textes inédits du Musée d'Alep</i> (dissertation, 1982)                                      |
| TuM                           | <i>Texte und Materialien der Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection of Babylonian Antiquities im Eigentum der Universität Jena</i>                                     |
| UET                           | <i>Ur Excavation, Texts</i>   |
| UM                            | tablets in the collections of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia   |
| Unger Babylon                 | E. Unger, <i>Babylon</i>  |
| <i>Unity and Diversity</i>    | H. Goedicke and J.J.M. Roberts, eds., <i>Unity and Diversity: Essays in the History, Literature, and Religion of the Ancient Near East</i>                          |
| VAB                           | <i>Vorderasiatische Bibliothek</i>  |
| Van Lerberghe and Voet Sippar | K. Van Lerberghe and G. Voet, <i>Sippar-Amnānum: The Ur-Utu Archive, Mesopotamian History and Environment: Texts, Volume I</i>                                      |
| VAS                           | <i>Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler</i>  |
| VAT                           | tablets in the collections of the Staatliche Museen, Berlin   |
| Virolleaud Lagash             | C. Virolleaud, <i>Tablettes Économiques de Lagash</i>   |
| Waradsin 10                   | royal inscription; I. Kārki, StOr 49, 84ff.   |
| Watson Birmingham I           | P.J. Watson, <i>Catalogue of Cuneiform Tablets in Birmingham City Museum, Neo-Sumerian Texts from Drehem</i> , vol. I   |
| von Weiher Uruk               | E. von Weiher, <i>Spätbabylonische Texte aus Uruk</i> , 2 and 3   |
| Westenholz Jena               | A. Westenholz, <i>Early Cuneiform Texts in Jena</i>   |
| Westenholz OSP                | A. Westenholz, <i>Old Sumerian and Old Akkadian Texts in Philadelphia Chiefly from Nippur</i> (Part 1 = BiMes 1, Part 2 = Carsten Niebuhr Institute Publications 3) |
| Wilcke Lugalbandaepos         | C. Wilcke, <i>Das Lugalbandaepos</i>  |
| Wiseman Alalakh               | D.J. Wiseman, <i>The Alalakh Tablets</i>  |
| WO                            | <i>Die Welt des Orients</i>   |
| WVDOG                         | <i>Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft</i>   |

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| YBC                   | tablets in the Babylonian Collection, Yale University Library  |
| YOS                   | <i>Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts</i>  |
| ZA                    | <i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie</i>  |
| ZDMG                  | <i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>   |
| Zettler Inanna Temple | R.L. Zettler, <i>The Ur III Temple of Inanna at Nippur, Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient</i> , Band 11. |
| Zhi Adab              | Y. Zhi, <i>Sargonic Inscriptions from Adab</i> (PPAC 1)  |



## INTRODUCTION

*Let me exhort everyone to do their utmost to think outside and beyond our present circle of ideas. For every idea gained is a hundred years of slavery remitted.*

*Richard Jefferies*  
The Story of My Heart

## Overview and Background

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Ancient man's concept of 'year', recurring cycles by which he could count the length of his life and measure the span between major events, was an inevitable development, one based on the cycle of seasons. There was no need for man to scan the heavens to determine the beginning and end of a cycle—he felt it; it affected him personally. When the scorching heat returned, the rain clouds moved overhead once more, the chilling winds once again began blowing, or the rivers overflowed, man knew something monumental in nature had just ended and was starting anew. But man also needed to measure time periods shorter than the seasonally based year, yet greater than several days, and for this he looked to the moon, which he observed endlessly repeating its cycle of waxing and waning. This was a somewhat contrived means—man could not intuitively sense the moon's effect upon him as he could the sun's—but the moon was a dependable means for reckoning elapsed time.

The Mesopotamians were aware of the difference between the lengths of the lunar and solar years, and eventually the moon (the god Nanna in Sumerian and Sin in Akkadian) achieved dominance over the sun (the god Utu in Sumerian and Shamash in Akkadian) as the determiner of the year: "[Nanna], fixing the month and the new moon, [setting] the year in its place."<sup>1</sup> The importance of the moon for determining the length of the year was noted by Rim-Sin, the ruler of Larsa, who praised the moon as: "Nanna, who establishes the months, who completes the year."<sup>2</sup> The Sumerians' perception of the superiority of the moon was reflected also in their mythology wherein the moon was considered the father of the sun. This supremacy of the moon was evident in the year being measured by complete lunar cycles. Even those annual festivals whose very existences were bound to the solar seasons were assigned fixed days in an irrelevant lunar schema. But as an acknowledgment of the unbreakable bond between the solar year and its religious festivals, the Mesopotamians intercalated the year to ensure that festivals observed in a particular month coincided with the seasonal phenomenon being celebrat-

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1. Å. Sjöberg, ZA 73 (1983), 32: iti u<sub>4</sub>-sakar gi-né mu ki-bi-še an-[gar].

2. RIM 4 220 5-6: <sup>d</sup>Nanna iti ge-en-ge-en mu-silim-ma.

ed. But even this intercalation was defined in terms of the moon by adding a complete lunar cycle to the year. Thus, the Mesopotamian year was, in effect, a solar year squeezed into a lunar strait-jacket.

The Sumerian term for 'year', usually twelve lunar cycles, sometimes thirteen, was MU; the Akkadian term was *šattu*, *šni* at Ugarit, and *šānā* in Hebrew. The inhabitants of Mesopotamia referred to these years by designating the number of the regnal year of a leader or king or by assigning each year a name based upon an event of the past year or at the beginning of the current year. The term for 'month' was ITI in Sumerian,<sup>1</sup> *arḫu* in Akkadian, *yrḫ* at Ugarit, and *yeraḥ* or *ḥōdeš* in Judah and Israel.<sup>2</sup>

The months in Mesopotamia were lunar, i.e., each month began "at the moment when, following the period of invisibility due to nearness of the sun, the lunar crescent appears again briefly on the western horizon just after sunset."<sup>2</sup> Thus each month was 29 or 30 days—a year of approximately 354 days.<sup>3</sup> The length of a particular month was based upon sightings of the moon and not upon a predetermined pattern of alternating 29- and 30-day months. The existence of archives which include tablets dated to the 30th of the month for all or most of the months of the year is not proof that some sites had a twelve month year consisting of 30 days every month—a year of 360 days.<sup>4</sup> There assuredly were scribes who went to work in the very early morning hours, or spent the night away from the city (perhaps in the fields to which they were assigned), and could not be contacted immediately upon determination of the new month. This situation must have been particularly acute if the sighting of the first crescent of the new moon occurred towards morning, since many of the scribes may already have dispersed to the many fields and places of assignment or if inclement weather prevented the new moon from being visible.<sup>5</sup> Thus tablets may have been dated to the 30th of the month by some scribes, even though subsequently it was determined that

1. The Sumerian term for "moonlight" was also pronounced /iti/, but was written with different Sumerian signs: U<sub>4</sub>.<sup>6</sup> NANNA literally "the light of the moon."

2. F. Rochberg-Halton, "Calendars, Ancient Near East," *The Anchor Bible Dictionary* I (New York, 1992), 810.

3. P. J. Huber, *Astronomical Dating of Babylon I and Ur III, Occasional Papers on the Near East* 1/4 (Malibu, 1982), 7 notes that at Babylon during a 1000 month period there were 471 months of 29 days, 528 months of 30 days, and 1 month of 31 days.

4. J. Sasson, *Biblical Archaeologist* (December 1984), 249-250 has identified all months at Mari during the reign of Zimri-Lim for which a 30th day is attested. During the fourth year of Zimri-Lim, eight months of 30 days are attested.

5. Huber, *op. cit.*, notes "It is not entirely clear how the Babylonians dealt with sightings delayed by poor weather, and they need not have done it in the same way at different places and in different times." Huber notes a Neo-Assyrian letter in which it was reported to the king that the sighting of the moon on the 30th of the month resembled the lunar position expected on the 3rd of a month, indicating that, probably due to inclement weather, no one had sighted the new moon when it had occurred several days earlier.

the month had but only 29 days. Whether it was the temples or the city administration which made the official determination of the new moon, it is hard to imagine that before the next morning's work, all the scribes of the city, as well as those assigned to projects outside the city proper, could have been officially notified of the new moon. Support for this conclusion derives from the Ur III Drehem tablets dated to the fifth year of Amar-Suen (ca. 2042 B.C.). There is no doubt that the Drehem calendar was lunar. Yet for the year Amar-Suen 5 there are tablets dated to the 30th of the month for ten of the twelve months.<sup>1</sup>

The months were assigned names, usually a reference to that month's distinguishing ritual observance or to an agriculturally significant event. Intercalated months were named with the same name as the preceding month, the scribe appending the number "2" after the month name or adding the word "extra" (*diri*) to distinguish it from the previous month. In some calendrical systems in the Near East the intercalated month was simply called *diri/watrum* ("extra"), or *tašnūt* ("second"). The insertion of an intercalary month was usually a reaction to a natural event (harvest, rains, flooding) being out of phase with the cultic calendar. And although many cities waited until the end of the year (Feb./Mar.) to correct this problem, there are instances of cities inserting an intercalary month at various points throughout the year.<sup>2</sup> The Assyrian lunar calendar of the second millennium B.C. was the exception, not using intercalation and thereby wandering throughout the solar year.<sup>3</sup>

Concerning the regularity of intercalary years, Hunger and Reiner have noted:<sup>4</sup>

... since seasonal events themselves may occur earlier or later depending on meteorological factors, the intercalation was fluctuating around the mean of three years. Throughout most of Mesopotamian history no pattern can be detected in the distribution of intercalary months. It was only in Achaemenid times that a regular intercalation cycle of 19 years was introduced. While the intercalary months actually attested in dated texts and in royal edicts promulgating them do not show any pattern, there exist first millennium astronomical texts with rules by which one could determine whether a

1. Evidence based upon Sigrist and Gomi, *The Comprehensive Catalogue of Published Ur III Tablets* (Bethesda, 1992), 169-174.

2. Six different intercalary months have been identified at Mari, three at Sippar, and four at Ešnunna (see S. Greengus, "The Akkadian Calendar at Sippar," *JAOs* 107 [1987], 212). At Ur III Umma the leap year was inserted at a fixed position each year, but in some periods this position was after the first month, other times after the twelfth month (T. Gomi, "Embolism in the Umma Calendar," *Acta Sum* 6 [1984], 1ff.).

3. No references to intercalated months have been found at either Nuzi or Alalakh. However, there are not enough references from these two sites to determine unequivocally whether these calendars used intercalation.

4. H. Hunger and E. Reiner, "A Scheme for Intercalary Months from Babylonia," *WZKM* 67 (1975), 21ff.

certain year should be made a leap year or not. The best known of these rules is the so-called Pleiaden-Schaltregel: "If Moon and Pleiades are in conjunction on the first day of Nisan, this is a normal year; if Moon and Pleiades are in conjunction on the third day of Nisan, this is a leap year."<sup>1</sup>

Parker and Dubberstein suggest that "it may have been in the reign of Nabonassar, 747 B.C., that Babylonian astronomers began to recognize, as the result of centuries of observation of the heavens, that 235 lunar months have almost exactly the same number of days as nineteen solar years." The intercalation was performed by an additional month after the sixth month (*Ulūlu*) or after the twelfth month (*Addaru*). They note, however, "that is not to be interpreted as acceptance of that date as the point at which Babylonian astronomers consciously recognized the principle."<sup>2</sup> On the basis of three letters which record the announcement of the intercalary year, Parker and Dubberstein suggest that during the Babylonian period the directives for intercalation came from the king, whereas during the subsequent Achaemenid period priestly officials in Babylon gave the orders. By 367 B.C., but perhaps as early as 383 B.C., "the intercalations became standardized, and the nineteen-year cycle thus came into being."<sup>3</sup>

In addition to the seasonal cycle and the lunar cycle, the Mesopotamians were affected by a third cycle—the cycle between the equinoxes, a period when the sun and the moon vied with each other for time in the sky. The ancient Hebrews recognized the significance of this cycle, referring to the equinoxes, the times when the year turns, as *ʿqūfat haššānā* (Exodus 34:22): "You shall observe the Feast of Weeks, of the first fruits of the wheat harvest; and the Feast of Ingathering at the turn of the year" (the autumnal equinox) and as *ʿšūbat haššānā* (2 Samuel 11:1): "At the turn of the year, the season when kings go out [to battle]," (probably referring to the vernal equinox). The Israelite incorporation of this six-month 'year' into its ritual can further be detected in the duration and timing of the festival of the first month, the Feast of Unleavened Bread, and the festival of the seventh month, the Feast of Ingathering.<sup>4</sup>

This concept of a six-month equinox year appears to have been a major factor in the establishment of the cultic calendar throughout the Near East.

1. For other astronomical methods for determining intercalation, see Rochberg-Halton, *op. cit.*, 811.

2. Parker and Dubberstein, 1 with note 1.

3. Parker and Dubberstein, 2. For references to royal letters as a means of disseminating the proclamation of a new month, see Rochberg-Halton, *op. cit.*, 811.

4. This six month year concept in ancient Israel may perhaps be detected in Ezekial 45 18-20: "On the first day of the first month, you shall take a bull of the herd without blemish, and you shall cleanse the Sanctuary ... You shall do the same on the seventh day of the month to purge the Temple from uncleanness caused by unwitting or ignorant persons." The Septuagint, however, reads "in the seventh month" instead of "on the seventh day of the month." Thus the Septuagint shows a clear parallelism between the first and seventh months.

In many locations there were parallel major festivals in the first and seventh month—suggesting that rather than considering one of these festivals as marking the beginning and the other the half-way point of the year, the ancients viewed each as a beginning, the onset of this six-month equinox year.

Sumerian *mu-an-na*, a term which was eventually used synonymously with *mu* "year," originally may have connoted this six-month period, as echoed in the first-millennium B.C. observation: *iūSE iūKIN SAG MU.AN.NA ki-i iūBĀR iūDU<sub>6</sub>* "(this year) the months *Addaru* [=Feb./Mar.] and *Ulūlu* [=Aug./Sep.] begin the MU.AN.NA-year, what the months *Nisannu* [=Mar./Apr.] and *Tašritu* [=Sep./Oct.] (normally) do."<sup>1</sup>

This concept of two six-month periods defined by the equinoxes was further ingrained in the Mesopotamian psyche by the natural weather pattern of the seasonal year. The Babylonians divided the seasonal year into two periods, each beginning in the month of an equinox. The summer (*EMES/um-mātum*), the hot season (*umšum*), or the harvest season (*ebūrum*) began around March; the winter (*ENTEN*) or the cold season (*kušsum*) began around September.<sup>2</sup> The impact of the solstices, however, was also understood, though they did not define the year to the extent the equinoxes did. In first-millennium B.C. Babylonia goddesses of the Ezida and the Esagil temples exchanged places on the 11th of the fourth month and on the 3rd of the tenth month (approximately the time of the solstices) as a remedy to increase the daylight in the winter or to lengthen the nights in the summer.<sup>3</sup> And the second tablet of the astronomical series *MULAPIN* summarized the year's weather pattern by quarters, not halves—months 1 to 3: wind and (bad) weather; months 4 to 6: harvest and heat; months 7 to 9: wind and (bad) weather; months 10 to 12: cold.<sup>4</sup>

The rainy season began around September, resulting in the sporadic flooding of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers from November through March. The main flooding occurred in April and May, the two rivers being swollen

1. RMA 16:5 (Parpola, AOAT 5/2, 187). For a brief discussion of the term *mu-an-na*, see B. Landsberger, JNES 8 (1949), 254-255 note 33, wherein Landsberger cites various theories as to the meaning of the term, although he does not mention the possible interpretation we have put forth. Note the Emar version of the composition Enlil and Namzitarra (J. Klein, *Acta Sum* 12 [1990], 58-59 lines 20'-22' and 63 note 14) for the term *-an-na* appended after nouns involving time: *u<sub>4</sub>-an-na ḥa-ba-lá / u<sub>4</sub>-mi a-na u<sub>4</sub>-mi li-im-ḥi / iū-an-na ḥa-ba-lá / ITI a-na ITI li-im-ḥi / mu-mu-an-na ḥa-ba-lá / MU a-na MU li-im-ḥi* "Day to day they verily decrease, month after month they verily decrease, year after year they verily decrease!" Perhaps, then, *-an-na* in the term *mu-an-na*, connotes the alternating year pattern of equinox cycles ("one after the other"). The term *mu-an-na* was used interchangeably with *mu* in economic documents (e.g. BE 9 24 2 and frequently in Neo-Assyrian documents) and in ritual texts (E. Reiner, *Šurpu*, AfO Beiheft 11 [1958], 41 42: *u<sub>4</sub>-mu ITI u MU.AN.NA* "Day, month, and year").

2. For a thorough discussion of the seasons and the terminology in ancient Mesopotamia, see B. Landsberger, "Jahreszeiten im Sumerisch-Akkadischen," JNES 8 (1949), 249-296.

3. For details of this ritual, see p. 319.

4. Landsberger, *op. cit.*, 252.

by winter rains and snows in the mountains of Turkey. The winter months preceding the major spring flooding were spent shoring up the dikes and cleaning out the canals in preparation for the flooding. This was the time of the brazier festival (*kinūnum*), ceremonies presumably to combat the cold, and festivals of the storm-gods, such as Ninurta, hurling lightning, vanquishing the *anzū*-bird and the *asakku*-demon of the stormy mountains. After the winter rains subsided, the dry season set in, culminating with the very hot and dry months of July and August, when the parched and merciless steppe seemed to be a place of death and demons. These hot summer months were the time throughout Mesopotamia for the cult of the dead Dumuzi, who, as the embodiment of the power in the grain, had disappeared—the grain had already been harvested and the new seeds not yet sown.<sup>1</sup>

### *The Calendrical Systems*<sup>2</sup>

During the middle of the third millennium B.C., an early Semitic calendar was in use across much of northern and central Mesopotamia, being attested on tablets from Ebla, Mari, Gasur (later Nuzi), Abu Šalabikh, and Ešnunna.<sup>3</sup> Pettinato has labeled this calendar the 'Semitic calendar of the third millennium', stating "this designation took rise from the names of the months which are Semitic and for the most part West Semitic, and from the diffusion of this calendar throughout the whole Near East during the period from *circa* 2600 to 2200 B.C."<sup>4</sup> It may be significant that the Early Semitic calendar month names do not contain theophoric elements, but rather are agricultural in nature (with month names meaning "Sheep," "Plowing," or "Ghee"), a feature which enabled this early Semitic calendar to be somewhat universal in its application. This calendar eventually fell into disuse around the Ur III period (*ca.* 2100), when at Ebla and Mari native calendars, reflecting the local cult, replaced this early Semitic calendar.

The earliest (middle of the third millennium B.C.) attested month name in southern Mesopotamia is found at Fara, ancient Shuruppak: *id-du-gir<sub>5</sub>ku<sub>6</sub>*,

1. For a discussion of the agricultural cycle, see J.N. Postgate, *Early Mesopotamia: Society and Economy at the Dawn of History* (New York and London, 1992), 170-172 with references to previous discussions. For information on more recent patterns, see R. McC. Adams, *The Land behind Baghdad: A History of Settlement on the Diyala Plains* (Chicago, 1965), 13-20.

2. This section of the Introduction is an overview of the detailed information set forth throughout the rest of this book. Therefore, we have neither supplied full footnotes nor provided all the evidence to support the assertions in this section. The arguments and supporting evidence are presented in full in the following chapters.

3. This calendar is discussed in the chapter entitled "Early Semitic Calendars."

4. Pettinato *Archives*, 147.

the month being named for a fish of either economic or cultic significance during the month.<sup>1</sup>

In southern Mesopotamia *ca.* 2400–2200 B.C. local Sumerian calendars were in use, documented in tablet archives mainly from the cities Adab, Lagaš, Nippur, Umma, and Ur.

The pre-Sargonic (*ca.* 2350 B.C.) tablets from Lagaš provide insight into the cultic celebrations of a network of cities comprising the Lagaš-state—Lagaš, Girsu, Nina, Sirara and various other smaller sites nearby.<sup>2</sup> There are over thirty different month names on tablets from the Lagaš area during this period, indicating the use of separate calendars in many of the cities in the Lagaš city-state. These calendars shared month names, although one month name could be applied to months occurring at different times of the year. An administrative month numbering system was developed to create order out of potential chaos, the confusion arising from different calendars but similar month names.

By this period the calendars of the Lagaš-state reflected a syncretism among the gods of its cities and a shared observance of major festivals. The texts themselves depict a community of cities wherein the citizens of one city made pilgrimages to observe major festivals in sister towns. The wife of the governor was responsible for organizing the offerings and leading the procession of pilgrims from town to town, from shrine to shrine. The tablets detail the offerings provided by the governor's wife on a day by day basis, summing each day as 'day 1', 'day 2', etc. However, this notation refers to the day of the festival, not to the day of the month, and therefore there is no information as to the day of the month on which the festival occurred.

The major festivals of the Lagaš-state were the Barley and Malt Consumption festivals of Ningirsu in Girsu, the Barley and Malt Consumption festivals of Nanše in Nina, and the festival of Baba in Lagaš.

Further north, Nippur—the city of the chief god Enlil who dwelt in his temple, the Ekur—was the center of a Sumerian amphictyony, a relatively non-political city revered throughout Sumer.<sup>3</sup> The Nippur calendar would later be appropriated by Išbi-Erra of Isin (*ca.* 2017–1985 B.C.) for use throughout all the cities and villages of southern Mesopotamia, and still later (*ca.* 1730 B.C.) the Nippur month names would be appropriated as logograms to denote months in the Standard Mesopotamian calendar, a calendrical system used down through the close of the first millennium B.C.

1. See Salonen *Fischeri*, 204. Note also an obscure reference, perhaps to a Fara festival (TSS 515): *eze-m-la-la*.

2. These calendars are discussed in the chapter entitled "Lagaš and Girsu."

3. For the Nippur calendar, see the chapter entitled "Nippur."

At Nippur an elaborate celebration of the New Year *zagmu* was conducted at the Tummal temple complex in the month *bára-zag-gar* [Mar./Apr.]. From the 20th to 22nd of the second month the *gusis*-festival was observed in honor of Ninurta, "the farmer." This occasion marked the end of the barley harvest and the start of lengthy preparations for the fall seeding, a time when the gods officially blessed the upcoming agricultural activities. There were no festivals for the next seven weeks, until the 14th of the month *šunumun*. The *šunumun*-festival also centered around the plow, and may have marked the end of the first phase of preparations and the beginning of actual usage of the seed-plow by the farmers. Around the 11th of the fifth month the Nippur paternalia, called the *neIZigar*-festival, was observed—a time when fires were kindled to guide the spirits of the dead back to their ancestral homes. In the middle of the sixth month the *kin-Inanna*-festival (about which little is known) was observed. On the 27th and 28th of the seventh month the second major observance at the Tummal occurred, the "Sacred Mound" (*duku*)-festival, an observance for Enlil's ancestors with probable netherworld overtones. There is evidence of only two other festivals in Nippur during the remainder of the year. There is a late introduction by Amar-Suen of the *ab-è* festival in the tenth month, a politically motivated ceremony in honor of the dead kings of Ur III, and a barley-harvest festival was observed in the middle of the twelfth month.

Most of the month names from pre-Sargonic Ur have been preserved. Several of these month names were later retained in the Ur calendar used during the Ur III period (ca. 2100 B.C.),<sup>1</sup> which was used also at Puzriš-Dagan (modern Drehem) and still further north at Ešnunna. The term *Reichskalender* is frequently applied to the Ur calendar; however this is a misnomer. With the exception of Puzriš-Dagan, a small village expanded and elevated to a position of economic importance by Šulgi of Ur, every other city in which tablets containing the Ur calendar have been found also contains tablets using its native calendar, hardly "one empire, one calendar." Beginning with the reign of Išbi-Erra of Isin (ca. 2017–1985 B.C.), in contrast, a true *Reichskalender* is the Southern-Mesopotamian Sumerian calendar, which was based on the Nippur calendar and was used almost exclusively throughout southern Mesopotamia. However, in the Ur III period, aside from Ur itself, only at Puzriš-Dagan was the Ur calendar used exclusively. The major festivals at Ur were the *á-ki-ti* celebrations of the first and seventh month, which marked the equinoxes, and the Great Festival of Nanna in the tenth month.

Tablets from Umma, a Sumerian center west of Lagaš, have been referred to as *mu-ití* texts, after the convention of dating each tablet by year and month numbers in the form: MU-# ITI-#, possibly an administrative solution

1. For this calendar, see the chapter entitled "Ur."

to the difficulties caused by the Umma calendar beginning in the summer. These tablets span three time periods, the earliest tablets dating to the reign of Lugalzagesi (ca. 2350 B.C.) and the latest to the close of the Akkad dynasty under Šar-kali-šarri (ca. 2217–2193 B.C.).<sup>1</sup> Although actual month names were probably in use at Umma during this period, native Umma month names are not attested until the Ur III period (ca. 2100–2000 B.C.).<sup>2</sup>

The major annual festivals at Umma consisted of the *šesaghu* (a barley-harvest festival), *nisag* (possibly the festival of the first malt production), *šunumun* (a festival associated with the seeder-plow), *ri* (nature unclear), *etiaš* (nature unclear), and *pakuše*, a festival possibly based upon the need to clean and repair the irrigation canals. Two additional festivals were introduced at Umma to honor kings of Ur, a festival for Šulgi to commemorate his thirty-year jubilee and a festival for his successor, Amar-Suen, beginning in his sixth regnal year.

The Sumerian Nippur calendar was adopted throughout much of southern Mesopotamia after the fall of Ibši-Sin of Ur (ca. 2000 B.C.), most likely an innovation of the first monarch of the new Isin dynasty, Išbi-Erra.<sup>3</sup> This calendar (the Southern-Mesopotamian Sumerian calendar) became a source of unification for the Isin empire, politically and economically. And the symbolism of Nippur was not lost on the Isin monarchs, who made a special effort to participate in the Nippur rites, as seen by Lipit-Ishtar's central role in the *gusis*-festival at Nippur. As merchants and scribes from the Isin empire conducted business in the Diyala region, the official calendar probably followed, so that when the First Dynasty of Babylon arose, it too was already using this Southern-Mesopotamian Sumerian calendar.

Beginning at least in the thirtieth year of Rim-Sin of Larsa (ca. 1822–1763 B.C.), for a period of about twenty years, there was a highly unusual calendrical system employed at Nippur, Larsa, Isin, and Ur, which was comprised of months of up to 48 days and month cycles of up to 54 months.<sup>4</sup> This unusual system was not employed throughout all Nippur, but only by certain administrators of particular institutions. Robertson observes that the introduction of this system coincided with Rim-Sin's conquest of Isin and, therefore, suggests that this administrative change somehow reflected the need to reorganize the flow of goods throughout his suddenly enlarged domain.<sup>5</sup>

1. Foster *Umma*, 8ff.

2. For the calendar at Umma, see the chapter entitled "Umma."

3. For the development and use of this calendar, see the chapter entitled "The Southern-Mesopotamian Sumerian Calendar."

4. See pp. 227–228 for discussion of this unusual calendrical system.

5. J.F. Robertson, "An Unusual Dating System," *Acta Sum* 5 (1983), 156.

Variations of a basically Semitic calendar were employed by many of the cities stretching across the middle of the Tigris and Euphrates valley during the last century of the third millennium and the first three centuries of the second millennium B.C., the last attestations coinciding with the reign of Samsuiluna of Babylon (ca. 1749–1712 B.C.).<sup>1</sup> These centuries witnessed the influx of Semitic tribes referred to in Mesopotamian sources as Amorites "westerners" (*amurrû* in Akkadian, *MAR.TU* in Sumerian) into the central regions of Mesopotamia, followed by the establishment of Amorite kingdoms throughout the area, including at such important centers as Ešnunna and Babylon. Although there is no conclusive evidence that the new calendars were introduced by the immigrating Amorite tribes, the appearance of a new calendar at the same period as the introduction of a new, large, dominating population suggests just such a relationship.

Sippar was situated on the border of two calendrical spheres of influence, below the span of cities utilizing versions of an Amorite calendar and north of the cities which had constituted the old Sumerian city-states, a region that utilized the Southern-Mesopotamian Sumerian calendar. Perhaps as a result of this positioning, Sippar concurrently maintained two calendrical systems up through the reign of Samsuiluna of Babylon. One calendar was the Southern-Mesopotamia Sumerian calendar, the other an amalgam of a Nippur/Sumerian month (*gu<sub>4</sub>-si-su*), a Sargonic month from the Diyala region (*Tirum*), Semitic month names from the Amorite calendars (*Nabrû*, *Mammûtum*, *Ajarum* and *Tamḫirum*), unique month names (*Sibûtum*, *Qāti-eršetim*, *Elûli* and *Isin-<sup>d</sup>Adad*), and months common throughout Mesopotamia (*<sup>d</sup>Dumu-zi* and *Isin-abi*).<sup>2</sup> At Sippar, as with the Amorite calendars elsewhere, during the reign of Samsuiluna the local calendar fell into disuse.

An Assyrian calendar is attested in Cappadocia at the beginning of the second millennium B.C. at Kültepe, ancient Kaniš, an Assyrian trading colony, and about fifty years later at Hattušaš (the Hittite capital) and Alishar. After a brief period during which an Amorite calendar was the official calendar during the rule of the Amorite interlopers Šamši-Adad and Išme-Dagan (ca. 1813–1741 B.C.), a slightly evolved Assyrian calendar was restored as the official calendar by the middle of the eighteenth century B.C.<sup>3</sup> Finally, during the reign of Tiglath-Pileser (1115–1077 B.C.) this restored Assyrian calendar was abandoned in favor of the Standard Mesopotamian calendar.

The middle of the second millennium B.C. witnessed the arrival throughout north-central Mesopotamia of peoples speaking Hurrian. The Semitic and Hurrian populations in cities such as Nuzi, Emar, and Alalakh, either

1. For these calendars, see the chapter entitled "The Amorite Calendars."

2. For this calendar, see the chapter entitled "Sippar."

3. For these Assyrian calendars, see the chapter entitled "Assyria."

adopted a Hurrian calendar, utilized Semitic and Hurrian calendars simultaneously, or integrated the month names into one calendar.<sup>1</sup> However, as with the restored Assyrian calendar, these systems would not endure, yielding to a new international calendar, the Standard Mesopotamian calendar (which has been frequently referred to as the *Nisannu*-calendar).

It is likely that the Standard Mesopotamian calendar was an artificial creation commissioned by Samsuiluna of Babylon as a means to unify a heterogeneous and rebellious empire.<sup>2</sup> It might have been difficult to impose the currently used Sumerian calendar (i.e., the Southern-Mesopotamian Sumerian calendar) outside of southern Mesopotamia. However the economic and political advantages of a single, standard calendar were as obvious in the second millennium B.C. as it had been on a smaller scale hundreds of years earlier to Išbi-Erra of Isin. So rather than selecting one city's non-Sumerian calendar as the new *Reichskalender*, a move which might have alienated not only those cities on whom another city's calendar would have been imposed, but also the proud, and necessary scribes of the south, the Babylonian administration invented a hybrid *Reichskalender*, gleaned months from various calendars throughout the realm and beyond, thereby, it was hoped, gaining the acceptance of everyone. The use of the Southern-Mesopotamian Sumerian month names as logograms for the months of this new calendar is a clear signal that there was something highly unusual about the development and imposition of this new calendar. The retention of the Southern-Mesopotamian Sumerian month names on written documents may have been a negotiating point to gain the acceptance of the former Sumerian cities and of their proud scribes. The continuation of a calendrical tradition that could be traced back to venerated Nippur may have been important to the scribal community, educated individuals who were proud of their eclectic and ancient position in society.

1. For these calendars, see the chapter entitled, "From Elam to Alalakh." The calendar of Emar during this period is discussed in the chapter entitled "Emar." Calendars from Ugarit and other Western Semitic centers are discussed in the chapter entitled "The Levant."

2. For a full discussion of the development of this calendar, see the chapter entitled "The Standard Mesopotamian Calendar."

### *The Beginning of the Year*

Until the closing centuries of the first millennium B.C. there were only two instances which reasonably present the possibility of a New Year other than during the spring—at the summer solstice at Sargonic Umma and at the autumnal equinox at pre-Old Babylonian Sippar. Aside from this, the evidence overwhelmingly indicates a 'universal' spring New Year.

The concept of a beginning to the year is manifested in three ways: (1) as a starting point for counting and naming years; (2) as the start of the fiscal year (i.e., performing year-end accounting and starting the ledgers for the coming year)<sup>1</sup>; and (3) as the start of the religious/agricultural year's cycle (which may be entirely psychological unless there is an actual observance to mark the New Year). Throughout almost all Mesopotamia the beginning of the year occurred in the spring.

The Sumerians called the beginning of the year *zag-mu*, literally, "border of the year," from which derived the Akkadian designation for New Year, *zag-mukku*. The beginning of the seasonal year, *zag-mu*, took on an important economic role within society, becoming the occasion for reviewing the previous year's financial accounts and administrative affairs in the temple and royal residences, as documented by the large number of year-end account tablets from the Ur III period (ca. 2100–2000 B.C.) onward. The overseeing of administrative duties at New Year's was ultimately the responsibility of the gods, themselves, in their role as the supreme authority over all those serving in their temples. This divine function is mentioned in a hymn to Nanše, wherein Nanše is portrayed as reviewing the total operation of her temple in Nina on New Year's day:<sup>2</sup>

At the new year, the day of assignments,  
did the lady shower  
    the holy body,  
on the day to review  
    (performance for) food and fief,  
did Nanshe hold  
    review of the servants.  
Her chief scribe, Nidaba,  
put out of her own accord  
    all valid tablets  
    as they had been figured up,  
took the golden stylus in hand  
and was lining up the servants  
    for Nanshe in single file.

1. The fiscal year need not coincide with the calendrical new year—the fiscal year of the U. S. Government starts in October.

2. Jacobsen *Harps*, 133.

The practice of reviewing the servant staff on New Year's Day is mentioned in a hymn to the goddess Inanna:<sup>1</sup>

That she [Inanna] may take in charge  
    the life of all lands,  
has on New Year's Day,  
    the day for rites  
for reviewing loyal servants  
and performing correctly  
    the rites of the last day of the month  
a bed been set up for Milady.

For the Israelites the New Year was the appointed time for cleansing the temple (Ezekial 45:18): "On the first day of the first month, you shall take a bull of the herd without blemish, and you shall cleanse the sanctuary." An intriguing, but unclear, passage in a first-millennium B.C. *Surpu* incantation refers to a seven-day ritual cleansing (?) occurring at the time of the New Year celebration: "the pure quay, the horn-like soap-plant, the pure water he gave you, to perform correctly the New Year (festival) for seven days."<sup>2</sup>

An analysis of each city's calendar, beginning with sites from the third millennium, provides mounting evidence of an almost total adherence to a spring New Year throughout Mesopotamia.

The Early Semitic calendar of the middle of the third millennium began in the month *Za-'a-tum*, which can be assigned to the spring on the basis of the agricultural meanings of several month names.<sup>3</sup> Adherence to this calendar was widespread, reaching from northwestern Syria down to south-central Iraq—thus the Semitic-speaking peoples of middle third millennium Mesopotamia observed a spring New Year.

A spring New Year existed in the calendars of the third-millennium Sumerian cities, Lagaš, Ur, and Nippur.

The pre-Sargonic calendars from Lagaš and its neighboring cities began in the spring, as can be determined by a numerical month notation system that accompanied the month name on some of the tablets. The months *buru<sub>2</sub>* (*GAN<sub>2</sub>*)-*maš* and *še-kin-ku<sub>2</sub>-rá*, month names associated with the spring barley harvest, are both first months of their respective calendars. The pre-Sargonic calendars from Nippur and Ur do not in themselves provide any information as to the starting point of the seasonal year. However, the Nippur calendar continued unchanged into the Ur III period, and the Ur calendar evolved in varying degrees into the Ur III Ur calendar, which unequivocally commenced in the spring. The agricultural month names enable us to align the Ur III calendars with the seasons. The assignment of the

1. Jacobsen *Harps*, 122.

2. E. Reiner, *Surpu*, AFO *Beiheft* 11 (1958), 47 66 (translation differs).

3. For our assignment of *Za-'a-tum* as the first month, see pp. 23-24.



spring month as the first month of the year can then be determined based upon year-end accounting practices and by the term MU.ÚS.SÁ being appended to the previous year's name, when the current year name had not yet been assigned. These same accounting practices and year-naming conventions continued in Sumer after the fall of Ur (the period of the rise of Isin and Larsa), when the Southern-Mesopotamian Sumerian calendar replaced the local calendars of the Ur III period.

The term ZAG.MU, "New Year," does occur in documents from Ur, but does not appear to connote a special festival or New Year's celebration. As mentioned above, at New Year's inventory was taken in the temples and royal residences and additional required supplies for the upcoming year were procured. In fact, throughout the previous eleven months, supplies were continually stocked in anticipation of the needs of the coming year. From these foodstuffs and goods disbursement was made for yearly wages to temple personnel, for special distributions at the New Year, and for supplies for the offerings for the shrines and various festivals throughout the year (UET 3 no. 21): "provisions for the various festivals, for the New Year, and for the funerary shrines of Ur-Nammu and Nin[...]."<sup>1</sup>

In Nippur the advent of the New Year was celebrated as a special festival observed in the Tummal temple of Ninlil. The Sumerian collection of Temple Hymns praises the Tummal's appearance during the festival: "In the month of the New-Year's Day, on which the feast is celebrated, (you are) wondrously adorned."<sup>2</sup> A tablet probably dating to the reign of the Akkadian king Šar-kali-šarri records: "1200 liters of onions, Enlil's regular offerings for the New Year."<sup>3</sup>

During the Ur III period at Lagaš the New Year was the time for distributions, as recorded for the temple of Nindara:<sup>4</sup>

(Every) month and the New Year are times  
to provide food.

Nindara, in your temple, the betrothal gifts  
are made to you, together with mother Nanše, the queen.

1. According to Th. Jacobsen (Jacobsen *Treasures*, 124): "Lustrations to keep the bright moon free of defilement appear indeed to have been a fairly general feature of the cult and to have taken place not only at eclipses but annually at New Year (zag-mu(.ak)), which in Ur probably fell at the beginning of the month Mashdag, and at the 'Great Festival' (Ezen-mah) ..." As support Jacobsen refers to a passage referring to Ibbi-Sin of Ur having brought a golden jar back from a campaign in Elam: "so that at Ezen-mah and New Year, at the lustrations of Nanna, oil may not be wanting in the place where the (rite of) 'mouth-opening' is performed on Nanna's copper bath pitcher."

2. Å. Sjöberg, TCS 3, 19: iti zag-mu ezem-gál-la-za u<sub>6</sub>-di tag-ga.

3. Westenholz, OSP 2 171: 5 sum líd-ga sá-du<sub>11</sub> zag-mu <sup>4</sup>En-líl-kam.

4. Translation M. Civil, "The Statue of Sulgi: The Inscription," *Studies Sjöberg*, 50; the entire hymn is treated by Edzard and Wilcke, "Die Hendersanga-Hymne," *Kramer AV*, 139-176.

Other references to special New Year's distributions in Lagaš/Girsu include barley rations for the city, rations of lard and oil, and provisions for the festivals.<sup>1</sup> A Girsu text dated to ŠS1 details containers for an unspecified festival during the first seven days of the first month in Uruku, the sacred precinct of Girsu.<sup>2</sup>

The earliest evidence of a New Year other than in the spring is from Umma during the Sargonic period (ca. 2350–2200 B.C.), when the New Year may have occurred around the summer solstice.

An Ur III Umma tablet from the eighth year of Amar-Suen provides very detailed information on the festival for the fourth month (nisag) and sums the entries as "standard offerings for the New Year (festival) of Šara." It is very unlikely that this long detailed list was intended for a festival nine months later, particularly since there is a similar Umma text dated again to the fourth month, but to a different year.<sup>3</sup> It is therefore likely that the original Umma calendar began in the first month of the summer. This would have created dating problems for the short-lived kingdom of Lugalzagesi (ca. 2350 B.C.) and during the Sargonic period (ca. 2334–2154 B.C.) when standard year-names were in use throughout the empire, i.e., the three spring months at Umma would have been considered part of the previous year and used the previous year's year-name, whereas the rest of the empire changed to the new year-name during these months. Perhaps, as a solution to this administrative dilemma, the *mu-iti* system was introduced to harmonize Umma dating and accounting with the rest of the empire. This shift of the civil (but not cultic) calendar at Umma became permanent, as noted in the many Ur III economic documents which clearly calculated the year's accounts beginning in the first month of spring. However, vestiges of the old calendar remained with the old cultic New Year in the summer being celebrated at Umma during the Ur III period in the (now) fourth month.

But for Sippar, the calendars of the second and first millennia B.C. give no hint of a fixed New Year other than in the spring.

The Assyrian calendar of the second millennium had no intercalation, causing the months to migrate across the solar year so that the beginning of the Assyrian year could occur in any season.

The last century of the third millennium saw the beginning of the migration of Amorites into central and southern Mesopotamia, causing some calendars, such as those at Mari and Sippar, to incorporate Amorite month names into their local calendars. In other sites, such as at Ešnunna, calen-

1. Reisner *Telloh* 99a (še-ba zag-mu nam-uru-na); HSS 4 3 obv ii; Gomi, *Orient* 16 no. 112; CTMMA 1 40; Reisner *Telloh* 308 (nī-ezem-ma zag-mu-ka [ŠS9 xiii]).

2. ITT 5280; for this text, see p. 71.

3. For detailed treatment of these two Umma texts, see pp. 197-200.

dars almost entirely of Amorite influence were utilized, which, on the basis of year-end accounting, clearly began in the spring. The months of the Old Babylonian calendar at Mari can be reasonably well aligned with the seasons on the basis of the months *Abum*, *Kinūnu* ("brazier"), and *Ebūrum* ("harvest"). And the observance of the 7th Day of the 7th Month (*sibūt sibim*) in *Kinūnu* indicates that Old Babylonian Mari observed a spring New Year. And since (1) the pre-Ur III Mari followed the Early Semitic calendar which began in the spring, and (2) the Ur III Mari calendar evolved into the Old Babylonian Mari calendar, the Ur III Mari calendar probably began in the spring as well.

The first month of the calendar at Emar, during the last half of the second millennium, began with the month *Sag/Zag-mu*, which means "beginning/border of the year." The only slight indication that this month occurred in the spring is the name of the second month *Niqalu*. If *Niqalu* is related to the first spring month of the Ešnunna calendar *Niggallum* ("sickle"), then the first Emar month, *Sag-mu*, would have occurred in the spring. The evidence from Nuzi and Alalakh is insufficient to enable us to determine in which month their calendars began.

*Addaru* was the first month of the calendar at Susa, (the seventh month was *Sibūtu* "seventh"), and occurred in the spring as can be noted by the stated equivalency of the tenth month *Sililitu* with *Sabātu* of the Standard Mesopotamian calendar.

At Sippar, however, there is an indication that there may have been a fall New Year at an early, unfortunately, undocumented period.

Greengus has reconstructed the order of the Semitic calendar from Sippar, assuming that the calendar began in the spring with *Sibūtu* or *Sibūt šattim* as the first month of the year.<sup>1</sup> At Nuzi this same month name occurred as *warah Sabūti* or *warah ša Sabūti*; in Elam the seventh month was called *Sibūtu* or *Sebūtu* and coincided with the beginning of autumn. CAD S 233 states regarding the derivation of the month name: "The etymology of the word is uncertain; since according to the calendar in use in Elam, *Sibūtu* is the seventh month, it is possible that the month name is to be connected with "seven," ... in spite of the occasional spellings with the *zi*-sign in OB. Whether the OB festival *sibūt šattim* and the Nuzi month *Sibūtu/Sabūtu* are to be connected with beer-brewing, as suggested by Landsberger ... is uncertain." W.G. Lambert advocates a translation "seventh" for the month *Sibūtu* and suggests that if indeed the translation "seventh" is correct, then the Sippar calendar commenced in the autumn with *Elūli* as the first month.<sup>2</sup>

There is no corroborating evidence from Old Babylonian Sippar that the naming of years ever began in the autumn. Moreover, since Sippar maintained the Southern-Mesopotamian calendar as well, which began in the spring, it seems unlikely that different year names would have been used to date the tablet, depending upon the calendar used. Nor is there year-end accounting occurring during the months *Tirum* or *kin-dInanna*, which would have occurred had *Elūli* been the first month. Lastly, there is no evidence of a New Year's festival in either *Sibūt šattim* or *Elūli*. The month *Sibūt šattim* was the occasion for the initiation of a young girl as a *nađitu*, a cloistered woman dedicated to the god pair Shamash and Aja,<sup>1</sup> which might reflect purposely beginning the service of a *nađitu* at the beginning of the year.

Noting the many ways in which the Sippar calendar differed from the Amorite calendars, it is reasonable to hypothesize that the Sippar calendar attested in the Old Babylonian tablets, rather than being a strictly Amorite calendar, was a combination of an earlier, non-Amorite Sippar tradition integrated with the Amorite calendar. And, therefore, there is a possibility that this earlier Sippar calendar commenced in the fall.

*Nisannu* was the first month of the Standard Mesopotamian calendar as noted in lexical lists, economic documents, and in other texts such as an inscription of Sennacherib: "The month *Nisannu*, the first month."<sup>2</sup>

A limestone slab discovered in 1908 has been dubbed the Gezer Calendar, though it is not a true calendar, but rather a seasonally ordered listing of agricultural activities.<sup>3</sup> Talmon places the authoring of this document between 950-925 B.C.<sup>4</sup> This document lists an agricultural activity for each month or two month period, although never providing the actual month names. The list concludes with the summer months, which has raised the possibility that the starting point of the activities in this tablet mirrors the start of the local calendar, i.e., the calendar began in the autumn. But this can hardly be called proof that the calendar began in the autumn.

The calendar at Ugarit may have begun in the spring as elsewhere throughout the Near East, as noted by de Moor:

Now there exists some evidence that this date too may have been regarded as a New Year at Ugarit. ... king Krt had to bake bread during the fifth and the sixth months for his campaign against Udm. Thus it is likely that the campaign started in the seventh month. After a week's march his army encounters firewood gatherers... As the gathering of firewood took place in September and early October it is almost certain that ... refer to a year be-

1. The occurrence of *Sibūt šattim* in the spring is proved by VAS 9 139 and 140, wherein the tablet was dated by the month *Sibūt šattim* and the envelope by *lūbāra-zag-gar*.

2. NABU 1989/4, 64.

1. PBS 8/2 183; edited by R. Harris, "The *Nađitu* Woman," *Studies Oppenheim*, 110ff.

2. OIP 2 136:24.

3. Published by R.A.S. Macalister, *Excavations at Gezer*, II 24ff. For a discussion of this text, see p. 383.

4. S. Talmon, "The Gezer Calendar and the Seasonal Cycle of Ancient Canaan," *JASO* 83 (1963), 177-187.

ginning about the time of the vernal equinox. ... Whereas the Ugarit cultic year appears to begin in autumn and the civil year in the spring ...<sup>1</sup>

It has been suggested that biblical material indicates that the calendar of the northern kingdom, Israel, began in the fall.<sup>2</sup> Cogan, while suggesting the likelihood of a fall New Year in Israel, prefaces his statement with "Though the evidence is inconclusive."<sup>3</sup> Vanderkam notes "No part of the Bible or even the Bible as a whole presents a full calendar; information about these matters must be gleaned from occasional, often incidental references to dates, days, months, seasons, and years."<sup>4</sup> We are skeptical about the value of biblical material for reconstructing the pre-exilic calendar of the Hebrews with any degree of certainty. Not only is the source material for such books as Kings lacking, but the original editions of these secondary works are also lacking. The only extant copies are the product of varying degrees of editing over the centuries, editing which in some instances inserted political or religious biases. There is, of course, no doubt that the Bible contains information on the early Hebrew cultic calendar, but without contemporaneous source material, the study of the pre-exilic Hebrew calendar cannot progress beyond scholarly speculation.

There is a first-millennium B.C. New Year's (*rs.š.n.n<sup>m</sup>*) ritual in Demotic script.<sup>5</sup> The ritual, celebrated in the seventh month, represents the tradition of exiles from Rash, a country which at one time was captured by Asshurbanipal on his expedition against Elam. Aside from the possibility of a fall year in an early native Sippar calendar, this then is the earliest unequivocal evidence of a fall New Year in the ancient Near East.

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1. J. C. de Moor, *The Seasonal Pattern in the Ugaritic Myth of Ba'lu*, AOAT 16, 61-62. We do not concur with de Moor's suggestion that the cultic year began in the fall. Rather, the cultic year in the Near East seems to be based around the equinoxes, thus two beginnings within each twelve month period.

2. See most recently B. Goldstein and A. Cooper, "The Festivals of Israel and Judah and the Literary History of the Pentateuch," JAOS 110 (1990), 23; and M. Cogan, "Chronology," *The Anchor Bible Dictionary* I (New York, 1992), 1006.

3. Cogan, *op. cit.*

4. "Calendars, Ancient Israelite and Early Jewish," *The Anchor Bible Dictionary* I (New York, 1992), 814.

5. R. Steiner, "The Aramaic Text in Demotic Script: The Liturgy of a New Year's Festival Imported from Bethel to Syncr by Exiles from Rash," JAOS 111 (1991), 362-363. For further discussion of this text, see p. 452.

## THE THIRD MILLENNIUM B.C.

... the theory of relativity put an end to the idea of absolute time! It appeared that each observer must have his own measure of time, as recorded by a clock carried with him, and that identical clocks carried by different observers would not necessarily agree.

Stephen W. Hawking  
A Brief History of Time

## Early Semitic Calendars

Based on economic documents unearthed at ancient Ebla, Pettinato reconstructed a calendar used at Ebla during the reigns of Igrīš-Ḫalam and Ebrium.<sup>1</sup> The same calendar was identified by Charpin as being in use at pre-Sargonic Mari.<sup>2</sup> The occurrence of these month names on tablets from multiple sites, including Gasur (later Nuzi), Abu Ṣalabikh, and Ešnunna—though at these latter sites the paucity of dated material provides only a few month names—led Pettinato to label this calendar the ‘Semitic calendar of the third millennium’, stating “this designation took rise from the names of the months which are Semitic and for the most part West Semitic, and from the diffusion of this calendar throughout the whole Near East during the period from *circa* 2600 to 2200 B.C.”<sup>3</sup>

Pettinato assigned *Ḫa-li* as the first month of this Early Semitic calendar, whereas Charpin suggested that *I-si* was the first month. Gelb’s analysis of the month names of this calendar led him to suggest that neither Pettinato’s nor Charpin’s suggestion as to the first month of the year was likely to be correct.<sup>4</sup> Thus, although the sequence of month names was established, there was no unanimity as to which month constituted the first month of the year.

We suggest that the first month of this Early Semitic calendar was *Za-’a-tum*, based on the following observations.

1. “Il Calendario Semitico del 3. Millennio Ricostruito sulla Base dei Testi di Ebla,” OA 16 (1977), 257ff. and “Il calendario di Ebla al tempo del Re Ibī-Sipīš sulla base di TM.75.G.427,” AIO 25 (1974-77), 1ff.

2. “Mari et le calendrier d’Ebla,” RA 76 (1982), 1ff.

3. Pettinato *Archives*, 147; Pettinato, “Il Calendario Semitico del 3. Millennio Ricostruito sulla Base dei Testi di Ebla,” OA 16 (1977), 257 had originally labeled this calendar the “Old Eblaite calendar (*vecchio calendario di Ebla*),” as opposed to a second calendar utilized later in Ebla (*nuovo calendario di Ebla*). Pettinato *Archives*, 148 suggests “the West Semitic names of the months indicate Ebla as the likely center for its [the calendar’s] radiation.” However, there is no real evidence to establish its city of origin, particularly in light of assuredly many as yet unexcavated West Semitic sites.

4. I.J. Gelb, “Mari and the Kish Civilization,” *Mari in Retrospect* (Winona Lake, 1992), 137: “Irrespective of whether the MN *Jiṣrum* is interpreted as the month of the greatest cold or the greatest heat, its placement as the tenth month of the Semitic Calendar by Pettinato, or the second month by Charpin, cannot possibly be right.”

- In a large proportion of pre-Sargonic Mari texts the month *Iq-za* is the final month in which an accounting has been performed over several months.<sup>1</sup>
- The first month of the year, as demonstrated by Charpin on the basis of his Mari text no. 7 which spans two years, must be after MA×GÁNA<sup>tenû</sup>-SAG (and most likely MA×GÁNA<sup>tenû</sup>-ÚGUR as well) and before *Gi-um*. Thus the first month was *I-si*, *Iq-za*, or *Za-'a-tum*.
- Our proposed positioning places the New Eblaite month še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub> as the twelfth month, the same position as at Nippur, Adab and Drehem, and within one month of its position at Lagaš and Ur. Placing *I-si* first, as Charpin suggests, causes še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub> to occur later than in any other Near Eastern calendar.
- This positions the month *I-rí-sá* "seeding" as the fourth month, the same position as the Nippur month šu-numun "seeding."
- The existence of an intercalary *Iq-za* and še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub> increases the likelihood that *Iq-za* and še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub> were the twelfth months of their respective calendars, since the most common intercalary position was after the twelfth month.
- If the month *Za-'a-tum* does indeed mean "flocks" as Pettinato and Gelb suggest, the first month approximately corresponds to the period of the birth of the new sheep and goats. Gelb states "Obviously the month was named after the period during which sheep and goats yeaned, that is, bore their lambs and kids. This normally takes place in the spring in the Near East."<sup>2</sup>

If *Za-'a-tum* was the first month (and therefore še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>, the month of the barley harvest, was the twelfth month), then this indicates that the year at Ebla began in the spring, as elsewhere throughout the Near East.

A second calendar was also in use at Ebla, although later in date. It was apparently a native Eblaite calendar, since none of the months have been identified on tablets from other sites and, according to Gelb, the language is Eblaic.<sup>3</sup> It may be significant that the Early Semitic calendar month names do not contain theophoric elements, but rather are agricultural in nature, a situation which enabled this early Semitic calendar to be somewhat universal in its application. However, the new Eblaite calendar (apparently in use "only at the time of the last king of Mari, Jibb'-Zikir"<sup>4</sup>) contains several god

1. D. Charpin, "Tablettes présargoniques de Mari," MARI 5 (1987) nos. 8, 9, 10, 17.

2. Gelb, *op. cit.*, 138.

3. Gelb, *op. cit.*, 147.

4. Gelb, *op. cit.*, 145.

names and appears to be native to Ebla, replacing the commonly shared Early Semitic calendar. The continued use of the Early Semitic calendar elsewhere may be the reason that an Eblaite text (TM.75.G.2096) contains months from the new Eblaite calendar mixed with months from the Early Semitic calendar. In fact both the Early Semitic and new Eblaite calendar names for the seventh month occur on the same tablet.

### *The Early Semitic Calendar*<sup>1</sup>

The months of the Early Semitic calendar are attested mainly in documents from Ebla and Mari, although occasional references are found from Ešnunna, Abu Šalabikh, Gasur, and Lagaš.

#### i. *Za-'a-tum*

|                   |   |
|-------------------|---|
| Ebla              | For references see Pettinato OA 16 (1977), 275 and note TM.75.G.1441 ( <sup>iti</sup> <i>Za-'a-na</i> ), TM.75.G.1441 ( <sup>iti</sup> <i>Za-'a-na-at</i> ), TM.75.G.3958+3969 ( <sup>iti</sup> <i>Za-'a-tum</i> ). |
| Mari <sup>2</sup> | Charpin no. 23  |
| Abu Šalabikh      | OIP 99 no. 513 <sup>3</sup>   |
| Ešnunna           | MAD 1 296, 300  |
| Lagaš             | ITT 1 1291  |

Both Pettinato and Gelb suggest a meaning "sheep and goats," or "flocks," related to Hebrew *šō'n*.

#### ii. *Gi-um*

|         |   |
|---------|---|
| Ebla    | For references see Pettinato OA 16 (1977), 275 and note TM.75.G.2086 <sup>iti</sup> NI:GI; note MEE 1 xxxv and 282 for IGI- <i>ki</i> . |
| Mari    | Charpin, no. 7 ( <sup>iti</sup> G[i-NI]), 31 ( <sup>iti</sup> GI-NI); Charpin, MARI 6 nos. 38,40  |
| Ešnunna | MAD 1 102, 292, 299   |

1. Gelb, *op. cit.*, 143: "The occurrence of the names in the normal or indeterminate states clearly indicates that *iti* in the structure *iti MN* is a graphic auxiliary ..., and does not form part of the construct with the *MN* in the genitive." For a more complete discussion of the meaning of these month names (as well as references to other pertinent material), see Pettinato, "Il Calendario Semitico del 3. Millennio Ricostruito sulla Base dei Testi di Ebla," OA 16 (1977), 272ff. Since the publication of OA 16, Pettinato has tentatively translated some of the months in Pettinato *Archives* which he had previously left untranslated in OA 16.

2. These references are to the text number as presented by Charpin in "Tablettes présargoniques de Mari," MARI 5 (1987), 68ff.

3. For this identification, see P. Steinkeller, RA 78 (1984), 87.

Gelb offers no meaning for the name, although suggesting that the orthography *Gi-NI* is most likely to be read *Gi-ṣ*; Pettinato suggests reading *ki-li*, "measuring." Mander, MEE 10, 203, reads: *ki-li* " (feast of the month of) heat."

iii. *Ha-li-ṣ* / *Ha-li-da*

|       |  |
|-------|--|
| Ebla  | For references see Pettinato OA 16 (1977) 272 and note TM.75.G.1630 ( <i>iṭi Ha-li-ti</i> ), TM.75.G.1221 ( <i>iṭi Ha-li</i> ), TM.75.G.1340 ( <i>iṭi Ha-li-ṣ</i> ). |
| Mari  | Charpin, nos. 7, 16, 33 (all: <i>iṭi Ha-li</i> )   |
| Umma  | MCS 9/1 233 ( <i>iṭi Ha-li-da</i> )  |
| Gasur | HSS 10 41, 82, 125 ( <i>iṭi Ha-li-it</i> )   |
| Lagaš | RTC 117 ( <i>iṭi Ha-li-i</i> )   |

Gelb offers no meaning for the name; Dahood and Pettinato suggest a relationship with the Ugaritic month *ḥlt* and translate "phoenix."

iv. *I-ri-sá*

|         |  |
|---------|--|
| Ebla    | For references see Pettinato OA 16 (1977), 273 and note TM.75.G.1559 ( <i>iṭi Ri-sá</i> ). |
| Mari    | Charpin nos. 11, 23; Charpin, MARI 6 no. 41  |
| Ešnunna | MAD 1 273, 306 ( <i>iṭi I-ri-sa-at</i> )   |

Pettinato translates the month name as "sowing." Gelb suggests that the month name may derive from one of two different Semitic roots: "Apparently, there is a confusion between two roots, one *ḤRŠ*, *ḤRT*, *ḤRT* 'to cultivate', 'to see', and the other 'RŠ that is known from Arabic *garasa* 'to plant (trees, herbs, etc.)'."

v. *Ga-sum*<sup>1</sup>

|      |   |
|------|---|
| Ebla | For references see Pettinato OA 16 (1977), 272. |
|------|---|

Gelb, noting that "the initial sibilant of *-sum* is *ḡ* ... at Ebla,"<sup>2</sup> suggests that the month name may be related to *gazāzum*, "to shear (sheep)," or to the Akkadian verbs *kazāzum*, *kašāsum*, or *kašāšum*, etc. However, the fifth month of the year is far past the time for shearing sheep and goats and thus we do not support the possibility of the month meaning "shearing."

1. Pettinato, "Il Calendario Semitico del 3. Millennio Ricostruito sulla Base dei Testi di Ebla," OA 16 (1977), 283 note 34 suggests that the Gasur text HSS X 166 v. 1 be restored as *iṭi Ga-sum*.

2. Gelb, *op. cit.*, 138.

Pettinato suggests reading *ga-šum*, "rains." However, the fifth month is during the dry season.

vi. *ḲNUN.NA-at*

|      |   |
|------|---|
| Ebla | For references see Pettinato OA 16 (1977) 273 and note TM.75.G.1629 ( <i>iṭi ḲNUN</i> ), TM.75.G.1537 ( <i>iṭi ḲNUN.NA</i> ), TM.75.G.1405 ( <i>iṭi ḲNUN.NA-at</i> ). |
| Mari | Charpin, nos. 7, 10, 19 (all: <i>iṭi ḲNUN.NA</i> ), 20 ( <i>iṭi ḲNUN</i> )  |

Gelb suggests that the month name was *Ḥim'at* "ghee," (*ḲNUN* being the Sumerian term for 'ghee'), noting this interpretation "makes sense only if it is assumed that the month was so named because the best kind of butter (or ghee) was produced only during that month of the year. This suggestion is partly confirmed by the existence of *Ḳ.nun.nun* 'noble butter', that is, the best kind of butter, as a basis of *Ḳ.nun* ... in the new Calendar of Ebla."<sup>1</sup>

vii. *Za-LUL*

|       |   |
|-------|---|
| Ebla  | For references see Pettinato OA 16 (1977), 275. |
| Mari  | Charpin nos. 5, 9, 12                           |
| Gasur | HSS 10 63, 144, 170                             |

Pettinato and Mander read *ša-lul* "processions"; Charpin reads *Za-lul*, and Steinkeller reads *Za-LUL*.<sup>2</sup> Gelb suggests that a reading *Za-nar* is just as likely as *ša-lul* and notes the personal names *Za-na-ri*, *Za-na-ru-um*, the god *dZa-na-ru-um*, and the *zannaru*-lyre.

viii. *I-ba<sub>4</sub>-sa*

|      |  |
|------|--|
| Ebla | For references see Pettinato OA 16 (1977), 273.  |
| Mari | Charpin nos. 9, 10, 12, 24, 37                   |
| Adab | OIP 14 165 ( <i>iṭi I-ba<sub>4</sub>-ša-āš</i> ) |

Gelb suggests that the Adab month name *I-ba<sub>4</sub>-ša-āš* derives from *pašāšum*, "to anoint."<sup>3</sup> However, in regard to the Eblaite orthography he states: "Its derivation from *pašāšum* ... and its relation to *I-ba<sub>4</sub>-sa* of Ebla-Mari, are unexplainable."<sup>4</sup>

1. Gelb, *op. cit.*, 138-139.

2. Mander, MEE 10 35; P. Steinkeller, "The Sumerian Verb *l u g<sub>2</sub>* (LUL)\*," SEL 1 (1984), 12.

3. Gelb, MAD 3 219.

4. I.J. Gelb, "Mari and the Kish Civilization," *Mari in Retrospect* (Winona Lake, 1992), 139.

ix. MA×GÁNA<sup>tenû</sup>-sag

Ebla For references see Pettinato OA 16 (1977), 274.

Mari Charpin, nos. 6, 7, 9, 32

Gelb suggests that the element SAG in this month name probably means "earlier" and that -SIG<sub>7</sub> in the month name MA×GÁNA<sup>tenû</sup>-SIG<sub>7</sub> should therefore mean "later," parallel to the month names \**Baḥīr maḥrī* and \**Baḥīr warkī* (see below). (We have followed Charpin's reading ÚGUR rather than SIG<sub>7</sub>). Gelb has no suggestion as to the meaning of the sign MA×GÁNA<sup>tenû</sup>, but notes that these two month names are Semitic, since the other ten months are Semitic.

Archi suggests that MA×GÁNA<sup>tenû</sup> may denote a type of fruit (thus the months of "first fruits" and "ripe fruits"),<sup>1</sup> which, as Charpin observes, may be based upon the similar terms ḡiṣpèš(=MA), "figs," and ḡiṣ.MA<sup>gunû</sup> = ḡiṣḥašhur, "apple."<sup>2</sup>

In the third millennium the sign GÁNA has a reading buru<sub>x</sub> and meaning "harvest." Therefore, perhaps the sign MA×GÁNA<sup>tenû</sup> indicates the fig(?) harvest.<sup>3</sup> If so, this month referred to the first fig (or other fruit) harvest, whereas the next month referred to the latter harvest.

ix<sup>2</sup>. MA×GÁNA<sup>tenû</sup>-sag 2

Ebla For references see Pettinato OA 16 (1977), 275.

x. MA×GÁNA<sup>tenû</sup>-úgur

Ebla For references see Pettinato OA 16 (1977), 274.

Mari Charpin, nos. 8, 9, 10, 17

We have followed the reading of Charpin, who reads the last sign ÚGUR according to the suggestion of Civil, who, in turn, interpreted this writing as indicating EGIR, "later."<sup>4</sup> Although Gelb (see above) reads SIG<sub>7</sub>, he too interprets this sign as indicating "later." Other readings of this last sign have been IGI-<sup>tenû</sup>×KASKAL, GUDU<sub>4</sub>, IGI-<sup>gunû</sup>.<sup>5</sup> For this month possibly referring to the latter fig (or other fruit) harvest, see our discussion of the ninth month, above. We have no suggestion as to the Semitic month name which this Sumerian orthography represented.

1. ARET 1 284.

2. D. Charpin, "Tablettes présargoniques de Mari," MARI 5 (1987), 74.

3. For the reading buru<sub>x</sub> see pp. 43, 70.

4. Charpin, *op. cit.*

5. For references see Charpin, *op. cit.*, 74.

xi. I-si

Ebla For references see Pettinato OA 16 (1977), 274 and note TM.75.G.1998 (iti<sup>7</sup>-si).

Mari Charpin, nos. 8, 27; Charpin, MARI 6 no. 39

Abu Salabikh OIP 99 no. 508

Gelb offers no meaning for the name; Pettinato suggests reading *i-si*, "fires."

xii. Iq-za

Ebla For references see Pettinato OA 16 (1977), 273 and note TM.75.G.1305 (iti<sup>7</sup>ZA:IQ).

Mari Charpin, nos. 8, 9, 10, 17, 21, 25 (iti<sup>7</sup>Iq-za), 26 (iti<sup>7</sup>Iq),  
28 (iti<sup>7</sup>Iq-za)

Gasur HSS 10 96 (iti<sup>7</sup>Iq-zum)

Lagaš ITT 1 1291 (iti<sup>7</sup>Iq-zum)

Nippur Westenholz OSP 2 no. 4 (iti<sup>7</sup>Iq-zum)

Gelb suggests a meaning "heat," though noting: "The choice of the meaning of the MN *Jiqsum* lies between 'cold' and 'heat'. The adduced parallel with the noun based on QJŠ, which in other Semitic languages means 'heat', 'summer', or in which it denotes a month name, favors the meaning 'heat' for *Jiqsum*. On the other hand, the existence of the Akkadian opposites *kašûm* (QJŠ) 'cold' and *baḥīrum* 'heat' ... leads to the conclusion that if the MN *Baḥīr* means 'heat', ..., then the MN *Jiqsum* must denote its opposite, namely 'cold'.<sup>1</sup> However, if the positioning of this month as the twelfth month is correct, then neither a translation "heat" nor "cold" is appropriate. Pettinato suggests a meaning "harvest": "Questo nome lo farei derivare dalla radice *gz* 'tagliare' (ebr.) riferendolo al raccolto del grano."<sup>2</sup> Since this month was the last month, it might be appropriate to suggest a possible relationship with Hebrew *qš*, "end."

xiii. Iq-za 2

Ebla For references see Pettinato OA 16 (1977), 273.

1. Gelb, *op. cit.*, 136.

2. Pettinato, OA 16 (1977), 273.

*The New Eblaite Calendar*

According to Gelb, this calendar is written in the Eblaite language: "Even though none of the names is written clearly in Eblaic, their phonetic and morphemic features (r/l, omission of -um, vowel alternation and elision) leave little doubt that the later calendar is written in that language."<sup>1</sup> The assignment of <sup>d</sup>AMA-ra as the first month of this calendar is based upon our assignment of *Za-'a-tum* as the first month of the Old Semitic calendar. Since some Ebla texts mix the two calendrical systems, the correspondences of the months in the two calendars can be established. There are also references to variant month names for months 3, 6, and 8. The following months comprise the New Eblaite calendar:<sup>2</sup>

i. <sup>d</sup>Išhara (= <sup>d</sup>AMA-ra)

The month: "(The food-offerings/festival of) Išhara."<sup>3</sup>

ii. <sup>d</sup>KÀ-mi-iš

Variant: <sup>iti</sup>nidbá-<sup>d</sup>KÀ-mi-iš, <sup>iti</sup>nidbá-<sup>d</sup>KÀ-me-iš; the month: "The food offerings of Kamiš." The god Kamish was the chief god of the Moabites, the biblical deity Chemosh, the deity after whom the city Carchemish ("Quay of Chemosh") was named.

iii<sup>1</sup>. BAD-*li*

Pettinato, reading *Be-li*, interprets this month as meaning "lord," understanding it as a reference to a festival of Dagan.<sup>4</sup> Gelb argues that this orthography with the sign -li indicates that an interpretation /Be'li/ is untenable.

iii<sup>2</sup>. GIŠ IG DÚB

Mander (MEE 10 1) reads this month name as giš-gál-tag<sub>x</sub>. One of the documents from Ebla contains two references to this otherwise unattested

1. Gelb, *op. cit.*, 147.

2. For references to the variants see Pettinato, "Il calendario di Ebla al tempo del Re Ibbi-Sipiš sulla base di TM.75.G.427," AFO 25 (1974-77), 1ff. For references to votive offerings supplied throughout the year to deities at Ebla during this period, see L. Cagni, "Offerte sacrificali e votive ad Ebla," *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft von Ebla*, HSAO 2, H. Waetzoldt and H. Hauptmann, eds. (Heidelberg, 1988), 181-198.

3. For the reading Išhara for the orthography <sup>d</sup>AMA.RA, see most recently Stieglitz, *Essays on Ebla*, 82 with references; P. Xella, "Bemerkungen zum Pantheon von Ebla," *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft von Ebla*, HSAO 2, H. Waetzoldt and H. Hauptmann, eds. (Heidelberg, 1988), 352.

4. Pettinato *Archives*, 257.

month.<sup>1</sup> The tablet contains eight other month names from the Eblaite calendar, thereby limiting this month's position to four possibilities. And based upon the order of the month names on this tablet, the month occurred after nidbá-<sup>d</sup>KÀ-mi-iš and before *Ir-me*. Thus it replaced either BAD-*li* or nidbá-<sup>d</sup>À-da and since an alternate <sup>iti</sup>Ì.NUN(.NUN) occurs as a variant for nidbá-<sup>d</sup>À-da, it is more likely that this month was a variant for the third month. This is also the conclusion reached by Mander (MEE 10 no. 1).

iv. <sup>d</sup>Aš-da-PiL

Variant: <sup>iti</sup>nidbá-<sup>d</sup>Aš-da-PiL; the month: "The feast/offerings of AšdaPiL."<sup>2</sup> The month <sup>iti</sup>Aš-ta-bi occurs at Level VII Alalakh.

v. NI.DU

vi<sup>1</sup>. <sup>d</sup>'À-da

Variant: <sup>iti</sup>nidbá-<sup>d</sup>'À-da; the month: "The food offerings of Ada," the storm-god elsewhere called Adad or Hadad.

vi<sup>2</sup>. Ì.NUN

Variants Ì.NUN.NUN, A.NUN.NUN; this name is presumably a continuance of the sixth month of the Early Semitic calendar, which Gelb suggests may have been pronounced *Him'at* 'ghee.'

vii. *Ir-me*

Variant: *Y-la-mu*

viii<sup>1</sup>. *Hu-lu-mu* / *hur-mu*

Variant *Hu-ru<sub>12</sub>-lu*. (see Gelb, *op. cit.*, 146).

viii<sup>2</sup>. NE.GAR

Three pre-Sargonic calendars contain months referring to the kindling of fires: <sup>iti</sup>ne-gir<sub>x</sub>(UM) at Ur, <sup>iti</sup>ne-IZI-gar at Nippur, and <sup>iti</sup>gu<sub>4</sub>-rá-IZI-mú-mú at Lagaš. However, we cannot position the Ur month in its proper season and

1. See D.O. Edzard, *Archivi Reali di Ebla Testi-II, Verwaltungstexte Verschiedenen Inhalts*, no. 5.

2. Stieglitz, *Essays on Ebla*, 82 suggests that this god's name was \*'Aštapir: "seems to me to correspond to the Ugaritic 'Ipr, rather than to its Hurrian equivalent Aštabi."



the Nippur and Lagaš months occurred in the summer or spring.<sup>1</sup> The Brazier festival (*kinūnu*), a winter observance probably based upon the need to combat the cold and early darkness, is attested in the seventh month in the Old Babylonian period at Mari, Ešnunna, and Tell Rimah and in the ninth month at Nuzi.<sup>2</sup> Thus it is quite possible that the eighth Ebla month, <sup>iti</sup>NE.GAR, is named for the observance of a festival similar in nature to the Brazier festival—possibly this Ebla month was actually pronounced *Kinūnu*. Perhaps the orthography NE.GAR should be read ne-gar, thereby paralleling the Ur month ne-gir<sub>x</sub>, meaning “brazier,” rather than reading izi-gar, “to light a fire.” Note the entry: 2 ḡi<sup>3</sup>pèš NE-gar lugal (“2 fig trees for the *brazier*(?) of the king”) on a pre-Sargonic tablet from Mari dating to the sixth month.<sup>3</sup>

There is a reference to the “day” or “time” (UD) of the NE.GAR observance in an Ebla text.<sup>4</sup>

ix. UD.DU(=È)

Note the late bilingual lexical equation è = *pe-tu-ú šá KÁ* (Antagal D 62, CAD B 14 sub *bābu* A) and the existence of the Susa month at the beginning of the second millennium B.C.: *pū bābi*. For the festival called “Opening-of-the-Gate” in second and first millennia B.C. Mesopotamia, see p. 363. Thus perhaps this Eblaite month È may designate the exiting of the god(s) from his/their temple(s) in a major procession, rather than interpreting the month as “expenses” as Pettinato suggests.

x. SUKU

The month name means “food offerings” (*kurummatu*) and would appear to be a shortened form for an as yet unidentified longer month name. There is a reference in an economic document from Ebla to the “day” or “time” of food offerings (UD SUKU).<sup>5</sup>

1. According to Pettinato, a festival may be indicated by the month name izi-gar, *ḫul/rumu*, “consecration,” which “as observed by my colleague M. Dahood, could well refer to the sacrifice of children, a widespread practice among the Punic peoples of the first millennium B.C.” (Pettinato *Archives*, 257). This interpretation is rather unlikely.

2. For a discussion of the *kinūnu* festival see pp. 392-394.

3. D. Charpin, “Tablettes présargoniques de Mari,” *MARI* 5 (1987), 79 no. 19.

4. Pettinato *Archives*, 257.

5. Pettinato *Il Culto*, 36.

xi. <sup>d</sup>A-dam-ma-um

Variants: A-dam-ma, A-dam-ma-um, <sup>d</sup>A-da-ma-um; the month: “(The food-offerings / festival of) Adamma.”<sup>1</sup> The Emar calendar, almost a thousand years later, contained a month <sup>d</sup>A-dam, possibly an evolved form of the same deity.

xii. še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>

For a discussion of the meaning and reading of this common month name, see our discussion of the twelfth month of the Nippur calendar.

xiii. še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub> 2

*Festivals at Ebla*

Based upon the month names of the new Eblaite calendar, the following schedule of festivals can be discerned at Ebla:

- i. Festival of the goddess Išhara
- ii. Festival of the god Kamiš
- iii.
- iv. Festival of the god AšdaPIL
- v.
- vi. Festival of the god 'A-da
- vii.
- viii. The Brazier(?) festival
- ix.
- x.
- xi. Festival of the goddess Adamma
- xii.

Pettinato also notes references in economic documents to feasts for the gods Agu, Nidakul and Rasap. Other possible festivals or observances are attested in the economic documents:

u<sub>4</sub> *ā-st-pū* (“the day of the ingathering”)<sup>2</sup>

u<sub>4</sub> IB.ŠEŠ.2<sup>3</sup>

1. For this goddess note most recently Stieglitz (*Essays on Ebla*, 79): “Eblaite Adam(m)a is not Hurrian, but a Semitic name, or title, of a netherworld goddess.”

2. Pettinato *Il Culto*, 36. This, of course, brings to mind the much later Hebrew holiday Sukkoth, which is also known as *Hag he'astf*, “the Festival of the Ingathering.”

3. Pettinato *Il Culto*, 36.

- u<sub>4</sub> G<sup>1</sup>Rxgun<sup>2</sup>m<sup>3</sup>u<sup>4</sup>en ("the day of the ...-bird")<sup>1</sup>  
u<sub>4</sub> ma-wa-tim<sup>2</sup>  
u<sub>4</sub> n<sup>1</sup>l-ba d<sup>2</sup>BE SAL d<sup>3</sup>Ni-da-KUL<sup>3</sup>  
u<sub>4</sub> SAGŠU<sup>4</sup>  
u<sub>4</sub> ḡi<sup>1</sup>zē<sup>5</sup>  
u<sub>4</sub> tu-ra-sū<sup>6</sup>  
u<sub>4</sub> nidbá d<sup>2</sup>En-ki lú ḡi<sup>3</sup>nu-kiri<sup>6</sup> ("the day of the feast/offerings of Enki of 'the garden'")<sup>7</sup>  
ezem-d<sup>2</sup>NE-la<sup>8</sup>  
ezem-d<sup>2</sup>Sa-ma-gan ("the festival of the god Samagan")<sup>9</sup>  
mar-za-u<sub>3</sub><sup>10</sup>  
nidbá d<sup>2</sup>Ku-ra ("festival/offerings of Kura")<sup>11</sup> and cf. in u<sub>4</sub> du-du nidbá ḡi<sup>3</sup>š é d<sup>2</sup>Ku-ra "on the occasion (of) going (to) the anointing ceremony (of) the temple (of the god) Kura."<sup>12</sup>  
siki<sup>1</sup>l ("the festival) of purification")<sup>13</sup>

1. Pettinato *Il Culto*, 36.

2. Pettinato *Il Culto*, 37 where Pettinato suggests that the Semitic word *ma-wa-tim* in this context might mean "water," "country," or "death."

3. Pettinato *Il Culto*, 37; for the possible identification of this god with the moon-god, see W.G. Lambert, "The Identity of the Eblaite God Nidakul," OA 23 (1984), 44ff. and A. Archi, "Diffusione del Culto di d<sup>2</sup>N<sup>1</sup>L<sup>1</sup>D<sup>1</sup>A<sup>1</sup>KUL," *Studi Eblaïti* 1/7-8 (1979), 105ff.

4. Pettinato *Il Culto*, 38.

5. Pettinato *Il Culto*, 38; see p. 210 for a ritual *zi-ga-zé-na* "palm waving" at Ur III Uruk.

6. Pettinato *Il Culto*, 38 where Pettinato suggests that the name of the observance may derive from Sumerian *TU-ra*, "to enter."

7. MEE 10 no. 3 obv. 8-10 and see MEE 10, 26 for other references.

8. Pettinato *Il Culto*, 37.

9. Pettinato *Il Culto*, 37.

10. MEE 10 no. 1 = ARET 25 rev. i. The text records sheep being brought for what Mander suggests might be some type of feast, perhaps to be identified with the *m<sup>2</sup>z<sup>3</sup>h* observance (see pp. 344-345).

11. MEE 10 no. 21.

12. Translation Mander, MEE 10 no. 40.

13. Pettinato *Archives*, 257; Pettinato *Il Culto*, 37-38.

### Other Months from Sargonic Tablets

The following six month names occur on tablets dating to the Sargonic period and were not part of the Early Semitic calendar used at Ebla and Mari:

#### *Ba-ḫi-ir* IGI

|         |   |
|---------|---|
| Adab    | OIP 14 92 ( <i>Ba-ḫi-ir</i> IGI)  |
| Ešnunna | MAD 1 154 ( <i>Ba-ḫi-ir</i> MA)   |
| Mari    | Durand MARI 3 (1984), 264 ( <i>Ba-ḫi-ir</i> MA)                           |
| Nippur  | PBS 9 119 = OSP 2 no. 6; AS 17 12 = OSP 2 no. 9 ( <i>Ba-ḫi-ir</i> IGI.ME) |

Gelb reads this and the following month as *Baḫīr maḫrī* "Earlier Heat" and *Baḫīr warkī* "Later Heat," suggesting that these two months may correspond to July and August, when the heat was most intense. Westenholz, OSP 2 202, translating "Month of the Early Hot Season," reads *Ba-ḫi-ir* IGI-ME as *Ba-ḫi-ir \*qadmī*; however, Gelb notes that IGI.ME occurs for IGI in the Sargonic period in an inscription of Rimuš and thus the element -ME in the month name need not be a phonetic complement.<sup>1</sup> The implication of the orthography *Ba-ḫi-ir* MA, which is attested at Ešnunna and Mari, is uncertain.

#### *Ba-ḫi-ir* EGIR

|         |              |
|---------|--------------|
| Adab    | Zhi Adab 973 |
| Ešnunna | MAD 1 184    |
| Lagaš   | ITT 1 1079   |

This month name means "Later Heat."

#### *Ga-da-ad*

|       |   |
|-------|---|
| Gasur | HSS 10 166, 184; Glassner, JCS 35 (1983), 211 no. 1 |
|-------|---|

#### *Ha-lu<sup>2</sup>-u<sup>1</sup>*

|         |                          |
|---------|--------------------------|
| Ešnunna | MAD 1 153, 163, 293, 331 |
|---------|--------------------------|

#### *Ša-ni-i*

|       |                          |
|-------|--------------------------|
| Adab  | OIP 14 117               |
| Lagaš | Scheil RA 22 (1925), 159 |

1. For a discussion of the term IGI.ME "before," see P. Steinkeller OA 23 (1984), 33-37.

Gelb interprets this month as "second," thus indicating an intercalary month, similar to *Taš-ni-tim* at Ur III Mari.

*Ti-ru*

Ešnunna MAD 1 287

Kiš MAD 4 44

For a discussion of this month name, see p. 253.

THE THIRD MILLENNIUM B.C.

## Lagaš and Girsu

The pre-Sargonic tablets from Lagaš (*ca.* 2350 B.C.) afford insight into the cultic celebrations for the cluster of towns comprising the Lagaš-state, which included Lagaš, Girsu, Nina, Sirara and various other neighboring sites. By this period the calendars of the Lagaš-state reflected a syncretism among the gods of the component cities and a shared observance of certain holidays. The major festivals for the Lagaš-state were the Barley and Malt Consumption festivals of Ningirsu in Girsu, the Barley and Malt Consumption festivals of Nanše in Nina, and the festival of Baba in Lagaš.

The texts depict a community of cities wherein the citizens of one city made pilgrimages to observe festivals in sister towns. The wife of the governor was responsible for organizing the offerings and leading the procession of pilgrims from town to town, from shrine to shrine.

For each day of the festival a list of deities or locations receiving offerings was recorded. From year to year the order of these deities remained constant. So too the offerings remained surprisingly constant in quantity and content, consisting of meal, emmer and black beer, oil, dates, a food mixture and bundles of fish, accompanied by sheep and lambs for the more important deities and goats for the lesser gods. Information about these festivals is restricted mainly to the deities and shrines for which the governor's wife brought offerings. Assuredly there were elaborate ceremonies conducted by the temple priests, with prayers, songs and other ritual acts. Yet there are no preserved tablets recording this—information is restricted to royal administrative texts.

Pre-Sargonic tablets from Lagaš, those spanning less than twenty years from the second year of the governorship of Enentarzi through the seventh year of Lugalningina's kingship, contain, at a minimum, thirty distinct month names.<sup>1</sup> Since the usage of these months cannot be grouped on the basis of

1. For another attempt at reconstructing the Lagaš calendar, see Rosengarten *Consummation*, 406-425. Both Landsberger, LSS 6 1/2, 43ff., and Rosengarten *Consummation*, 253ff. consider the tablets listing both the Malt Consumption and Barley Consumption festivals (Fö 190, RTC 35 and Nikolski 269) important in reconstructing the order of the festivals. However, if our suggested reconstruction is valid, these festivals were not necessarily consecutive and the tablets were merely recording contributions for the major upcoming festivals of the year.

NUMERIC POSITIONS OF OLD SUMERIAN MONTHS

|  | Lugalanda |    |    | Uruinimgina ... |          |         |    |      |    |   |   |
|--|-----------|----|----|-----------------|----------|---------|----|------|----|---|---|
|  | 5         | 6  | 7* | ensi            | King ... | 1       | 2  | 3    | 4  | 5 | 6 |
| ezem- <sup>d</sup> Lig-si <sub>4</sub>                               | 8         |    |    |                 | 7        |         |    |      | 8  |   |   |
| ezem- <sup>d</sup> Lugal-uru-bar-ra                                  |           | 2  |    |                 |          |         |    |      |    |   |   |
| ezem-munu <sub>4</sub> gu <sub>7</sub> <sup>d</sup> Nanše            | 9         | 9  |    |                 | 9        |         | 8  | 9    | 9  |   |   |
| ezem- <sup>d</sup> Ba-ba <sub>6</sub>                                |           | 12 |    |                 |          | 11 4/11 | 12 |      |    | 4 |   |
| še-kin-ku <sub>5</sub> -rá   |           |    | 1  |                 |          |         |    |      |    | 1 |   |
| ezem-še-gu <sub>7</sub> <sup>d</sup> Nanše                           |           |    |    |                 | 2        | 1       |    | 1    |    |   | 1 |
| gu <sub>4</sub> -rá-IZI-mú-a   |           |    |    |                 | 5        |         |    | 6    |    |   |   |
| síg-ba   |           |    |    |                 | 8        |         |    |      |    |   |   |
| ezem-munu <sub>4</sub> gu <sub>7</sub> <sup>d</sup> Nin-gír-su       |           |    |    |                 | 10       |         |    |      | 10 |   |   |
| ezem-[še/munu <sub>4</sub> ]-gu <sub>7</sub> <sup>d</sup> Nin-gír-su |           |    |    |                 | 4        |         |    |      |    |   |   |
| buru <sub>x</sub> (=GANA <sub>2</sub> )-maš                          |           |    |    |                 | 12       |         |    | 1    |    |   |   |
| udu-še-še-a-íl-la- <sup>d</sup> Nin-gír-su                           |           |    |    |                 | 4        | 3       |    | 4    |    |   |   |
| guru <sub>7</sub> -im-du <sub>8</sub> -a                             |           |    |    |                 |          |         | 3  |      |    | 3 |   |
| amar-a-a-si-ge   |           |    |    |                 |          |         | 12 |      |    |   |   |
| síg- <sup>d</sup> Ba-ba <sub>6</sub> -e-ta-gar-ra                    |           |    |    |                 |          |         |    | 3/11 |    |   |   |
| ezem-ab-è  |           | 10 |    |                 |          |         |    | 10   |    |   |   |
| guru <sub>7</sub> -dub-ba  |           |    |    |                 |          |         |    |      | 4  |   |   |
| mul-UD-sag-e-ta-šub-ba   |           |    |    |                 |          |         |    |      | 6  |   |   |
| <sup>d</sup> Nin-gír-su-an-ta-sur-ra-l-gin-gin-na                    |           |    |    |                 |          |         |    |      | 7  |   |   |

\* The seventh year of Lugalanda's reign lasted but one month; the year "when Uruinimgina served as ensi" spanned the remaining eleven months of that year.

Figure 1

the tablets' contents, it is highly unlikely that the calendars represented by these thirty month names were the product of simultaneous usage by different social or economic sectors in the same town(s). These thirty months appear to be from at least three separate calendars, each probably used in its native town, such as Lagaš, Girsu, Sirara and Nina, the major cities comprising the Lagaš-centered state.<sup>1</sup> The basis for asserting distinct calendars is threefold: (1) there are too many months for one calendar within such a short period of time; (2) many tablets apply a numeric month notation (in the form #ba-am<sub>6</sub> or #gar-am<sub>6</sub>) in addition to the written month name, this methodology indicating that a month name was insufficient to identify the time period; (3) the numeric month notation on the tablets for certain months is inconsistent and in some instances widely divergent, suggesting that more than simple intercalation is involved (ezem-<sup>d</sup>Ba-ba<sub>6</sub> is 4, 11 and 12; sīg-<sup>d</sup>Ba-ba<sub>6</sub>-e-ta-gar-ra is 3 and 11). See Figure 1 for the months occurring on tablets utilizing a numeric month indicator.

These calendars shared many of the same names, though occurring at different times of the year, which would render it difficult to ascertain the actual period of a transaction without additional information. To resolve this problem, a numeric notation in which the month number was written on the tablet was devised to stabilize a dating system in which any of at least three different month names from three distinct calendars could indicate the same time period.<sup>2</sup> It is likely that the numeric system indicated the position of the month within the calendar year, i.e., the first spring month was considered month 1. This conclusion is based upon the months buru<sub>x</sub>-maš and še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>-rá both being first months in the numeric notation. As noted in subsequent Lagaš calendars, both these months occur in the spring, their names being associated with the barley harvest.

See Figure 2 for a partial reconstruction of the three calendars which contained these over thirty month names—the basis of the reconstruction is admittedly highly speculative. The logic of this reconstruction is as follows:

- During the three years from Uruinimgina governor to Uruinimgina king 2, there are several months which suddenly occurred a numerical position earlier and then once more, beginning in Uruinimgina 3, reverted to the numerical position in years Lugalanda 5 and 6. These months are buru<sub>x</sub>-maš ([1] to 12 to 1), gu<sub>4</sub>-rá-IZI-mú-mú ([6] to 5 to 6), ezem-<sup>d</sup>Lig-si<sub>4</sub> (8 to 7 to 8), ezem-munu<sub>4</sub>-gu<sub>7</sub><sup>d</sup>Nanše (9 to 8 to 9), ezem-<sup>d</sup>Ba-ba<sub>6</sub> (12 to 11 to 12), and udu-

1. For the cities comprising the Lagaš/Girsu city-state, see M. Yoshikawa, "Lagaš and Ki-Lagaš, Unug and Ki-Unug," *Acta Sum* 7 (1985), 157ff. and *Acta Sum* 12 (1990), 356.

2. For the Lagaš/Girsu administrative notation possibly serving as the model from which the Umma *mu-ití* notation derived, see pp. 161-162.

RECONSTRUCTION OF OLD SUMERIAN LAGAŠ CALENDARS

| <i>Calendar 1</i>   | <i>Calendar 2</i>                               | <i>Calendar 3</i>                          |
|---|---|--|
| i. buru <sub>x</sub> -maš                                     | ezem-še-gu <sub>7</sub> <sup>d</sup> Nanše      | še-kin-ku <sub>5</sub> -rá                 |
| ii. ezem <sup>d</sup> Lugal-uru-bar-ra                        | ezem-še-gu <sub>7</sub> <sup>d</sup> Nin-gír-su | ezem-še-gu <sub>7</sub> <sup>d</sup> Nanše |
| iii. sfg <sup>d</sup> Ba-ba <sub>6</sub> -e-ta-gar-ra         | udu-še-še-a-íl-la                               | guru <sub>7</sub> im-du <sub>8</sub> -a    |
| iv. udu-še-še-a-íl-la <sup>d</sup> Nin-gír-su                 | ezem <sup>d</sup> Ba-ba <sub>6</sub>            | guru <sub>7</sub> dub-ba                   |
| v. ezem-[ ]gu <sub>7</sub> <sup>d</sup> Nin-gír-su            |   |  |
| vi. gu <sub>4</sub> -rá-IZI-mú-mú                             |   |  |
| vii.  |   |  |
| viii. ezem <sup>d</sup> Lig-si <sub>4</sub>                   |   |  |
| ix. ezem-munu <sub>4</sub> gu <sub>7</sub> <sup>d</sup> Nanše |   |  |
| x.  |   |  |
| xi.   |   |  |
| xii. ezem <sup>d</sup> Ba-ba <sub>6</sub>                     |   | amar-a-a-si-ge                             |

Figure 2

še-še-a-íl-la<sup>d</sup>Nin-gír-su (4 to 3 to 4). Quite likely these months were from the same calendar, since they demonstrate this same peculiar pattern (while other months from this period do not)—therefore they have all been placed in the calendar arbitrarily labeled Calendar 1. Pairs of these months occur in the same texts, a further indication that they were from the same calendar: gu<sub>4</sub>-rá-IZI-mú-mú and ezem<sup>d</sup>Lig-si<sub>4</sub> both occur in DP 319 and ezem-munu<sub>4</sub>gu<sub>7</sub><sup>d</sup>Nanše and <sup>iti</sup>ezem<sup>d</sup>Ba-ba<sub>6</sub> in BIN 8 357.

This unusual pattern in month number beginning in Lugalanda 7 was probably the result of an intercalary month occurring after the twelfth month of Lugalanda 6. Presumably the numeric notation as well as calendars 2 and 3 inserted an intercalary month, whereas calendar 1 did not intercalate until after the twelfth month of Uruinimgina King 2. Therefore during the three year period from Lugalanda 7 through Uruinimgina king 2, calendar 1 was one month out of synchronization with the other systems.

- > Two other months are documented as a first month, ezem-še-gu<sub>7</sub><sup>d</sup>Nanše (arbitrarily assigned to calendar 2) and še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>-rá (calendar 3).
- > DP 303 contains three presumably consecutive months: ezem-še-gu<sub>7</sub><sup>d</sup>Nanše, ezem-še-gu<sub>7</sub><sup>d</sup>Nin-gír-su and udu-še-še-a-íl-la. The month ezem-še-gu<sub>7</sub><sup>d</sup>Nanše (which is the first month of calendar 2 [see above]) is recorded as a second month in Lugalanda 7. However, calendar 1 months in that year are one month earlier. Thus if the reference in Lugalanda 7 is to a month from calendar 1, then the month ezem-še-gu<sub>7</sub><sup>d</sup>Nanše should normally be the third month. However, if the above reference to the three consecutive months is to the same calendar as the one in Lugalanda 7, then they cannot be from calendar 1, since the three months would have to be positions 3 (=ezem-še-gu<sub>7</sub><sup>d</sup>Nanše), 4 (=ezem-še-gu<sub>7</sub><sup>d</sup>Nin-gír-su), and 5 (=udu-še-še-a-íl-la). Yet ezem-še-gu<sub>7</sub><sup>d</sup>Nin-gír-su cannot be the fourth month of calendar 1, since udu-še-še-a-íl-la<sup>d</sup>Nin-gír-su is the fourth month of calendar 1 (see above). And since ezem-še-gu<sub>7</sub><sup>d</sup>Nanše is the first month of calendar 2, the reference from Lugalanda 7 to ezem-še-gu<sub>7</sub><sup>d</sup>Nanše being the second month must therefore be from calendar 3.

Since the months guru<sub>7</sub>dub-ba and ezem<sup>d</sup>Ba-ba<sub>6</sub> are fourth months in calendars 2 and 3, (in calendar 1 the fourth month is ezem-še-gu<sub>7</sub><sup>d</sup>Nin-gír-su), the only calendar in which there is room for the three consecutive months referenced above is calendar 2.

- > Based upon the positions determined above, several other months can be assigned positions:

(1) The third and fourth months *guru<sup>7</sup>-im-dug-a* and *guru<sup>7</sup>-dub-ba*, which, based on similarity of construction, may be from the same calendar, can only be placed in calendar 3 (since this is the only calendar with positions 3 and 4 both vacant).

(2) *Ezem<sup>d</sup>Ba-ba<sub>6</sub>* then must be month 4 of calendar 2.

(3) *ezem-[x]-gu<sup>7</sup>-<sup>d</sup>Nin-gír-su* must be month 5 of calendar 1. (It is numeric month 4 [or month 5 in calendar 1 which is a month off] but the fourth positions of calendars 2 and 3 are already assigned.)

(4) *sig<sup>d</sup>Ba-ba<sub>6</sub>-e-ta-gar-ra* must be month 3 of calendar 1 (since this is the only calendar with position 3 available).

(5) *ezem<sup>d</sup>Lugal-uru-bar-ra* must be the second month in calendar 1.

- > In the later Lagaš calendars, the month *amar-a-a-si* precedes *še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>-rá* and since in this pre-Sargonic period *amar-a-a-si-ge* is a twelfth month and *še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>-rá* is a first month, they are likely to be in the same calendar in this period as well—thus *amar-a-a-si-ge* is probably the twelfth month of calendar 3.

- > The following months can be only partially placed:

(1) *sig<sup>d</sup>ba* is the eighth month in either calendar 2 or 3;

(2) *ezem-munu<sub>4</sub>-gu<sup>7</sup>-<sup>d</sup>Nanše* is the ninth month in either calendar 2 or 3;

(3) *ezem-še-gu<sup>7</sup>-<sup>d</sup>Nin-gír-su* and *ezem-ab-è* are tenth months in calendars 2 and 3;

(4) *sig<sup>d</sup>Ba-ba<sub>6</sub>-e-ta-gar-ra* is the eleventh month in either calendar 2 or 3.

The one reference which we cannot fit into this proposed reconstruction is the month *udu-še-še-a-íl-la<sup>d</sup>Nin-gír-su*, which is recorded as the fourth month in Uruinimgina governor. We expect this month to be listed as the fifth month in calendar 1. And we cannot place it in either calendar 2 or 3 as the fourth month. Either the scribe of this tablet utilized calendar 1 and made a mistake or tried to realign the months correctly, or this tablet represents a fourth calendrical system.

Several month names from tablets with numeric notation appear to have been used just once, having replaced the standard month name to mark a special event. These months include *<sup>d</sup>Nin-gír-su é-gibil an-ta-sur-ra-ka-na i-gin-gin-a*, *<sup>d</sup>Nin-dar é-gibil-na i-gin-gin-a*, *<sup>d</sup>Ba-ba<sub>6</sub> é-gibil-na gin-gin-a*, *mul-UD*

*sag e-ta-šub-a*, *lú-Unu<sup>ki</sup>-ga-3-kam-ma-gin-na*, and *igi-nam-giri<sub>x</sub>(UM)-ni ba-dab<sub>5</sub>-ba*. There are many other month names without any numeric notation, which undoubtedly fill the lacunae in the proposed reconstruction, while others may represent still more calendars from neighboring towns.

*i<sup>ti</sup>ezem<sup>d</sup>Nin-gír-su-ka buru<sub>x</sub>(=GANA<sub>2</sub>)-maš-ba / i<sup>ti</sup>ninda-buru<sub>x</sub>-maš-ka*

In the pre-Sargonic period the month name occurs in two forms: "(the month of) the festival of Ningirsu, (when) the *burumaš* is distributed" (DP 152) and "(the month of) the breads of the *burumaš*" (DP 229). By the Ur III period the month evolved simply into *i<sup>ti</sup>buru<sub>14</sub>-maš*.

On an Ur III school(?) tablet listing the twelve Girsu months, beginning with the tenth month (NBC 7439 transliterated below), this month is written *i<sup>ti</sup>buru<sub>14</sub>-maš*. A reading *buru<sub>x</sub>* for GANA<sub>2</sub> has already been proposed by Krecher, who noted in a third millennium text the expression *u<sub>4</sub>-GANA<sub>2</sub>-ka*, instead of the expected *u<sub>4</sub>-buru<sub>14</sub>-ka*, as designating the time for repayment of a loan.<sup>1</sup> Krecher notes the lack of pre-Sargonic occurrences of the BURU<sub>14</sub>-sign (which contains an inscribed GAN<sub>2</sub>-sign). The Girsu school tablet proves Krecher's suggestion that the GANA<sub>2</sub>-sign was used in the pre-Sargonic period to designate "harvest."

The term *maš* in relation to bread may connote a type of share or distribution as in the expression *ninda-bi maš-am<sub>6</sub>* "these breads are a share," which is twice attested in pre-Sargonic Lagaš documents.<sup>2</sup> However, whether the term *maš* in these two passages is related to *maš* in the term *buru<sub>x</sub>-maš* is unclear.

The term *buru<sub>x</sub>-maš* is attested in an Old Babylonian copy of a Sumerian hymn to the goddess Aruru of Keš:<sup>3</sup>

*buru<sub>x</sub>-maš-a-mu buru<sub>x</sub>-maš-a-mu máš šu mu-gíd-dè*  
*<sup>d</sup>Bara<sub>2</sub>-ul-e-gar-ra buru<sub>x</sub>-maš-a-mu máš šu mu-gíd-dè*

The expression *máš šu gíd* refers to investigation by divination; thus the above passage may mean "Baraulegarra uses divination to foretell (the amount of) my *burumaš*."<sup>4</sup> (The term *maš* in *buru<sub>x</sub>-maš* and *máš* in *máš šu gíd* may be a deliberate wordplay.) Interestingly, the colophon to this tablet dates to the first month of the Southern-Mesopotamian Sumerian calendar, *bāra-zag-gar*, the harvest period.

1. J. Krecher, "Neue sumerische Rechtsurkunden des 3. Jahrtausends," ZA 63 (1973), 247. A reading /aša/ for GANA<sub>2</sub> has been discussed by M. Powell, "On the Reading and Meaning of GANA<sub>2</sub>," JCS 25 (1973), 178-184.

2. See Selz *Wirtschaftsurkunden*, 535.

3. CT 36 pl. 47-50, treated by S.N. Kramer, "Keš and its Fate: Laments, Blessings, Omens," *Gratz College Anniversary Volume* (1971), 165-175 iii 29-30.

4. The term *buru<sub>x</sub>-maš* occurs also in a field text (DP 591 ii 7-8): *buru<sub>x</sub>-maš sipa<sup>d</sup>Nanše-ka-kam*.

In the pre-Sargonic period the term *buru<sub>x</sub>-maš* referred to a special allotment of foodstuffs (breads and beer) provided during this first month. One text (DP 131) lists beer and various breads distributed to high-ranking temple administrators for the festival of the "Barley Consumption of Nanše," specifically breads which were part of the *buru<sub>x</sub>-maš* distribution for the administrator (*sanga*) of the temple of Innana, as a *mašdaria*-gift to the administrator of the temple of Nanše, for the administrator of the temple of the Ebabbar, for the head of the scribes, for the administrator of the temple of Ninmar, and for the administrator of the temple of Dumuzi. The various breads and beer are summarized as "the breads and beer [are] *mašdaria*-gifts; they are the *burumaš*." Another similar text (Marzahn, VAS NF 9 no. 91) records bread and beer as the *burumaš* for the administrators of (the temples of) Nanše, Ninmar, Nindar, Gatumdug, and Dumuzi, for the Ebabbar and for the administrator of Urub. Another text (DP 130) records the distribution of bread as *burumaš*, summarizing the list of individuals as "men allotted the breads of the *burumaš*" (*lú ninda buru<sub>x</sub>-maš ba*). This list of workers includes shepherds, fishermen, royal votaries, soldiers, messengers, farmers, and watchmen.

<sup>10</sup>*ezem-še-gu<sub>7</sub>-dNanše*<sup>1</sup>

Four tablets describe the main observances of the festival of the Barley Consumption of Nanše.<sup>2</sup> A document dated to Lugalanda 3 (RTC 47) de-

1. Additional references to this month are: MVN 3 2 (2-ba-amg); Fö 55; Fö 145; Nikolski 57 (1-gar-amg); Nikolski 225; Nikolski 260; Genouillac TSA 36 (1-gar-amg); HSS 3 6 (-[š]e<sup>1</sup>-gu<sub>7</sub>; 2-ba-amg); HSS 3 8 ([<sup>10</sup>*ezem-še-gu<sub>7</sub>*]-<sup>d</sup>Nanše; 1-ba-amg); HSS 3 33 (*il-la-ba*; 2-gar<sup>1</sup>-amg); DP 207 (<sup>10</sup>*egir*-); DP 253; DP 303; DP 306; DP 445; VAS NF 9 no. 66 (1-gar-amg). The following references omit the determinative ITI: VAT 4477 (Or 21 63); DP 316; Fö 60; Nikolski 151 (records ovine offerings for Nanše and Ningirsu-ninegara for the festival for the first day and an offering to Nanše on the second day); VAS NF 9 no. 52; RTC 35 (*ezem-še-gu<sub>7</sub> ezem-munu<sub>4</sub>-gu<sub>7</sub>-dNanše-ka*); HSS 3 48; DP 87; DP 186; DP 187; DP 189; Crois *Tello* 181 AO 4197. The shortened month name <sup>10</sup>*ezem-še-gu<sub>7</sub>* occurs in Nikolski 237; the form *ezem-še-gu<sub>7</sub>* occurs in Fö 190 (goats for *ezem-še-gu<sub>7</sub>* and *ezem-munu<sub>4</sub>-gu<sub>7</sub>*); Nikolski 269 (fish and turtles for *ezem-še-gu<sub>7</sub> ezem-munu<sub>4</sub>-gu<sub>7</sub>-dNanše*); VAS NF 9 no. 35 (*ezem-še-gu<sub>7</sub> ezem-munu<sub>4</sub>-gu<sub>7</sub>-dNanše*); probably in DP 131 (*buru<sub>x</sub>-maš ezem-[še]-gu<sub>7</sub>-dNanše*); RTC 33 (this tablet, involving fish and fishermen, includes the entry: *kug bašur-ra it<sup>1</sup>-da šu-ĜA-ab-ba-l-a-kam*, "fish for the offering table for the month for ... the sea fishermen" (see Rosengarten *Consummation*, 254 footnote for a discussion of this expression and cf. 255 note 4); DP 201 (sheep for MesanDU [*egir*]-)). DP 50 lists two days of offerings for an unspecified festival, but the offering list duplicates portions of the Barley Consumption festival of Nanše. TSA 35 mentions the two festivals of Nanše, one right after the other: *kug-il ezem-še-gu<sub>7</sub> ezem-munu<sub>4</sub>-gu<sub>7</sub>-dNanše-ka*.

2. Rosengarten *Consummation*, 252-253 discusses the issue of who actually consumed the malt or barley, concluding that the people consumed the grain in honor of the deity, rather than the deity being served a special offering of grain. This would explain why it was not always necessary to include the name of the god Nanše or Ningirsu as part of the month or festival names *ezem-munu<sub>4</sub>-gu<sub>7</sub>* and *ezem-še-gu<sub>7</sub>*. Fö 48 is an account of beer brought to the palace-complex of Lugalanda for the festival of the Malt Consumption of Nanše. It is worthy of note that this text includes malt beer (and in larger quantities than the regular beer and hulled-emmer beer).

scribes seven days of festivities, moving from Girsu to Lagaš, to Nina (for the main celebration), back to Lagaš and returning to Girsu on the seventh day. Another account of the festivities dating to Lugalanda 6(?) (Nikolski 23) details just six days, beginning in Lagaš, moving to Nina and returning to Lagaš. The other two tablets record the same three days of activity in Uruimgina 4 (DP 45 and HSS 3 41), starting in Lagaš and ending with the main celebration in Nina.

Text DP 131 records the *buru<sub>x</sub>-maš* distribution to high-ranking temple administrators for the festival of the Barley Consumption of Nanše. Since the *buru<sub>x</sub>-maš* was distributed in the first month, the Barley Consumption of Nanše referred to was in the first month as well. The order of events described for the festival is almost identical from tablet to tablet (the main difference being that the tablet from Lugalanda 3 describes the observance beginning a day earlier at Girsu). Since it was an observance entailing a considerable number of days and involving the monies and time of the wife of the governor or king, it is likely that by this period the festival was observed throughout the Lagaš-state only once, in month 1. Thus RTC 47 describes joint festivities in Girsu and Lagaš. The naming of the second month in calendar 3 for this festival may reflect a previous tradition wherein the city of calendar 3 had at one time celebrated the festival in the second month.

The central celebration spanned three days in Nina, the first day involving offerings to Nanše, her family and retinue. During the last two days offerings were restricted to Nanše alone. Probably those living in Nina itself observed the festival as a three day affair. Those pilgrims living north of Nina (i.e., in Girsu and Lagaš) spent an extra day or two before their arrival in Nina making preliminary offerings in their own cities. The pilgrims from Girsu, after a day of offerings in Girsu, joined up with the pilgrims from Lagaš and participated in the preliminary offerings in Lagaš. It took the Lagaš pilgrims six days to complete their activities, those from Girsu an additional day.

These "pilgrims" included the wife of the governor or king (one text records that on the sixth day "The Lady offered up 1 measure of meal and a lamb to Nanše for her return trip to Lagaš"). And if one of the purposes of the *buru<sub>x</sub>-maš* distribution was to provide the pilgrims with sustenance for the trip, then these pilgrims included important personages, such as the administrators of the temples and the chief scribe, as well as individuals of lesser rank, the soldiers, herdsman, watchmen, etc. An account dated to Lugalanda 3 records various animals delivered by the temple administrators, the chief scribe, and other leading personages to the representative of the governor's wife at the festival of the Barley Consumption of Nanše. These personages, many or all of whom were among those making the pilgrimage to Nina, were also responsible for providing many of the animals to be of-

ferred up. Thus the festival expense was not borne solely by the governor's estate.

The pilgrims from Girsu began their celebration by slaughtering a lamb at the Kisurra-dike, a ritual lustration by the pilgrims at the onset of their journey. Then occurred the slaughtering of a sheep at the é-PA, followed by the departure for Lagaš. The next day the Girsu pilgrims joined those setting out from Lagaš in their preliminary activities. The day began with ceremonies by the Ambar-canal, where the pilgrims from Girsu offered up a goat by the "Small Chariot." Those from Lagaš brought to the Ambar-canal ten gírbreads, as well as the standard offering of emmer beer and dark beer, barley, emmer, oil, dates, a food mixture and a goat. This opening ceremony may have been a ritual lustration for the Lagaš pilgrims at the onset of their celebration, paralleling that of the Girsu pilgrims at the Kisurra-dike. The ritual chariot was probably used in the procession for conveying the statues of the gods, these offerings at the chariot guaranteeing a safe journey. Thereafter the pilgrims made offerings in Lagaš to Ningirsu at the Bagara-shrine, to Inanna at the ibgal-shrine, to Nanše of Šapa, and at the funerary shrines (ki-a-nag) of Lagaš. The next day, which one text (RTC 47) calls the "Day of the Transporting of the Barley," was spent at the é-PA, outside of Lagaš proper, (and most certainly not the same é-PA mentioned for the first day in Girsu<sup>1</sup>), where offerings were made to Nanše.

On the third day the pilgrims arrived in Nina where they and the local inhabitants offered to Nanše, her family and retinue, the standardized offerings of emmer beer and dark beer, barley, emmer, oil, dates, a food mixture, fish and perhaps an animal or two. It should be noted that there is nothing in the content of these offerings to distinguish them from those made during the Malt Consumption festivals or the Festival of Baba. Offerings were also made at the funerary shrines of Nina, to various statues and shrines, and at the place of sheep shearing.

In addition to the food offerings, sacred objects were prepared for Nanše for the festival. Two texts (Fö 13 and DP 71) record votive offerings for the festival: chalices(?) (gú-za-um, gú-za), a silver crown, a bronze bowl in the shape of a Dilmun-ship, and a stone bowl for oils for Nanše; a crown and a chalice each for the gods Gan-tùr, Gi-ir-nun, and Nin-tu-zà-ga (as well as a crown and chalice for the áb-KID-kù).

During the next two days in Nina the only deity receiving offerings was Nanše. At the end of the third day in Nina an offering was made by the "Chariot," probably to ensure a propitious return to Lagaš and Girsu.

On the last day the pilgrims returned to Lagaš and from there the remainder departed for Girsu.

1. For the é-PA having been built by Ur-Nanše, see Cooper *Inscriptions*, 27f.

<sup>iti</sup>ezem-še-gu<sup>7</sup>-<sup>d</sup>Nin-gír-su<sup>1</sup>

Fö 119 lists offerings for a two-day festival of the Barley Consumption of Ningirsu in Girsu wherein Ningirsu, his family, and entourage, received offerings on the first day, while Ningirsu alone received offerings on the second day. On the first day Ningirsu's offering was much greater than that of the other gods, his wife Baba receiving the second highest quantity; whereas on the second day Ningirsu's offering was the standard quantity. On the first day offerings were also performed by the abzu-banda<sup>2</sup> and abzu-gú-i7-da, the ib-shrine of the steppe, and the Tiraš and Antasurra shrines.

Text DP 62 may be describing the celebration of the festival of the Barley Consumption of Ningirsu in Lagaš, rather than in Girsu. In this document Baba, not Ningirsu, is the main recipient of offerings. Moreover, the text is an account of ovines being offered, not the standard offerings of beer and foodstuffs. Festivities commenced with a night offering of a lamb to Baba. The next day sheep and goats were offered to Baba, Igalim, MesanDU, Ninšubur, Lugalemuš, and by the abzu-gú-i7-da and the canal of the steppe. Ningirsu's name is not recorded on this day of the main offerings. On the third day Ningirsu and Baba received sheep and on the fourth day a goat was offered at the place of the Lama-genie of Baba in the Etarsirsir, the same closing offering as for the Lagaš pilgrims for the festival of Malt Consumption of Ningirsu (Fö 5). DP 63 lists the standard offerings of beer and foodstuffs for days [2], 3 and 4. But the only deity named is Baba. These two texts may refer to the Lagaš celebration of the festival, wherein Baba had almost totally displaced Ningirsu.

Some of the offerings for the festival were, as with other festivals, provided by the leaders of the cities, e.g. the administrators of the temples of Nanše, Lugál-urub, and Dumuzi (Nikolski 189).

1. Additional references to the month name are: Fö 126; Fö 146; Nikolski 171; Nikolski 197; RTC 67; DP 148; DP 303; cf. CT 50 pl. 15: <sup>iti</sup>ezem-[x]-gu<sup>7</sup>-<sup>d</sup>Nin-[gír]-su. References without the determinative ITI: VAT 4824 (Or 21 62: egir-); VAT 4464 (Or 21 63); Fö 46 (1 ewe each offered to Šulšagana, Nanše-šešegarra, Hendursag, Šul-utul); Nikolski 150 (offerings to Ningirsu and Baba); Nikolski 152 (ovines on the first day for Ningirsu, Baba, Šulšagana and Igalim, on the second day for Ningirsu, and Nanše-šešegarra); Nikolski 271 (egir-); VAS NF no. 42.

2. For the Abzubanda having been built by Ur-Nanše, see Cooper *Inscriptions*, 22f.



*itūdu-še-še-a-il-la-dNin-gír-su-ka*<sup>1</sup>

There is no festival associated with the activity after which the month is named, "(the month of) carrying grain and water to the sheep for Ningirsu," (following Selz's interpretation: "Monat, in dem man zu den Schafen Gerste [und] Wasser trägt für Ningirsu.")<sup>2</sup> Krecher suggests interpreting the month name as *itūdu-dabin-a-il-la*, "das Darbringen(?) in(?) dabin-Mehl."<sup>3</sup>

This summer month may have been the period when sheep were intensively fattened with grain (*udu-niga*) as a prelude to slaughter. The implication of the god Ningirsu (and of Nanše in the unplaced month *itūdu-še-še-a-il-la-dNanše-ka*) in the month name may indicate that the entire process was under the auspices of the god Ningirsu (or Nanše) and his temple staff.<sup>4</sup>

*itezem-munu<sub>4</sub>-gu<sub>7</sub>-dNin-gír-su*<sup>5</sup>

The main festival of the Malt Consumption of Ningirsu was a two day celebration in Girsu. The first day involved offerings to the same deities and at the same shrines as during the festival of the Barley Consumption of Ningirsu, i.e., to Ningirsu, his family, and entourage, at the abzu, at the ib-shrine of the steppe, and at the Tiraš and Antasurra shrines (Nikolski 26; Genouillac TSA 51; Nikolski 163). On the second day only Ningirsu received offerings. Other texts (Nikolski 24, Fö 5, Fö 116, Fö 91, DP 98, DP 198) record the majority of offerings as having occurred also on the first day, but note the performance of offerings at the Tiraš and for a few other deities on the second day.

Text Fö 5 recounts the celebration by pilgrims from Lagaš, beginning with an extra day at the beginning for an offering to Baba at the sacred Uruku district in Girsu. During the next two days the pilgrims made the standard

1. Additional references to the month written *itūdu-še-še-a-il-la-dNin-gír-su-ka* are: Fö 84; Fö 85; Fö 143; Nikolski 59 (-*til-la-ba*, 5-gar-amg); Nikolski 176; Nikolski 196; Nikolski 208; Nikolski 244; Nikolski 274; BIN 8 349; BIN 8 365; RTC 65; Genouillac TSA 6 (egir-); DP 194; DP 211; DP 256; DP 262; DP 264; DP 511; DP 548; MLC 2613 (-ka-ka, 4-ba-amg); VAS NF 9 no. 80 (-ka-ka). Written *itūdu-še-še-a-il-la-dNin-gír-su-ka*: BIN 8 367; RTC 31; DP 284. Orthographies without the god Ningirsu or Nanše: Fö 104 (*itūdu-še-a-il-la*); Nikolski 211 (*itūdu-še-a-il-la*); Genouillac TSA 18 (*itūdu-še-a-x-la*); Genouillac TSA 34 (4-gar-amg); DP 215; DP 297; DP 303; DP 305 (*itūdu-še-še-a*); DP 479 (-*d*[...]); DP 510; DP 537; DP 547 (*itūdu-še-še-il-a*).

2. Selz *Wirtschaftsurkunden*, 426.

3. Krecher *Kultlyrik*, 40.

4. S. Yamamoto has noted that the month *itūdu-še-še-a-il-la* was among four months which occurred during the beginning of the agricultural year (months 4 to 8) ("The 'Agricultural Year' in Pre-Sargonic Girsu - Lagaš," *Acta Sum* 1 [1979], 85 ff).

5. Additional references to the month are: Fö 24; Nikolski 60 (9-gar-amg); Nikolski 183; Nikolski 218; cf. CT 50 pl. 15: (*itū*)ezem-[x]-gu<sub>7</sub>-dNin-[gír]-su; BIN 8 374; Genouillac TSA 19 (10-ba-amg); Genouillac TSA 32; Genouillac TSA 42; Genouillac TSA 48; HSS 3 21; DP 117 (10-ba-amg); BIN 8 361; BIN 8 380; RTC 34; DP 209; DP 227 (10-ba-amg); DP 242; DP 280; DP 281; DP 293; DP 309; DP 412; DP 417; DP 457; DP 556.

offerings in Girsu, with the exception of an unusually large offering for their patron deity, Baba. On their arrival back in Lagaš on the fourth day, an offering was made to the Lama-genie of the Etarsirsir, as done by those in Lagaš at the conclusion of the festival of the Barley Consumption of Ningirsu. Another tablet (DP 66) describes three days of activities in Girsu. The first day consisted of the majority of offerings, the tablet traces for the second day may indicate an offering to Baba, and the third day paralleled the second day in Nikolski 24, Fö 5, and DP 98, with the addition of offerings to the statue of Lugaland and to a ritual harp.

*itūgu<sub>4</sub>-rá-IZI-mú-a-dNanše*<sup>1</sup>

In the pre-Sargonic period the following orthographies are attested: *itūgu<sub>4</sub>-rá-IZI-mú-a-dNanše*, *itūgu<sub>4</sub>-rá/ra-IZI-mú-a*, and *itūgu<sub>4</sub>-rá-IZI-mú-mú*. One text (DP 532) contains the orthography *itūgu<sub>4</sub>-rá-IZI-mú-a-dNin-gír-su*, which, judging from its single occurrence, may be a variant for *itūgu<sub>4</sub>-rá-IZI-mú-a-dNanše* rather than indicating a separate month. Significant later (ca. 2100 B.C.) variants for the reading of this month name are: *itūgu<sub>4</sub>-ra-IZI-mu-mu* (RA 8 [1911] 87 [AO 3636]) and *itūHAR/UR<sub>5</sub>-rá-IZI-mú-mú* (or perhaps *itūgurg<sup>1</sup>-rá-IZI-mú-mú*) (*Atiqot* IV no. 11).

Bauer<sup>2</sup> transliterates *itūhár-rá-bí-mú-a*, reading *hár-rá* following the suggestions of Landsberger, Sollberger and Rosengarten, the latter translating the name as "mois où l'on inscrit les boeufs."<sup>3</sup> However, against reading GUD as *hár* in this context is the occurrence of the Neo-Sumerian variants *itūgu<sub>4</sub>-ta-IZI-mú-mú* (Pinches *Amherst* 70) and *itūgu<sub>4</sub>-ta-IZI-mú* (RA 5 [1902], 91 AO 3463), these orthographies indicating a morpheme /*gud*<sup>r</sup>/ rather than /*hár*/ in the month name.

Landsberger states that the NE-sign is probably not a verbal prefix and restores 5R 43 i 5, a first millennium B.C. tablet containing months from various calendars, as [*itūhár-rá-i*]-*si-mú-mú*, which, if correct, indicates that first millennium scribes read *-izi-mú-mú*.<sup>4</sup>

1. References to this month written *itūgu<sub>4</sub>-rá-IZI-mú-a*: VAT 4813 (Or 21 62); Fö 4; Fö 28; Fö 41; Fö 54; Fö 71; Fö 123; Fö 138; Fö 166; Fö 174; Nikolski 75; Nikolski 185; Nikolski 258; HSS 3 15 (5-ba-amg); DP 143; DP 193 (*itūgu<sub>4</sub>-rá-IZI-mú-a*); DP 240; DP 261 (*itūgu<sub>4</sub>-rá-IZI-mú*); DP 267; DP 268; DP 304; DP 319; DP 328; DP 523; DP 535; VAS NF 9 no. 96. Written *itūgu<sub>4</sub>-ra-IZI-mú-a*: Nikolski 266; BIN 8 345 (6-ba-amg). Written *itūgu<sub>4</sub>-rá-IZI-mú-mú*: Uruinimgina CT 50 no. 36 (6-ba-amg). Written *itūgu<sub>4</sub>-rá-IZI-mú-a-dNanše*: Fö 25; Fö 154; RTC 32; DP 156; DP 269; DP 527. Written *itūgu<sub>4</sub>-rá-IZI-mú-dNin-gír-su*: DP 532.

2. Bauer *Lagasch*, 138.

3. Landsberger, LSS 6 1/2, 46 n. 1; E. Sollberger, BiOr 16 (1959), 119; Y. Rosengarten, RO 48 n. 4.

4. Landsberger, *op. cit.*

Krecher<sup>1</sup> translates the name as "bei den Stieren Feuer entfachen," citing references to the term gu<sub>4</sub>-DU, "oxen," in pre-Sargonic Lagaš texts and in a later inscription of Gudea of Lagaš.<sup>2</sup> Krecher suggests in regard to this month name "andere Feste waren besondere Zurüstungen im Zusammenhang mit dem Opfertier(?) charakterisch: das Anzünden von Fackeln."<sup>3</sup> In the pre-Sargonic period gu<sub>4</sub>-DU referred to barley-fed oxen, occurring in the expression še gu<sub>4</sub>-DU gu<sub>7</sub>, "to feed barley to the oxen." Bauer transliterates gu<sub>4</sub>-DU as gud-de<sub>6</sub>.<sup>4</sup> The simple writing gu<sub>4</sub>, thus še gu<sub>4</sub> gu<sub>7</sub>, is even more common in these texts. However, the form še \*gud-e gu<sub>7</sub> is unattested, raising a doubt as to the validity of a transliteration gud-de<sub>6</sub>. There is a strong likelihood that RÁ in gu<sub>4</sub>-rá in our month name is not simply a post-positional element because: (1) a variant gu<sub>4</sub> instead of gu<sub>4</sub>-rá is unattested in the orthography of our month name; (2) evidence of a morpheme /gud<sup>r</sup>/ rather than /gud/ does not occur for the simple term gud, "ox"; (3) the syntactical significance of a post-positional element -(r)a in gu<sub>4</sub>-rá/ra is unclear.

Rather, the term gu<sub>4</sub>-rá in this month name probably connotes some form of brazier. The possible relationship between the three pre-Sargonic month names <sup>iti</sup>ne-gir<sub>x</sub>(UM) at Ur, <sup>iti</sup>ne-IZI-gar at Nippur, and <sup>iti</sup>gu<sub>4</sub>-rá-IZI-mú-mú at Lagaš has been noted by Selz, NABU 1989, 25-26. The Ur month name probably means "(the month of) the braziers"; the Nippur month <sup>iti</sup>ne-IZI-gar: "(the month) the lamps/braziers are lit"; and the Lagaš month <sup>iti</sup>gu<sub>4</sub>-rá-IZI-mú-mú: "(the month) the braziers(?) are lit."<sup>5</sup>

The Nippur month ne-IZI-gar was the fifth month, thus not a festival akin to the *kinūnu* festival which occurred in the winter. More likely the name of the month referred to the fires which were kindled during the paternalia to aid the netherworld spirits when leaving the dark netherworld for their ancestral homes. In the pre-Sargonic period the term ezem, "festival," is unattested with the month name gu<sub>4</sub>-rá-IZI-mú-mú. However, one Neo-Sumerian text does contain the element ezem in the month name: <sup>iti</sup>ezem-gu<sub>4</sub>-rá-IZI-mú-mú (MVN 6 105). The Ur III Girsu month gu<sub>4</sub>-rá-IZI-mú-mú was the second month of the year, thus it too was probably not related to the *kinūnu* festival. However, neither do we have any references to a festival for the dead at Girsu in the second month.<sup>6</sup>

1. WO 4 (1967/68), 267f.

2. Fragment 2 iii 3. For izi-mú<sup>mu</sup>-mú<sup>mu</sup> "torch," see CAD D 156 sub *dīpāru*; for mú-mú "to kindle a fire," see AHW 732 sub *napāhu*.

3. Krecher *Kultlyrik*, 40 n. 112.

4. DP 542; see Bauer *Lagaš*, 606 for references.

5. For further discussion of the relationship of these terms, see pp. 126-129.

6. S. Yamamoto, *op. cit.*, has noted that the month <sup>iti</sup>gu<sub>4</sub>-rá-IZI-mú-a was among four months which occurred during the beginning of the agricultural year (months 4 to 8).

<sup>iti</sup>ezem-<sup>d</sup>Lig-si<sub>4</sub>(-na)<sup>1</sup>

None of the extant pre-Sargonic tablets dated to this month provide any information regarding the observance of the festival for the goddess Lisi. One text (Nikolski 29) lists offerings for the festival of the new moon at Urub for the month <sup>iti</sup>ezem-<sup>d</sup>Lig-si<sub>4</sub> (Lisi is not among the gods listed as having received offerings).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>iti</sup>ezem-munu<sub>4</sub>-gu<sub>7</sub>-<sup>d</sup>Nanše<sup>3</sup>

The celebration of the Malt Consumption of Nanše was similar to that of the Barley Consumption of Nanše, a three-day festival in Nina, with preliminary offerings in Girsu and Lagaš for the pilgrims. DP 53 details the journey of individuals whose pilgrimage began in Girsu in the year Lugaland 3. On the first day offerings were made to Ningirsu at the Bagara-shrine. Then, on the same day, the pilgrims, led by governor Lugaland's wife, left for Lagaš, where they joined the Lagaš pilgrims the next morning at the Ambar-canal, where a ritual cleansing was performed and offerings were made by the chariot which transported the statues of the gods. At day's close they conducted offerings by the é-PA, after which the pilgrims left Lagaš for Nina.

As was the custom on festivals, the first day involved offerings to all the deities, in this case, Nanše, her family, and entourage, as well as to sacred objects, statues, and shrines. The second day in Nina involved regular and votive offerings to Nanše. (These two days are partially described also in Fö 34.) On the third day offerings were made to Ningirsu, the pilgrims met once more by the chariot, and the procession left Nina for Lagaš. The tablet is somewhat broken for the remaining days, but apparently two days were spent

1. References to this month are: Fö 7; Fö 42; Fö 68; Fö 76; Fö 87; Nikolski 29; Nikolski 187; RTC 53; RTC 68; HSS 3 34 (8-gar-amg); HSS 3 52; DP 228 (7-ba-amg); DP 289; DP 299; DP 319; VAS NF 9 nos. 53 and 82.

2. S. Yamamoto, *op. cit.*, has noted that the month <sup>iti</sup>ezem-<sup>d</sup>Lig-si<sub>4</sub>(-na) was among four months which occurred during the beginning of the agricultural year (months 4 to 8).

3. Additional references to this month are: Fö 58; Fö 61; Fö 101; Fö 110; Nikolski 6 (9-ba-amg); Nikolski 230; Nikolski 272; Nikolski 288; RTC 39; RTC 43; HSS 3 6 (2-ba-amg); HSS 3 11 ([ ]-ba-amg); HSS 3 31 (9-ba-amg); DP 106; DP 108; DP 109; DP 113 ([iú]-, 8-ba-amg); DP 154; DP 157 (9-ba-amg); DP 168; DP 210; DP 259; DP 462; Pinches *Amherst* 1; MLC 2611 (9-ba-amg); VAS NF 9 nos. 12 (9-ba-amg), 30. Written without the ITI-determinative: VAS NF 9 nos. 29, 35 (ezem-še-gu<sub>7</sub> ezem-munu<sub>4</sub>-gu<sub>7</sub>-<sup>d</sup>Nanše), 47, 71 (9-ba-amg); VAT 4862 (AnOr 2 57); VAT 4472 (Or 21 62); DP 104 (egir-); DP 183; DP 185; DP 285; Fö 105; Nikolski 269 (fish and turtles for the ezem-munu<sub>4</sub>-gu<sub>7</sub> and ezem-še-gu<sub>7</sub> of Nanše); Nikolski 173; Nikolski 181; Nikolski 254; BIN 8 357 (fish oil delivered in the month <sup>iti</sup>ezem-<sup>d</sup>Ba-ba<sub>g</sub> for the festival of the Malt Consumption of Nanše); BIN 8 390 (offerings for Inanna-ib-gal; Nanše, Gi<sub>7</sub>-ir-nun, Gan-tùr); RTC 30 (fish delivered for the festival in the month <sup>iti</sup>ezem-ab-è); DP 164 (-Nina<sup>ki</sup>-na); DP 188; DP 279; DP 282 (eger-); DP 301. Written without the ITI-determinative or a god name: Fö 190; RTC 33. Cf. DP 90; Nikolski 140; Nikolski 172: <sup>iti</sup>ezem-munu<sub>4</sub>-gu<sub>7</sub>-<sup>d</sup>Lugal-urub<sub>x</sub>-ka-ka (which may be a variant for <sup>iti</sup>ezem-munu<sub>4</sub>-gu<sub>7</sub>-<sup>d</sup>Nin-gir-su or a local form of the festival).

in Lagaš before the last of the pilgrims returned to Girsu, seven days after they had first sojourned from there.

DP 43 (probably in the third year of Lugalningina's kingship) and DP 197 (which details just the first two days in Lagaš) describe the festival beginning in Lagaš. Two days were spent in Lagaš, followed by only two days, not the standard three, in Nina. By the fifth day the pilgrims had returned to Lagaš.

Genouillac TSA 1 records five days of celebration. The first day included the standard offerings performed in Nina and then, on the same day, offerings which on other occasions are known to have been performed in Lagaš. In fact the tablet juxtaposes offerings for the funerary shrines of Nina and Lagaš. The second and third day are typical of the second and third day in Nina—offerings to Nanše only. On the fourth day the pilgrims had returned to Lagaš, with offerings to Nanše, Baba and Ningirsu in the Bagara-shrine. On the fifth day offerings in Lagaš were made for (the statue of) Nanše (of Lagaš) who had been brought from Lagaš to Nina (for the celebration) and by the Ambar-sag river by the chariot which had been brought originally from Girsu.

Fö 48 records delivery of beer to the palace-complex of Lugalanda for the festival of the Malt Consumption of Nanše. It is worthy of note that this text includes malt beer (and in larger quantities than the regular beer and hulled-emmer beer). Thus, despite the standard offerings for the gods not mentioning malt beer, there may have been a special use of malt beer as one might expect for this festival.

DP 70 and DP 72 record votive offerings of stone bowls, chalices and crowns for the gods Nanše, Gantur, Girnun, Nintuzaga and Hendursag for the festival.

*it<sup>u</sup>síg-dBa-ba<sub>6</sub>e-ta-gar-ra-a<sup>1</sup>*

The month "the wool of Baba is removed" is somewhat similar in sound to another month: *it<sup>u</sup>síg-ba*.<sup>2</sup> This latter month name may be hypocoristic for the former, with a derived secondary meaning "wool rations."

The month name may refer to a general allotment of wool rations which occurred during this month, as is noted in a tablet which dates to this month (Nikolski 149): *síg e-ba-a*, "when the wool has been allotted." Curiously, one text (Genouillac TSA 39) contains the variant *it<sup>u</sup>ki-síg-ba*. *ki-síg* is a female

1. References are: HSS 3 9 (3-ba-amg); Fö 98; Nikolski 63 (11-ba-amg); DP 427.

2. References are: Fö 149 (egir-MN-ta); Fö 165 (-a); Fö 148 (egir-MN-ta); Nikolski 9 (8-ba-amg); Nikolski 90 (-a); Nikolski 149; Nikolski 229 (-a); Nikolski 224 (-ka); Nikolski 311 (-ba-a); BIN 8 391 (7-ba-amg); RTC 37 (-a); Genouillac TSA 27; Genouillac TSA 39 (egir-*it<sup>u</sup>ki-síg-ba-ta*); HSS 3 20 (8-ba-amg); DP 155 (7-ba-amg); DP 260 (-a); DP 302 (egir-MN-ta); DP 314 (-a); DP 530 (-a); DP 531 (-a); DP 534 (egir-MN-ta); DP 546 (-a); VAS NF 9 no. 28.

wool-worker. There is a later Ur III Ur month *ki-síg-dNin-a-zu*, which may mean "wool-workers of Ninazu."

The goddess Baba may have been associated with the netherworld, as was Ninazu at Ur.<sup>1</sup> It may be more than coincidence that at Ur the months *ki-síg-dNin-a-zu* and *ezem-dNin-a-zu* occur, while at Lagaš the months *síg-dBa-ba<sub>6</sub>e-ta-gar-ra* (with hypocoristic *síg-ba* and in one instance *ki-síg-ba* as at Ur!) and *ezem-dBa-ba<sub>6</sub>* are attested.<sup>2</sup> The term *ki-síg* means "wool-workers" (of Ninazu), not "funerary offerings." The weaver wove a type of crown which signified kingship, as mentioned in the Dispute of Cattle and Grain (line 17): "The godly Weaver had not been born, so no royal cap was worn" and (line 96): "All yarns of the divine Weaver, the splendors of royalty, I possess."<sup>3</sup> Perhaps the wool-workers were needed to produce special clothing or the crown for the statues of Ninazu and Baba, cult objects for this ritual period.

*it<sup>u</sup>ezem-dBa-ba<sub>6</sub>*<sup>4</sup>

The first day of the festival of Baba was named the Courtyard Festival (*ezem-kisal-la*) and was marked by offerings to deities whose statues presumably were assembled in the courtyard.<sup>5</sup> Offerings were presented to Ningirsu, Baba, Šulšagana, Igalim, Gangir, Ninsar, Ninšubur, Ninasu and the genie of the Etarsirsir, at the ib-shrine by the canal of the steppe (*ib-i<sub>7</sub>-eden-na*), and, according to DP 54, to the statues of the royal wives, Baranamtara and Šaša.<sup>6</sup> On the second day offerings were made to Ningirsu and Baba, although only half the quantity they had been given on the first day. Offerings were also made at the house of the ruler or high-priest (*é-en-na*). On the third day, according to Fö 74, after offer-

1. See pp. 465ff.

2. See pp. 148ff.

3. Alster and Vanstiphout, *Acta Sum* 9 (1987), 15.

4. Additional references are: Fö 121; Fö 127; Charpin Durand *Strasbourg* 7; Nikolski 64; Nikolski 209; Nikolski 219; Nikolski 239; Nikolski 253; Nikolski 261; Nikolski 262; BIN 8 366; RTC 27; RTC 39; Genouillac TSA 10 (12-ba-amg); Genouillac TSA 20 (4-ba-amg); HSS 3 10; HSS 3 25; HSS 3 27; DP 51; DP 81; DP 96; DP 112; DP 126; DP 125; DP 124; DP 127; DP 128; DP 129; DP 139; DP 218; DP 221; DP 225; DP 236; DP 244; DP 245; DP 252; DP 263; DP 277; DP 318; DP 429; DP 443; DP 474; DP 539; DP 570; DP 571; DP 569; Jacobsen *Copenhagen* 4; MLC 2612 (4-ba-amg); VAS NF 9 no. 73. Written without the month determinative: VAT 4870 (Or 21 63); Fö 35; Fö 163; Fö 164; Fö 191; Pinches *Amherst* 2; Charpin Durand *Strasbourg* 8; Nikolski 146; Nikolski 178; BIN 8 356; BIN 8 357; BIN 8 347; RTC 52; RTC 60; RTC 61; Genouillac TSA 4; DP 73; DP 74; DP 77; DP 82; DP 161; DP 205 (*maš-dar-ri* for days 1 and 2 of the festival by the administrators of the temples of Nanše, Ninmar and Dumuzi, and the administrator of the Bagara); VAS NF 9 nos. 8, 18, 58.

5. RTC 46, Fö 74, DP 25, DP 54, DP 67, DP 196.

6. RTC 46 records offerings for the Courtyard Festival to Ningirsu, Baba, the ib-shrine by the canal of the steppe, and the ib-shrine of Bad-tibira. DP 67 and DP 196 record offerings for Ningirsu, Baba and the ib-shrines of the canal steppe and of Bad-tibira, but do not enumerate any specific days.

For an overview of the pre-Sargonic Lagaš tablets in relation to rites for the dead and the netherworld, see J. Bauer, "Zum Totenkult im altsumerischen Lagaš," *ZDMG Supplement* 1 (Wiesbaden, 1969), 107-114.

ings to Ningirsu and Baba, the participants journeyed to and made offerings at the ib-shrine of Badtibira; whereas DP 54 records that the third day concluded at the temple of Uruk and offerings at the ib-shrine of Badtibira did not occur until the fourth day. The fourth day (apparently in the Badtibira area) involved offerings to Gilgameš, Ninḫursag-Šeda, and Me-Kulabata<sup>1</sup> along the "Banks of Gilgamesh." Bauer suggests that the "Banks of Gilgamesh" was a site associated with the cult of the dead.<sup>2</sup>

There were three preliminary days of offerings to royal ancestors.<sup>3</sup> According to RTC 46 ovine offerings were made on the first day at the ki-gū-ka for the deceased governor, Enentarzi, on the second day at the ki-a-nag for Enentarzi and at the é-ki-SIL-la for Dudu, the chief administrator of the temple of Ningirsu, and on the third day at the gú-šu-RIN-na for Enentarzi.<sup>4</sup> Similar patterns for these three days are detailed in DP 222 and RTC 58. Offerings during the festival of Baba for Enentarzi and Dudu are recorded in Nikolski 195. DP 59 is a record of maš-da-ri-a offerings for the funerary shrines for the festival of Baba.

These offerings to royal ancestors as well as the offerings by the Banks of Gilgamesh indicate that the cult of the dead was the major theme of the festival of Baba. Kobayashi observes: "In the case of the festival of Baba, offerings such as food and drink are explained as i-kú-dè '(These are) to be eaten (for the ancestors),' so that the aim of the festival seems to have been to give food and drink to the ancestors."<sup>5</sup> However, this was probably just one aspect of the festival. Festivals with netherworld themes (such as Lugalurub and Lugalurubara) were opportune occasions for providing offerings to one's ancestors in the netherworld.

iūše-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>(-rá)<sup>6</sup>

For the reading of this month name see our discussion of the twelfth month of the Nippur calendar.

1. For a discussion of the term Me-Kulabata, see Bauer *Lagash*, 439.

2. Bauer *Lagash*, 439.

3. These three days of ancestor offerings may have been preliminary to the actual festival of Baba. RTC 46 lists three days of ancestor offerings and then summarizes known parts of the festival of Baba, including the Courtyard Festival (which was the first day), at the end of the tablet, seemingly indicating that the first day of the ancestor offerings was not the same day as the Courtyard Festival. Moreover, ancestor offerings clearly occurred before the offerings to deities in the Lugalurub and Lugalurubara festivals (see below).

4. T. Kobayashi, "The ki-a-nag of Enentarzi," *Orient* 21 (1985), 14 interprets the term gú-šu-RIN as "the bank of the emblem (of the deity)."

5. Kobayashi, *op. cit.*, 11.

6. References written iūše-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>-rá: RTC 55 (1-gar-am<sub>6</sub>); HSS 3 30 (1-ba-am<sub>6</sub>); HSS 3 46; DP 44; DP 381; DP 425; Jacobsen *Copenhagen* 3 (egir-; 2-gar-am<sub>6</sub>). Written iūše-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>: BIN 8 373.

During this month there were no festivals recorded with the exception of a celebration of the new moon (é-u<sub>4</sub>-sakar [also attested for the second month in DP 200]) in Uruk, the sacred district of Girsu. DP 44 records the offering of flour, a sheep and fish (though no deities are mentioned) during the night of the first day (when the new moon appeared). During the next day, the first full day of the new month, offerings were made to Ningirsu, Baba, Šulšagana, Igalim, Ninsar, Engar(?) and Kindazi. The following day Baba alone received offerings.

iūezem-<sup>d</sup>Lugal-uru-bar-ra and iūezem-<sup>d</sup>Lugal-urub<sub>x</sub>ki<sup>1</sup>

Lugalurubara was Inanna's spouse in Lagaš, thus a deity somewhat similar to Dumuzi. And noting that both Lugalurubara and Lugalurub were identified with Dumuzi, Selz concludes that Lugalurub was for Lagaš what Ningirsu and Lugalurubara were for Girsu. Selz observes: "A later god list attributes the epithets of <sup>d</sup>lugal-uru-bar-ra and of <sup>d</sup>lugal-uru-ša-ga (Lord of the Inner City) to Ninurta, who at that time can scarcely be distinguished from Ningirsu. The interlockings are so many that it seems only logical to propose to identify <sup>d</sup>lugal-uru-bar-ra with <sup>d</sup>nin-gir-su."<sup>2</sup>

One indication that the festival of Lugalurub involved ritual activities for the dead is a basket tag (DP 25) which lists among the basket's contents a tablet for Lugalurub for the ab-è festival. Offerings for the funerary shrines of the royal ancestors are recorded on texts for the festival of Lugalurub.<sup>3</sup> And one text (VAT 4875) lists ancestor offerings for both of these festivals. This tablet records ancestor offerings for the first day for the festival of Lugalurub and offerings to the gods Lugalurub and Adana on the second. During the festival of Lugalurubara, there were offerings to the ancestors on the first day, offerings to Lugalurubara on the second, to the ki-a-nag (funerary shrine) on the third, and to Gilgamesh on the fourth. On each day of both festivals there were offerings to a group of five (ancestors).<sup>4</sup>

1. References written iūezem-<sup>d</sup>Lugal-urub<sub>x</sub>ki: DP 85; DP 200 (offerings of sheep to MesanDU and Ninšubur for the new moon celebration); DP 219. Written iūezem-<sup>d</sup>Lugal-urub<sub>x</sub>: DP 105; Fö 158; Nikolski 202. Written iūezem-<sup>d</sup>Lugal-urub<sub>x</sub>ki: DP 208. Written ezem-<sup>d</sup>Lugal-urub<sub>x</sub>ki: DP 58; DP 212 (ki-a-nag-a). Written ezem-<sup>d</sup>Lugal-urub<sub>x</sub>ki: Nikolski 25; Fö 171 (offerings for the funerary shrine of Enentarzi); RTC 59. Written iūezem-<sup>d</sup>Lugal-uru-bar(-ra\*): RTC 54 (iūezem-<sup>d</sup>Lugal-uru-bar-[-...], 2-ba-am<sub>6</sub>); DP 332\*. Written ezem-<sup>d</sup>Lugal-uru-bar: Fö 161. Written iū<sup>d</sup>Lugal-uru-bar-ra: DP 410. Written iū<sup>d</sup>Lugal-uru-bar-ra-ke<sub>4</sub>tu<sub>1</sub>-a-a: Nikolski 289 ("the month when Lugalurubara bathes"). Cf. DP 90; Nikolski 140; Nikolski 172: iūezem-munu<sub>4</sub>-gu<sub>7</sub>-<sup>d</sup>Lugal-urub<sub>x</sub>ki-ka-ka (which may be a variant for iūezem-munu<sub>4</sub>-gu<sub>7</sub>-<sup>d</sup>Nin-gir-su). Note also MAH 15998 (A. Alberti, OA 18 [1979], 220): ni-gi-š-tag-ga ezem-<sup>d</sup>Lugal-urub<sub>x</sub>ka.

2. "The Development of the Pantheon in Lagaš," *Acta Sum* 12 (1990), 121-122.

3. See T. Kobayashi, "The ki-a-nag of Enentarzi," *Orient* 21 (1985), 12 for the names of these ancestors.

4. Kobayashi, *op. cit.*, 13: "... the relatives of Uruinimgina (such as Urutu, Gišri, Lugaludde, Hebaba and Hegirid) appeared as "5-ne-ne-kam" ("they are five")."

Since Lugalurubara and Lugalurub were identified with Dumuzi, the festivals may have involved the journeys of these god to or from the netherworld, concomitant with ceremonies for important personages in the netherworld. Selz understands the ritual bathing associated with Lugalurub (ezem-<sup>d</sup>Lugal-Urub<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>-ke<sub>4</sub> a-é-ša-ga a-tu<sub>5</sub>-a [Nikolski 289]) as purification of the god after his return from the land of the dead.

<sup>iti</sup>guru<sub>7</sub>-im-dug-a<sup>1</sup>

The month means "(the month) when the silo was plastered." This is preparation for the following month, which, as its name indicates, was when grain was actually stored in the silo.

The term im-dug-a refers to the plastering of mud structures.<sup>2</sup> For the use of this term in Lagaš texts note the pre-Sargonic references DP 650 and 651: gi im-dug-a kiri<sub>6</sub>-gibil-kam "reeds for the mud plastering of the new garden"; the post-Sargonic reference Gudea CA 22 6: é im-dug-a-bi he-nun abzu šu-ta-ga-àm "The mud plastering of the temple is accomplished with the abundance (of clay) from the *apsû*"; and the Ur III reference Reisner *Telloh* 168: eren<sub>2</sub>-im-dug-gub-ba-ni "his workforce assigned to mud plastering."

The term IM.DU<sub>8</sub> also connotes an atmospheric phenomenon.<sup>3</sup> However this latter meaning is probably unrelated to the month name.

<sup>iti</sup>guru<sub>7</sub>-dub-ba-a<sup>4</sup>

The month name means "the month when the silo is heaped full with grain." For this expression in pre-Sargonic texts from Lagaš note Nikolski 246: guru<sub>7</sub> i-dub-ba-a "when the silo is heaped full with grain."

<sup>iti</sup>dNin-gir-su é-gibil-an-ta-sur-ra-ka-na i-gin-gin-a<sup>5</sup>

All references (with the exception of DP 320 wherein the date is not preserved) to the month "when Ningirsu enters into his new house of Antasurra" date to the fourth year in the kingship of Uruinimgina. The name of the

1. References are: Fö 183; DP 114 (3-ba-am<sub>6</sub>); DP 119 (egir-<sup>iti</sup>guru<sub>7</sub>-im-a; 4-ba-am<sub>6</sub>); DP 158 (egir-<sup>iti</sup>guru<sub>7</sub>-im-dug-a; 4-gar-am<sub>6</sub>); DP 307; DP 543; HSS 3 22 (egir-<sup>iti</sup>guru<sub>7</sub>-im-dug-a; 4-ba-am<sub>6</sub>).

2. See Å. Sjöberg, "Zu Einigen Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen im Sumerischen," *Studies Falkenstein*, 207 for references.

3. See A. Falkenstein, *ZA* 52 (1962), 115.

4. References are: Fö 134; Nikolski 16 (4-ba-am<sub>6</sub>); CT 50 no. 34 (4-ba-am<sub>6</sub>); CT 50 no. 37 (4-gar-am<sub>6</sub>); Genouillac TSA 14 (4-ba-am<sub>6</sub>); Nikolski 249 (<sup>iti</sup>guru<sub>7</sub>-dub-da); BIN 8 362; RTC 24; VAT 4826 (Or 21 63); VAS NF 9 no. 50.

5. References are: DP 116 (<sup>iti</sup>dNin-gir-su é-gibil an-ta-sur-ra-ka-na i-gin-gin-a; 7-ba-am<sub>6</sub>); DP 311 (<sup>iti</sup>dNin-gir-su an-ta-sur-ra-a i-gin-gin-a); DP 310 (<sup>iti</sup>an-ta-sur-ra-a dingir i-gin-gin-a); DP 320 (<sup>iti</sup>dNin-g[ir-su] an-t[a-sur]-ra-[x] i-gin-gin-a); DP 543 (<sup>iti</sup>dNin-gir-su é-gibil an-ta-sur-ra-ka i-gin-gin-a); Genouillac TSA 15 (<sup>iti</sup>dNin-gir-su [...] i-gin-a; 7-ba-am<sub>6</sub>).

month itself indicates that this was a unique event and, coupled with all the tablets dating to one specific year, strongly indicates that this was a one-time month name, replacing the standard name for the seventh month for one year only.

A similar type of naming occurs in Fö 78, dated to Lugalanda 2: the month "when Nindara enters into his new house" (<sup>iti</sup>dNin-dar é-gibil-na i-gin-gin-a) and DP 263, dated to the first year of Uruinimgina's kingship: the month "when Baba enters into her new house" (<sup>iti</sup>dBa-ba<sub>6</sub> é-gibil-na i-gin-gin-a).

For the Antasurra having been built by Akurgal, see Cooper *Inscriptions*, 33. The nuance of the term é-gibil may vary, connoting either (1) a new, recently built temple; (2) a renovated temple; or (3) the permanent designation of a temple (resulting from it being the newer of several temples).<sup>1</sup> For two other references to é-gibil in pre-Sargonic Lagaš note Nikolski 66:<sup>2</sup> é-gibil-ta e-ta-gar and Nikolski 133:<sup>3</sup> é-gibil-ta gar-ra-am<sub>6</sub> "removed from the 'New House'". In the Ur III period, at least, there were two temples of Ningirsu, (economic texts occasionally recording provisions for the "two houses of Ningirsu" [Virolleaud *Lagaš* 114: é-<sup>d</sup>Nin-gir-su min-a-bi]). Note Sauren *Wirtschaftsurkunden* 172 for the two temples of Ningirsu in Girsu referred to as the "older one" (é-gu-la-<sup>d</sup>Nin-gir-su) and the "newer one" (é-gibil-<sup>d</sup>Nin-gir-su). The term é-gibil in the Ur III period at Girsu refers then to the newer temple. Ur III Girsu references to the é-gibil of Ningirsu and to the é-gibil of Baba occur in an offering list from Girsu (ITT 5280) and the é-gibil of Ningirsu occurs in two other Ur III texts (TLB 3 8; Sauren *Wirtschaftsurkunden* 60: i-dub-é-gibil-le).

Fö 94 records deliveries of beer for the festival at Antasurra (ezem-an-ta-sur-ra). According to the text, beer was provided for the two days the governor's wife resided at the *shrine* (èš) and for the festival of Antasurra when the governor's wife was in attendance, as well as beer for the ib-shrine, for Nina-su, and for Ninšubur. Beer was delivered to the palace and provided for the offerings to Baba (possibly back in Lagaš), and for three mun-du offerings, possibly indicating a three-day festival. The document contains the summation: "17 containers of strong beer and 17 containers of dark beer (for) the festival of Antasurra."

<sup>iti</sup>sig-ba

See the discussion of the month <sup>iti</sup>sig-<sup>d</sup>Ba-ba<sub>6</sub>-e-ta-gar-ra.

1. É-gibil is attested as early as the Fara period in the personal name amar-é-gibil (Jestin NTSS 2 444 obv. vi 6).

2. Selz *Wirtschaftsurkunden*, 278.

3. Selz, *ibidem*, 351.

it<sup>i</sup>ezem-ab-è<sup>1</sup>

The ab-è festival is documented as having been celebrated in pre-Sargonic Lagaš (DP 164) and in one document the month is actually named "the ab-è festival of Lagaš" (HSS 3 17: it<sup>i</sup>ezem-ab-è-Lagaš<sup>ki</sup>-ka). Langdon interprets the month name as meaning "the ancestors go out (from the netherworld)."<sup>2</sup>

A hint that this festival in pre-Sargonic Lagaš also involved ritual activities for the dead is a basket tag (DP 25) which lists among the basket's contents a tablet for Lugalurub (a god whose festival involved the netherworld) during the ab-è festival and offerings for the festival of Baba, another observance involving the netherworld. However, there are no references to ancestor offerings during this netherworld festival as there are for the festivals of Baba, Lugalurub, and Lugalurubara.

RTC 30 records fish deliveries for the festival of the Malt Consumption of Nanše in the month ezem-ab-è.

The name of the tenth month of the Nippur calendar in the Ur III period was changed to it<sup>i</sup>ab-è at least by the fourth year of Amar-Suen, for the purpose of establishing a cult in Nippur for the deceased Ur III kings.

it<sup>i</sup>amar-a-a-si-ga<sup>3</sup>

Landsberger understood this month name as referring to the offering of a calf accompanied by a libation of water, (Sumerian: a-si-ga "to fill with water").<sup>4</sup> Krecher also interprets a-si-ga in this month name as referring to a ritual libation.<sup>5</sup> Grégoire, noting that Sumerian A can connote 'semen', translates the month name: "où l'on remplit de semence de jeunes bêtes," understanding this as an allusion to a festival of fecundity.<sup>6</sup> Similarly Selz translates "des Monats, an dem die Jungtiere zubefruchten sind."<sup>7</sup> The festival was celebrated, at least partially, in the é-tùr (cattle pen), a strong indication that the element amar ("calf") in the month name refers to an activity involving

1. References are RTC 30 (ku<sub>6</sub>-fl ezem-munu<sub>4</sub>-gu<sub>7</sub>-dNanše-ka-kam it<sup>i</sup>ezem-ab-è-ka); HSS 3 17 (it<sup>i</sup>ezem-ab-è-Lagaš<sup>ki</sup>-ka); DP 351 (-ka); DP 411 (-ka); VAS NF 9 nos. 11 (-ka; 10-ba-amg), 14 (-[tùl]-la-ba; 11-ba-amg), 23 (10-ba-amg), 37 (10-ba-amg). Written without the month determinative: DP 25 (-ka); DP 164 (-ka).

2. Langdon *Menologies*, 139.

3. References are: Nikolski 27 (<it>amar-a-a-si-da); Nikolski 222 (it<sup>i</sup>amar-a-a-si-da; [kuš-udu ezem gu<sub>7</sub>-a]); DP 48 (it<sup>i</sup>amar-a-a-si-da); DP 60 (ezem-amar-a-a-si-ga-da); DP 65 (amar-a-a-si-ta); DP 69 (ezem-amar-a-a-si-ga-da-ka); DP 199 (amar-a-si-ga<sub>4</sub>-dè); DP 344 (it<sup>i</sup>amar-a-a-si-ga-a; [ezem-amar-a-a-si-ga<sub>4</sub>-da]); Fö 128 (ezem-amar-a-a-si-ga<sub>4</sub>-da-ka); Fö 22 (it<sup>i</sup>amar-a-a-si-ga-a); Nikolski 1 (it<sup>i</sup>amar-a-a-si-ga; [12-ba-amg]); BIN 8 368; HSS 3 3 (it<sup>i</sup>amar-a-a-si-ga; [12-ba-amg]).

4. LSS 6 1/2, 55-56 n. 4.

5. Krecher *Kulttyrik*, 40 n. 112.

6. Grégoire *Lagaš*, 19.

7. Selz *Wirtschaftsurkunden*, 178.

young bovines. However, neither of the aforementioned interpretations of the month name satisfactorily explains the orthography with the form -a-a. If, as Grégoire suggests, the first -a is a post-positional element ("complément circonstanciel"), thus amar-a, we expect at least one variant with the form amar-ra. But such a variant is unattested despite all the occurrences of this month name.

The expression a-a-si-ga occurs in an Ur III judicial case (Legrain TRU 376):

|   |   |
|---|---|
| [...]+180 (silag) še-gur-lugal                      | 180+[ ] liters of barley (concerning which)                           |
| [(x) š]à-hul-la                                     | Lu-Utu willfully  |
| Lú <sup>d</sup> Utu inim-ta bal-a                   | broke his contract.   |
| 180 (silag) dam-Lú <sup>d</sup> Utu šu ba-ti        | The wife of Lu-Utu was to receive 180 liters.                         |
| 220 (silag) Ba-zi-ge šu ba-ti                       | Bazige was to receive 220 liters.                                     |
| eš-a-bi f <sub>3</sub> -gi-né                       | Each of the three of them sought to be affirmed.                      |
| še sag-sig-ta du <sub>11</sub> -a                   | Ordered concerning the barley whose upper parts had been already cut: |
| 80 (silag) ŠE (x) x ta bal-a                        | 80 liters ... will be handed over ...                                 |
| 30 (silag) še-in-u-da                               | 30 liters of the barley stubble will remain                           |
| ki-tag ba-a-tuš a-rá-l-kam                          | (undistributed). The first (part of the decision).                    |
| še ki-tag-ta du <sub>11</sub> -a                    | Ordered concerning the remaining barley: <sup>1</sup>                 |
| a-a-si-ga šà-bi-ta                                  | From the ...  |
| 10 (silag) ba-da-tuš                                | 10 liters will remain undistributed.                                  |
| a-rá-2-kam  | The second (part of the decision).                                    |
| igi Lú-dingir-ra di-kuš-še                          | Before Lu-dingira, the judge,   |
| igi Kal-la-m[u] <sup>2</sup> dumu Inim-dingir-še    | Kallamu, the son of Inim-dingir,                                      |
| igi Lugal-hé-gál en-nu-še                           | Lugal-hé-gal, the watchman,   |
| [igi] Ur <sup>d</sup> En-líl-lá dumu Inim-dingir-še | (x) Ur-Enlila, the son of Inim-dingir,                                |
| [igi <sup>d</sup> š] ul-gi-lí-še                    | Sulgi-lili,   |
| [igi x]-dEn-líl-lá-še                               | and [ ]-Enlila  |
| [x dam(?)] Lú <sup>d</sup> Utu [(x)] x-ri-ib        | [has the wife(?) of(?)] Lu-Utu ...                                    |
| ir-da-na <sup>2</sup> -[k]a <sup>2</sup>            | ...   |
| [x] an-gi-in  | been proven right.  |

In this judicial case the expression a-a-si-ga may denote an action performed by or to the grain which had not yet been cut. Perhaps the term means "to go to seed," thus "to mature," indicating that of the grain which had not been cut, thus is still maturing in the field, all but ten liters will be cut and distributed. This proposed interpretation of the term a-a-si-ga does, to some degree, coincide with Grégoire's interpretation of the month name:

1. The translation of še-ki-tag-ta is based upon context and the lexical equivalency (MSL 16 235 82): lú-še-ki-ta = *ša šapilti*. See CAD S 452 *šapiltu* A mng 3b) for *še'um šapiltum*, "remaining barley."

the time when the calves begin to mature, "filling with semen." However, we still cannot explain the unusual form -a-a-<sup>1</sup>

Although the actual words "festival of Ninmar" never occur on tablets dealing with this festival, all the documents detailing offerings for the amar-a-si-ga festival place Ninmar at the top of the list or directly after the chief deities Nanše and Ningirsu. One text states that the governor's wife offered a sheep to Ninmar and a sheep (at) the é-tùr (for the festival) amar-a-si-ga.<sup>2</sup> Since the main cult of Ninmar was in Guabba,<sup>3</sup> the é-tùr in this context may have been part of Ninmar's temple complex in Guabba. DP 55 and DP 60 list Ninmar first among the gods receiving offerings and DP 55 concludes with the statement "offerings of Ninmar" (ni-giš-tag-ga-<sup>d</sup>Nin-mar<sup>ki</sup>-ra), indicating that this festival was, indeed, a festival of Ninmar. DP 48 and Nikolski 27 list offerings for the festival, placing Ninmar fourth, after the é-tùr, Nanše and Ningirsu. According to DP 60 the governor's wife spent two days making offerings. On the first day she made offerings to Ninmar, Nindar, the é-tùr, Nanše, Ningirsu, Igi-ama-še, Enki of the Paš-sir canal<sup>4</sup> and Enki of the Long Canebrake. On the second day the governor's wife once more made offerings to Ninmar and Igi-ama-še. DP 69 records votive offerings of chalices and crowns at the amar-a-si-ga festival for Ninmar, the é-tùr, <sup>d</sup>Igi-ama-še, and the stela of Šaša.

*The following month names occur on pre-Sargonic Lagaš tablets without any designation as to their placement within the calendar:*

iū <sup>d</sup>Ba-ba<sub>6</sub> é-gibil-na gin-gin-a / iū <sup>d</sup>Nin-dar é-gibil-na i-gin-gin-a

The month "when Baba enters into her new house" (DP 263) and the month "when Nindar goes into his new house" (Fö 178) may have been used just once each to honor the dedication of a new or renovated temple. Note above the similar month name: iū <sup>d</sup>Nin-gir-su é-gibil-an-ta-sur-ra-ka-na i-gin-gin-a, the month "when Ningirsu enters into his new house of Antasurra."

1. Perhaps the duplication a-a is to indicate an abundance of semen or seed.  
2. DP 199, treated by Grégoire *op. cit.*  
3. See Å. Sjöberg, TCS 3 Temple Hymn no. 23.  
4. See Grégoire *op. cit.*, 22.

iūgá-udu-ur<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup>

The second month of the Sargonic calendar from Adab is also iūgá-udu-ur<sub>4</sub>, the month of the "sheep-plucking shed" (or according to two texts the "plucking shed").

Uruinimgina claims to have built (or rebuilt) the sheep-plucking shed for Baba in Uruk, the sacred precinct.<sup>2</sup> This shed is mentioned in a Sargonic document from Girsu (Donbaz-Foster *Telloh* 28): sig gá-udu-ur<sub>4</sub>-ra kešda-am<sub>6</sub> "the wool has been tied (into bundles) in the sheep-plucking shed." The term gá-udu-ur<sub>4</sub> is also attested in an undated tablet, probably early Ur III: dabin gá-udu-ur<sub>4</sub> (Pinches *Berens Coll.* 10). In the Ur III period there was a special offering performed in the shed (gá-udu), perhaps to ensure a bountiful shearing: sízkur-ša-gá-udu (Genouillac, TCL 5 AO 5506) and sízkur-gá-udu (Gomi, BM 103437, *Ancient Orient Museum* II [1980]). Another Ur III document (Durand Catalogue EPHE 299) records: "1 lamb for the ni-ki-zàh of the sheep(-plucking) shed" (1 sila<sub>4</sub> ni-ki-zàh-še ša-gá-udu-ka). The ki-zàh, "the place (from which the deity temporarily) disappears," has generally been viewed as a cultic site for rituals for the dead.<sup>3</sup> The exact relationship, however, between the cult of the dead and the sheep-plucking shed is unclear.

The sheep(-plucking) shed of Ningal is referenced in an Old Babylonian text from Ur.<sup>4</sup>

iūgi<sub>6</sub>

For this possible month see Selz *Wirtschaftsurkunden*, Riftin 3 wherein it occurs in the expression gi-iti-gi<sub>6</sub>-kam. As Selz states, it is unclear from this line whether iti-gi<sub>6</sub> is, indeed, an actual month name.<sup>5</sup>

iūgurum<sub>2</sub>-áb-ka

For the month of the "inspection of cows" note Nikolski 207 (iūgurum<sub>2</sub>-áb-ka-ka). For pre-Sargonic references from Lagaš to the expression "to inspect cows" note Nikolski 248, Nikolski 251, Nikolski 252, and Nikolski 259 (gurum<sub>2</sub>-áb mu-ak-a). It is unclear whether this and the months iūgurum<sub>2</sub>-ma-ka and iūgurum<sub>2</sub>-udu-ka are separate months or variants for the same

1. References are Nikolski 70 (-ka); Nikolski 168 (-ra-ka); Nikolski 228 (iūgá-ur<sub>4</sub>-ka); RTC 36 (-ka); HSS 3 49 (iūgá-ur<sub>4</sub>-ka); HSS 3 50 (-ka); DP 217 (-ra-ka); Cf. DP 565: iūx-sig-ur<sub>4</sub>-ra-a.  
2. Cooper *Inscriptions*, 70.  
3. For references to discussions of the term ki-zàh, see Grégoire AAS 191.  
4. D. Loding, JCS 28 (1976), 241 no. 10: ni-dab<sub>5</sub>-gá-udu-<sup>d</sup>Ni[n-gal].  
5. S. Greengus, "The Akkadian Calendar at Sippar," JAOS 107 (1987), 212 lists a month name iūgi<sub>6</sub>-a in the Old Babylonian period. Possibly this Old Babylonian reference should be read iūsig<sub>4</sub>-a.

month, though most likely the month *itigurum<sub>2</sub>-ma-ka* is a variant for one of the other two.

*itigurum<sub>2</sub>-ma-ka*

For the month of the "inspection" see Nikolski 241. This month may be an abbreviated form of *itigurum<sub>2</sub>-áb-ka* or *itigurum<sub>2</sub>-udu-ka*.

*itigurum<sub>2</sub>-udu-ka*

References to the month of the "inspection of sheep" are: Fö 112; Nikolski 231 (-ka-ka); Nikolski 235 (-ka-ka). For the expression the "inspection of sheep" occurring without a month determinative, see Nikolski 312.

*itigi-nam-giri<sub>x</sub>(UM)-ni ba-dab<sub>5</sub>-ba*

The two references to this month name, Fö 70 and RTC 56, are both dated to year 5. Thus, this name may have been used to designate the month but one time, marking a unique event. However, the meaning of the name is unclear. (For the reading *giri<sub>x</sub>(UM)*, see the discussion of the early Ur month *itine-giri<sub>x</sub>(UM)*.)

*itiki-su<sub>7</sub>-šu-su-ga*

For this month see the discussion below of the month *itidu-še-še-a-il-la-dNanše*.

*itilú-Unu<sup>ki</sup>-ga-3-kam-ma-gin-na*

The month "when the 'man' of Uruk came a third time" occurs on only one tablet (Nikolski 227), which is dated to year 6 (of the kingship of Lugal-inimgina?). Cooper interprets *itilú-Unu<sup>ki</sup>-ga* as "leader of Uruk," understanding this as a reference to either Lugalzagesi or Lugal-TAR, thus alluding to hostilities between Uruk and Lagaš.<sup>1</sup>

*itumul-UD sag e-ta-šub-a*

This month name (Nikolski 2) may refer to a celestial phenomenon, perhaps to a meteor or comet: the month when "a bright(?) star fell from on high(?)." <sup>2</sup> If this interpretation is correct, this name would have been used but one time.

1. J. Cooper, SANE 2/1, 34 with references. For other references to *itilú-Unu<sup>ki</sup>* as referring to Lugalzagesi, see Selz *Wirtschaftsurkunden*, 353.

2. For the occurrence of meteors in the ancient Near East see J. K. Bjorkman, "Meteors and Meteorites in the Ancient Near East," *Meteorites* (Arizona State University, 1973).

*itini-ka-i<sub>7</sub>-ka*

This month is attested twice: HSS 3 45 and DP 165. Landsberger interpreted this name as the month when the "(emptying of) the mouth of the canals (was undertaken)." <sup>1</sup> Landsberger observed that a religious ceremony probably accompanied the onset of this essential activity, on the basis of DP 165 which records the governor having brought an offering to the canal.

*itidu<sub>5</sub>-dè-gù-ra-a*

This month, attested but once (Nikolski 226), may mean the month "the goats are bleating." <sup>2</sup>

*itidu-dNin-gír-su-ka-ka si-bi dúb-ba*

This name occurs in Nikolski 162. Selz suggests interpreting this month as "Monat in dem das Schaf des Ningirsu an seinen Hörnen bestossen(?) wurde." <sup>3</sup>

*itidu-še-še-a-il-la-dNanše<sup>4</sup>*

Gifts of beer, bread and sometimes ovines for the *ki-su<sub>7</sub>-šu-sù-ga* (Fö 181, DP 215, Genouillac TSA 3), *ki-su<sub>7</sub>-šu-su-ga* (DP 84, DP 169, BIN 8 375) or *ki-su<sub>7</sub>* (DP 166, DP 202, DP 257) were brought to the palace. Two of these texts (DP 215 and DP 166) indicate that this practice occurred during the month *itidu-še-še-a-il-la-dNanše*. One tablet (Fö 83) names the month for this activity: *itiki-su<sub>7</sub>-šu-su-ga*.

Tohru Maeda, rejecting Rosengarten's interpretation of *ki-su<sub>7</sub>* in this context as "fallow land," translates *ki-su<sub>7</sub>-šu-su/sù-ga* as "(the celebration) of the threshing floor which has been emptied (=sù, because the barley has already been transported into the granary)" or "(the celebration) of the threshing floor which has been returned to its original state (=su)." <sup>5</sup> However, a compound verbal form *šu sù/su* meaning "to empty" or "to return" is unattested, although Maeda suggests: "Šu-su/sù may be a variant of šà-sù or šu reinforcing the verbal su/sù." Perhaps *šu su/sù-ga* is related to *šu su-ub*, *esēpu*, "to

1. LSS 6 1/2, 61.

2. Selz *Wirtschaftsurkunden*, 453 states that the month name is unclear, but suggests the possibility of reading *gù-ra*, šasú.

3. Selz *Wirtschaftsurkunden*, 387.

4. References written *itidu-še-še-a-dNanše*: Fö 66; Fö 75; Fö 124; Fö 142; Fö 195; Nikolski 148; Nikolski 153; Nikolski 198; Nikolski 263; Nikolski 265; RTC 44; RTC 50; DP 47; DP 166; DP 206; DP 241; DP 254; DP 286; DP 298; DP 444; DP 476; DP 514; VAS NF 9 nos. 59 and 94. References written *itidu-še-še-a-il-la-dNanše*: Fö 49; Nikolski 234; Nikolski 247; DP 270; DP 290. For references without a deity name, see p. 48 note 1.

5. Maeda, *Acta Sum* 1 (1979), 25-31; Rosengarten *Consummation*, 64-66.



shovel, to collect," (this latter meaning in the Old Babylonian period being attested with cereals), or related to *šu su-ub mašāšu* "to clean, wipe away." Thus the name may mean the "the threshing-floor collecting," "the threshing-floor shoveling," or "the threshing-floor cleaning," any of which is appropriate for our context.

The *maš-da-ri-a* offerings for the *ki-su7-šu-sù-ga* were sent by administrators (*sanga-sanga-ne*) of various temples (Ninmara, Dumuzi, Nindara, Nanše, the Ebarbar, the Aḫuš, the Ešapa, the Bagara) and by the *sagi-maḥ* and agrig-officials to the palace (*é-gal-la mu-na-túm*) for the queen (*munus-še*). Maeda suggests "Sanga-priests brought the *maš-da-ri-a*-gifts into the *egal*[=palace]. Their gifts seemed to be used to inform the state ruler or his wife of the end of cultivation and to express their thanks for a plentiful harvest."<sup>1</sup> "There-upon a congratulatory banquet held in the *egal* seemed to have been presided over by the state ruler and his family. This seems to have been performed in hopes of successfully completing cultivation and offering the first ears of barley to the gods and goddess without mishap."<sup>2</sup>

In none of the texts is the term *ezem*, "festival," ever used in conjunction with the *ki-su7-šu-sù-ga* ritual. Rather, this custom appears to be a duty owed by the temples to the governor. A token portion of the grain (in the form of bread and beer) processed at the threshing floor of each temple complex was delivered to the palace, with an occasional sheep or lamb to further ingratiate the administrator. We suspect that since this practice was agriculturally based, the month of its observance could vary based upon the synchronization of the calendar with the agricultural cycle.

One text (Nikolski 148) lists offerings for four days during the month *iiudu-še-še-a-íl-la*.<sup>d</sup> Nanše, although no festival is mentioned. On the first day two sheep and a lamb were offered to Enkidanigin, on the second day two sheep for Enkidanigin, on the third day one sheep to Enkidanigin and a goat for the harp, and on the fourth day a sheep for MesanDU.

Nikolski 47 records a three-day observance for the new moon during this month in Nina. The first day, as usual, contained the bulk of the offerings. The second day entailed an offering to Nanše and the third day an offering to Ur-tùr.

1. Maeda, *op. cit.*, 30.

2. Maeda, *op. cit.*, 31.

### *The Sargonic Period*

In the Sargonic period a unified calendar was adopted for the area formerly encompassing the Lagaš-state, which was a combination of the older calendars, possibly a deliberate attempt to gain the acceptance of all the participating cities. Except for the first and possibly the fifth months, the months of the new, unified calendar do not reflect their positions in the previous calendars, indicating either a change in the time of the year certain festivals were celebrated, or, in some cases, festivals which were no longer observed.<sup>1</sup>

- i. *ezem-buru<sub>x</sub>-maš*
- ii. *gu<sub>4</sub>-rá-IZI-mú-mú*
- iii. *ezem-dLi<sub>9</sub>-si<sub>4</sub>*
- iv. *ezem-munu<sub>4</sub>-gu<sub>7</sub>*
- vi. *[ezem-dBa-ba<sub>6</sub>]*
- viii. *mu-šu-dug*
- ix. *mes-en-DU-še-a-nú*
- x. *ezem-amar-a-a-si*
- xi. *še-kin<sub>x</sub>(ŠE+KIN)-a*
- xii. *ezem-še-íl-la*

The months *mu-šu-dug* and *mes-en-DU-še-a-nú* are, as yet, unattested in the pre-Sargonic period. Yet these months were probably incorporated from another calendar in the area, one not preserved in the pre-Sargonic tablets.

Several variants for the month *mes-en-DU-še-a-nú* are attested: *ii*mes-en-DU-še-a-nú (ITT 1189, 1364); *ii*mes-en-DU-še-nú (ITT 1201) and *ii*mes-a-DU-še-a-nú (ITT 4560). Perhaps the month name derived from a corruption of the name of the pre-Sargonic Lagaš deity *dMes-an-DU*, who may have been the personal god of the rulers Enentarzi and Lugalandu,<sup>2</sup> although in none

1. The order of the Sargonic months has been reconstructed on the basis of their order in the post-Sargonic text RA 5 (1902), 90 AO 3388. Sargonic references are: *ii*ezem-buru<sub>x</sub>-maš: ITT 4438, Donbaz-Foster *Telloh* 49, MVN 3 54; *ii*gu<sub>4</sub>-rá-IZI-mú-mú: Donbaz-Foster *Telloh* nos. 47, 76 (*ii*gu<sub>4</sub>-IZI-mú-mú), 112; *ii*ezem-dLi<sub>9</sub>-si<sub>4</sub>: Donbaz-Foster *Telloh* nos. 10 and 65; *ii*ezem-munu<sub>4</sub>-gu<sub>7</sub>: ITT 1455, Donbaz-Foster *Telloh* 40; *ii*ezem-dBa-ba<sub>6</sub>: RTC 110, RTC 116; *ii*mu-šu-dug: ITT 1183, Donbaz-Foster *Telloh* nos. 16 and 113, RTC 123; *ii*mes-en-DU-še-a-nú: RTC 105, RTC 125, ITT 1189, ITT 1201, ITT 1201 (*ii*mes-en-DU-še-nú); *ii*ezem-amar-a-a-si: Donbaz-Foster *Telloh* 43, CT 50 135 (*ii*amar-a-si); *ii*še-ŠE+KIN-a: ITT 1262, ITT 1306, ITT 1332, CT 50 151; *ii*ezem-še-íl-la: ITT 1301, Donbaz-Foster *Telloh* 57.

2. E. Sollberger, "The Rulers of Lagaš," JCS 21 (1969), 282; T. Kobayashi, "Was Mesandu the Personal Deity of Enentarzi?" *Orient* 25 (1989), 22-35, wherein Kobayashi discusses M. Powell's suggestion that MesanDU may have been a chthonic deity ("mun-du as an Akkadian Plural Loan Word in Sumerian," ZA 76 [1986], 14).

of the variants for the month name is the god-determinative DINGIR written. The month name may mean "(the month) when MesanDU lies down in the barley," suggesting that MesanDU might have been a deity involved in the growth of grain.<sup>1</sup> However, as Kubayashi documents, this deity (for political reasons) fell into disfavor during the reign of Lugalningina and is mentioned only again in an Old Babylonian inscription (BM 23103).<sup>2</sup> Thus, it is surprising, that if, indeed, the element mes-en/a-DU derives from the deity name, it should reappear in the Sargonic period (unless this was symptomatic of a political backlash against the deposed Lugalningina in favor of the preceding royal line).

The ninth month was the time of the final sowing of barley. Perhaps the month name signified that the barley seed had been "laid to rest"; the first phase had been completed—the power of growth was lying with the seed in the furrows. This possible relationship between MesanDU and the grain is reminiscent of that of Dumuzi and the grain, which supports Powell's suggestion that MesanDU may have been a netherworld deity.

### *The Gudea Period*

In the period generally corresponding to the governorship of Gudea of Lagas (ca. 2150 B.C.) the fourth month was *itišu-numun* and the sixth *itiur*.<sup>3</sup>

- i. *buru<sub>x</sub>-maš*
- ii. [*gu<sub>4</sub>-rā-IZI-mú-mú*]
- iii. [*ezem-<sup>d</sup>Li<sub>9</sub>-si<sub>4</sub>*]
- iv. *šu-numun*
- v. *ezem-munu<sub>4</sub>-gu<sub>7</sub>*
- vi. *ur*
- vii. *ezem-<sup>d</sup>Ba-ba<sub>6</sub>*

1. Kubayashi, *op. cit.*, 26: "The records mention the distribution of cereals to about twenty places, such as for feeding donkeys and brewing beer, and Mesandu is mentioned among the recipients. He is the only deity included in the lists regarding the distribution of cereals." This unique offering to Mesandu may be related to his being the personal god of the governors and/or connected to his being associated with grain.

2. Sollberger, *op. cit.*

3. Gudea period references are: *iti*buru<sub>x</sub>-maš: AO 3388 (RA 5 [1902], 90), MVN 6 531; *iti*ezem-gu<sub>4</sub>-rā-IZI-mú-mú: MVN 6 105 (post-Sargonic); *iti*šu-numun: MVN 6 96 (post-Sargonic: *iti*ezem-), 498 (*iti*ezem-), 502, 504, 522, AO 3319 (RA 5 [1902], 81), MVN 7 440; *iti*munu<sub>4</sub>-gu<sub>7</sub>: AO 3388, MVN 6 491 (post-Sargonic), 493, MVN 7 382, 435 (omits ezem); *iti*ur: AO 3388; *iti*ezem-<sup>d</sup>Ba-ba<sub>6</sub>: AO 3388, RA 4 (1897) pl. 17 nos. 49 and 50 (both pre-Ur III); *iti*mu-šu-dug: AO 3388, MVN 7 438, RA 4 (1897) pl. 15 no. 45 (pre-Ur III); *iti*mes-en-DU: AO 3388; *iti*amar-a-a-si: AO 3388, MVN 7 461; *iti*še-kin-a: AO 3388; *iti*ezem-še-il-la: AO 3388, MVN 7 415.

- viii. *mu-šu-dug*
- ix. *mes-en-DU*
- x. *amar-a-a-si*
- xi. *še-kin-a*
- xii. *ezem-še-il-la*

A question has arisen regarding the month which began the calendar year during the governorship of Gudea. In two Gudea inscriptions a festival of Baba is recorded as having occurred at the New Year: *u<sub>4</sub> zag-mu ezem-<sup>d</sup>Ba-ba<sub>6</sub> ní-mussa ak-da*, "so that there be wedding gifts at the New Year, (at) the festival of Baba" and "He caused his personal god, Ningišzida, to follow behind with bridal gifts which Ningirsu happily presents to Baba, the child of An, his beloved spouse."<sup>1</sup> The month named the "Festival of Baba" is the seventh month of the year, in the autumn, and this has led S. Oh'e to suggest that the Girsu/Lagas calendar began in the fall.<sup>2</sup> Since (1) the earlier Lagas calendars began in the spring and (2) there can be no doubt that according to the Ur III tablets from Girsu *buru<sub>x</sub>-maš* was the first month, the festival of Baba which occurred at the New Year was not the same festival of Baba for which the seventh month was named.

The month *itišu-numun* was probably introduced directly from the Nippur calendar, where it was the fourth month even in pre-Sargonic Nippur. Adoption of this Nippur month name may have entailed Lagas participating in the *šu-numun* festival in Nippur or conducting its own celebration in Lagas/Girsu.

The month *itiur* is attested in the Lagas/Girsu calendar as early as the governorship of Gudea and as late as Š16.<sup>3</sup> In the early Ur III Lagas/Girsu calendar the month became the seventh month with the removal of the old ninth month, *iti*mes-en-DU. It is unlikely that the term UR in this month name is an astrological or seasonal reference since the month name occurred three or four months apart in Girsu (6/7) and Umma (10). The term *ur* is not an agricultural term nor the name of a deity (no variants occur with a determinative indicating a god<sup>4</sup>). Since, as stated above, the month *itiur* is

1. Statues E v 1-3 and G iii 5-8; see Lambert and Tournay, RA 46 (1952), 83; Jacobsen, *Unity and Diversity*, 79.

2. S. Oh'e, "An Agricultural Festival in Tummal in the Ur III Period," *Ada Sum* 8 (1986), 125. Oh'e cites this as support for the New Year at the Tummal also occurring in the autumn. However, see our discussion of the first month of the Nippur calendar, wherein we suggest that the festival referred to by Oh'e is actually the *dug-kù* festival, known to have been celebrated in the Tummal in the seventh month, not the New Year's celebration.

3. MVN 6 nos. 41, 53; MVN 7 nos. 390 (Gudea 11), 421 (8); UET 3 1534 (Š9); Sulgi 11: (ITT 6744, ITT 680, RTC 286; RA 5 84 AO 3341); Relsner *Telloh* 56 (Š16); Gomi, BJRL 64 (1980) no. 36 (the case dates the tablet to *iti*min-ēš [the seventh month at Umma] whereas the tablet is dated *itiur*); *Atiqot* 4 48. References to this month have been collected in Sauren *Umma*, 2 n. 5.

4. A god UR is attested in the later series AN = *Anum* A115 as a name for the god Nabû, the scribe.

attested no earlier than the reign of Gudea, the month may have been named for either Gudea himself, or for his predecessor, Ur-<sup>d</sup>Ba-ba<sub>6</sub>, "the lion of Baba." The influence of Lagaš/Girsu on Sumer during the Gutian period was significant and the occurrence of the months <sup>iti</sup>ezem-<sup>d</sup>Lig-si<sub>4</sub> and <sup>iti</sup>ezem-<sup>d</sup>Dumu-zi in Ur III Umma may well be a remnant of this influence. So too, the adoption of the Nippur month name <sup>iti</sup>šu-numun may be further indication of this influence. In his own inscriptions and in a literary text Gudea is called UR, which, Jacobsen suggests, in these passages means "lion." In the Nanše Hymn Gudea is called "Nanše's lion".<sup>1</sup>

She [Nanše] (now) felt urged  
to envision in the holy heart  
a high priest,  
she seated with her on the throne dais Nanshe's lion,  
the beloved high priest of Lagash,  
and granted august scepter to the shepherd.  
Gudea perfected for her  
all her precious sacred offices.  
Her shepherd, envisioned in the holy heart,  
Gudea, ruler of Lagash.

Jacobsen notes: "The Sumerian term here used, *ur*, can mean dog, or lion. Since ur-<sup>d</sup>Nanše is said by the ancients to mean "doorkeeper of the palace" we have preferred to translate "lion," since figures of lions were frequently placed at gates as guardians. Gudea of Lagash, to whom the title is here given, was, according to his own inscriptions, also *ur*, "lion," of the goddess Gatumdug."

It is probably more than mere happenstance that Šulgi replaced the month <sup>iti</sup>ur with one bearing his own name (<sup>iti</sup>ezem-<sup>d</sup>Šul-gi) in Girsu and Umma. As a sign of his own greatness, Šulgi had his month replace that of the revered Gudea. In Girsu the month <sup>iti</sup>ezem-<sup>d</sup>Šul-gi occurs on two tablets dated to the year: <sup>d</sup>Nanna-kar-zi-da é-a-na ba-an-ku<sub>4</sub> (MVN 6 207 and 257), which Pettinato has dated as Š5 and according to Sollberger's dating (AfO 17) is Š9. However, many of the tablets which have been dated to Š9 (or Š5 according to Pettinato) should, in fact, be dated to Š36 for the following reasons:<sup>2</sup>

- The formula for Š36 is <sup>d</sup>Nanna kar-zi-da a-rá-min-kam é-a-na ba-an-ku<sub>4</sub>, but can be abbreviated as <sup>d</sup>Nanna kar-zi-da (MVN 6 315), eliminating the element which clearly distinguishes it from Š9.
- If MVN 6 207 and 257 date to Š9 instead of Š36, this would indicate the deification of Šulgi to be much earlier than assumed.

1. Jacobsen *Harps*, 129.

2. See Grégoire AAS 229 n. 159 wherein he recognizes this problem.

- These tablets mention Ur-<sup>d</sup>Lama as the governor of Lagaš, yet all other references to his tenure are from the 32nd year of Šulgi onward (see MVN 6 nos. 433 and 467; Grégoire AAS 231).
- By dating these tablets to Š5 or Š9 the catalogues of Lagaš texts in MVN 6 and MVN 7 show practically no tablets for Š36, although they abound for Š35 and Š37, thereby indicating something is amiss in the dating.
- As stated above, the month <sup>iti</sup>ur in Lagaš is attested after Š9, as late as Š16 (Reisner *Telloh* 56).

Therefore, in Girsu as in Umma the month <sup>iti</sup>ezem-<sup>d</sup>Šul-gi replaced <sup>iti</sup>ur to honor the thirtieth jubilee of Šulgi.

### *The Ur III Period*

By the reign of Šulgi of Ur the calendar at Lagaš/Girsu had undergone yet another change. The following calendar existed after the Gudea calendar and up to the year Šulgi 30:

- i. buru<sub>x</sub>-maš
- ii. gu<sub>4</sub>-rá-IZI-mú-mú
- iii. ezem-<sup>d</sup>Lig-si<sub>4</sub>
- iv. šu-numun
- v. ezem-munu<sub>4</sub>-gu<sub>7</sub>
- vi. ezem-<sup>d</sup>Dumu-zi
- vii. ur
- viii. ezem-<sup>d</sup>Ba-ba<sub>6</sub>
- ix. mu-šu-dug
- x. amar-a-a-si
- xi. še-kin-a
- xii. ezem-še-il-la

The month ezem-<sup>d</sup>Dumu-zi was added to the calendar as the sixth month.<sup>1</sup> This resulted in the former months 6 through 8 being shifted one position to months 7 through 9 and the old month 9, <sup>iti</sup>mes-en-DU, being dropped from the calendar. The final change to the Lagaš/Girsu calendar occurred, as discussed above, in the 30th year of Šulgi, when in honor of his thirtieth jubilee the month <sup>iti</sup>ur was replaced by <sup>iti</sup>ezem-<sup>d</sup>Šul-gi.

1. The earliest attestation from Lagaš/Girsu of the month <sup>iti</sup>ezem-<sup>d</sup>Dumu-zi is Charpin Durand *Strasbourg* 38, the date of which cannot be precisely determined.

The contents of the Ur III tablet NBC 7439, perhaps a school tablet, consists only of the names of the twelve months of the Girsu calendar. The text begins with the tenth month (probably the current month):<sup>1</sup>

*obverse:*

it<sub>1</sub>amar-a-a-si-<sup>1</sup>šá<sup>2</sup>  
it<sub>1</sub>še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>  
it<sub>1</sub>še-il-la  
it<sub>1</sub>buru<sub>14</sub>-maš  
it<sub>1</sub>gu<sub>4</sub>-rá-IZI-mú-mú  
it<sub>1</sub>ezem-d<sup>1</sup>Lig-si<sub>4</sub>  
it<sub>1</sub>šu-numun-a  
it<sub>1</sub>munu<sub>4</sub>-gu<sub>7</sub>  
it<sub>1</sub>ezem-d<sup>1</sup>Dumu-zi-da  
it<sub>1</sub>ezem-d<sup>1</sup>Šul-gi  
it<sub>1</sub>ezem-d<sup>1</sup>Ba-ba<sub>6</sub>  
it<sub>1</sub>mu-šu-du<sub>7</sub>  
iti 12  
iti Gír-su  
(reverse uninscribed)

i buru<sub>x</sub>(=GANA<sub>2</sub>)-maš

For the origin, reading and meaning of this month name see the above discussion of this month in the pre-Sargonic period.

One Ur III Girsu tablet, dated to the month it<sub>1</sub>buru<sub>x</sub>-maš, records 15 oxen and 2 bison for the buru<sub>x</sub>-maš festival (Barton *Haverford* 56: nì-ezem-ma-buru<sub>x</sub>-maš-šè). There are several references to this festival in tablets from Drehem: "6 grain-fed oxen for the še-il-la festival in Girsu on the 4th of the month and 7 grain-fed oxen for the *burumaš* festival in Girsu on the 28th of the month for delivery" (PDT II 955 [Š47 it<sub>1</sub>maš-da-gu<sub>7</sub>]); "3 grain-fed oxen for the *burumaš* festival in Girsu on the 29th" (Sigrist PTS 88 [AS4 it<sub>1</sub>maš-dà-gu<sub>7</sub>]); "3 grain-fed oxen of third quality, 2 grain-fed oxen of fourth quality, (and) 2 (regular) grain-fed oxen for the *burumaš* festival at Girsu" (ezem-buru<sub>x</sub>-maš Gír-su<sup>ki</sup>-šè) (YBC 1185 obv. 1-4 [ŠS6 it<sub>1</sub>maš-dà-gu<sub>7</sub>]).

A tablet dated to Š43 lists regular provisions for the first four months of the year, dividing them between nì-ezem-ma, "provisions for the festival(s)" and barley rations for the female mill-hands.<sup>2</sup> "Provisions for the festivals"

1. For a Neo-Assyrian rendering of the Lagaš/Girsu calendar, see p. 221.

2. Gomi, *Acta Sum* 3 (1981), 155 no. 113 (Š43).

are recorded for the months it<sub>1</sub>buru<sub>x</sub>-maš, it<sub>1</sub>gu<sub>4</sub>-rá-IZI-mú, it<sub>1</sub>ezem-d<sup>1</sup>Lig-si<sub>4</sub> and it<sub>1</sub>šu-numun.

From pre-Sargonic Lagaš tablets there is no mention of a zag-mu or á-ki-ti celebration. By the rule of Gudea of Lagaš, several centuries later, a festival of the goddess Baba was observed on New Year's day (see above). In the Ur III period there were special activities to celebrate the New Year's festival, zag-mu. A reference to the celebration of the New Year's festival (zag-mu) in the temple of Nindara in Lagaš occurs in a hymn to Ĥendursagga:<sup>1</sup>

(Every) month and the New Year are times  
to provide food.

Nindara, in your temple, the betrothal gifts  
are made to you, together with mother Nanše, the queen.

It is unclear whether the reference to the marriage of Nindara refers to the New Year's in the previous line or not. If so, this might be another example of a sacred marriage rite at the New Year. Other references to special New Year's distributions in Lagaš/Girsu include barley rations for the city (še-ba zag-mu nam-uru-na; Reisner *Telloh* 99a), rations of lard and oil (HSS 4 3 obv. ii; Gomi, *Orient* 16 no. 112), and provisions for the festivals (nì-ezem-ma zag-mu-ka [CTMMA 1 40; Reisner *Telloh* 308]).

A Girsu text dated to ŠS1 details containers (gír-lam) for a festival during the first seven days of the first month in Uruk, the sacred precinct of Girsu (ITT 5280). The term zag-mu does not occur although the tablet clearly indicates that a festival is occurring.

- |        |  |
|--------|--|
| Day 1: | containers for the place of the festival (ki-ezem-ma) and the place Uruk;  |
| Day 2: | 13 containers for the temples of the gods in Uruk;   |
| Day 3: | containers for the é-gu-la of Ningirsu, the é-gibil of Ningirsu, the é-gibil of Baba, the é-nesag of Baba, the é-gu-la of Baba, for Igalim, Gatum-dug, Kindazi, Enlil, Lugalsisa and the <i>magur</i> -ship;   |
| Day 4: | containers for the é-nesag of Baba, for Ninsun, the ni <sub>9</sub> -gar, d <sup>1</sup> Š-d <sup>1</sup> Baba, Nanše, Inanna, Damgalnun, Martu, Ninmara, Ninušgidda, the genie of the king, Gudea, [d <sup>1</sup> Nin?]-nun-gal, Sulpae, šu-ga-lam, é-balag-di, Nin-insina, the genie of the Guenna; |
| Day 5: | 8 containers for the temples of the gods in Uruk, 2 containers for the é-mí;   |
| Day 6: | é-nesag of Baba, é-gu-la of Baba, [...]  |
| Day 7: | [text broken].   |

1. Translation M. Civil, "The Statue of Šulgi: The Inscription," *Studies Sjöberg*, 50; the entire hymn is treated by Edzard and Wilcke, "Die Ĥendursanga-Hymne," *Kramer AV*, 139-176.

ii gu<sub>4</sub>-rá-IZI-mú-mú

For the origin, reading, and meaning of this month name see the above discussion of this month in the pre-Sargonic period for it<sub>1</sub>gu<sub>4</sub>-rá-IZI-mú-a<sup>d</sup>Nanše. In the Sargonic period the month occurs as it<sub>1</sub>gu<sub>4</sub>-rá-IZI-mú-mú (Donbaz-Foster *Telloh* nos. 47 and 112) and it<sub>1</sub>gu<sub>4</sub>-IZI-mú-mú (Donbaz-Foster *Telloh* 76). Ur III variants are: it<sub>1</sub>ĤAR/UR<sub>5</sub>-rá-IZI-mú-mú ('*Atiqot* 4 no. 11); it<sub>1</sub>gu<sub>4</sub>-rá-IZI-mu-mu (Th. Dangin, RA 8 [1911] 87 AO 3636); it<sub>1</sub>gu<sub>4</sub>-rá-IZI-mú (MVN 6 39); it<sub>1</sub>gu<sub>4</sub>-IZI-mú-mú (MVN 7 214; Lafont *Tello* 372); it<sub>1</sub>ezem-gu<sub>4</sub>-rá-IZI-mú-mú (MVN 6 39 and 375); it<sub>1</sub>gu<sub>4</sub>-rá-IZI-NE (MVN 12 426); it<sub>1</sub>gu<sub>4</sub>-ta-IZI-mú (RA 5 [1902] 91 AO 3463; Pinches *Amherst* 70; RTC 326); it<sub>1</sub>gu<sub>4</sub>-rá-mú-mú (Lafont *Tello* 329); it<sub>1</sub>gu<sub>4</sub>-rá-IZI-DU-mú-mú (Barton *Haverford* 66); it<sub>1</sub>gu<sub>4</sub>-ra-IZI-mú-mú (Barton *Haverford* 57).

There is no festival documented for this month in the pre-Sargonic or Sargonic periods. In the Ur III period, however, on one tablet the term festival is appended to the month name: it<sub>1</sub>ezem-gu<sub>4</sub>-rá-IZI-mú-mú (MVN 6 39). A possible reference to festival offerings in this month is a Girsu text (MVN 6 125) which lists large quantities of sheep as offerings to various gods, beginning with Enlil, continuing with the expected Lagaš deities. The list concludes with a goat for "the chariot which proceeds at the front(?) of his (procession)."

iii ezem<sup>d</sup>Lig-si<sub>4</sub>

For the origin of this month name see our discussion of this month in the pre-Sargonic period. Note the variant it<sub>1</sub>dezem-Lig-si<sub>4</sub> (MVN 6 218).

iv šu-numun

The earliest dated reference to the month it<sub>1</sub>šu-numun in the Lagaš calendar is Gudea 11 (MVN 6 498, 502, 504, 522; MVN 7 440; RA 5 [1902], 81 AO 3319), wherein the month occurs also as it<sub>1</sub>ezem-šu-numun (MVN 6 498 and MVN 6 96 [undated]). One text (Chiera STA 8) enumerates offerings for several months and during the month šu-numun beer "for the statue of the king was sent (to the temple) for šu-numun" (alam-lugal šu-numun-še gín-na).

v munu<sub>4</sub>-gu<sub>7</sub>

For the origin of this month name see our discussion of the months it<sub>1</sub>ezem-munu<sub>4</sub>-gu<sub>7</sub><sup>d</sup>Nanše and it<sub>1</sub>ezem-munu<sub>4</sub>-gu<sub>7</sub><sup>d</sup>Ningirsu in the pre-Sargonic period. The month name occurs without any associated deity beginning in the Sargonic period: it<sub>1</sub>ezem-munu<sub>4</sub>-gu<sub>7</sub> (Donbaz-Foster *Telloh* 40; MVN 3 89), continuing into the Gudea period: it<sub>1</sub>ezem-munu<sub>4</sub>-gu<sub>7</sub> (MVN 6

491, 493, 511, 493 [Gudea 11]; MVN 7 382) and it<sub>1</sub>munu<sub>4</sub>-gu<sub>7</sub> (MVN 7 435 [Gudea 11]).<sup>1</sup>

During the Ur III period the Malt Consumption festival occurred around the 25th of the month, as discerned from a tablet from Drehem (PTS 816 [AS8 v 25]):

- 2 high-quality, grain-fed sheep for Ningirsu in Girsu,
  - 2 third-quality, grain-fed sheep for Nanše in Nina, (and)
  - 1 grain-fed, fat-tailed sheep for Nindara in Keš
- (for) the Malt Consumption festival for Girsu.

Ur III texts indicate that the Malt Consumption festival was celebrated throughout the cities of the Lagaš area, including Lagaš, Girsu, Keš, Nina, Guabba, and Kinunir. A text from Drehem (BIN 3 502) dated to Š46 (it<sub>1</sub>ezem<sup>d</sup>Nin-a-zu) records for the festival (ezem-munu<sub>4</sub>-gu<sub>7</sub>) the delivery of grain-fed sheep to Girsu for use as offerings for Ningirsu and Baba in Girsu, for Nanše in Nina, for Nindara in Keš, for Dumuzi in Kinunir (<ki>nu-nir<sup>ki</sup>) and for Ninmar in Guabba. The transport of provisions for this festival may be involved in a tablet dating to Š9 which details oil for the ships of Nanše, Dumuzi and Nindara (Cros *Tello* AO 4209), an observation noted by R. Kutsch. <sup>2</sup> This text mentions four boats: Dumuzi's boat, the 'Lady-Sprinkled-with-Charm'; Nanše's boat, the 'Shining-Lady'; Nindara's boat, the 'Shrine-Abundance'; and a fourth boat belonging to Nanše which carried torches (gi-izi-lá), presumably for nighttime travels. On the first day all the boats are treated with oil. The next day Dumuzi's boat went to Lazawi-field and Nanše's to the apple orchard. Based on the entries in BIN 3 502, mentioned above, the ultimate destination for these boats may have been Nina for Nanše's two boats, Kinunir for Dumuzi's boat, and Keš for Nindara's boat. Several deities are mentioned in a list of deities as having received date offerings during the month, perhaps alluding to the festival (CT 7 BM 17765): Ningirsu, Baba, Lugalbagara, Nanše, Nindara, Dumuzi and Ninmar. Thus, by the Ur III period, the festival continued to be celebrated throughout the cities of the old Lagaš-state, but the local chief deity was the center of the celebration, no longer just Ningirsu and/or Nanše.

Grain-fed oxen for the festival in Girsu are recorded in a Drehem tablet (Langdon *Archives of Drehem* 27): "2 grain-fed oxen for the Malt Consumption festival (of) Girsu"; and disbursements of fish are recorded for the festival (ni-ezem-munu<sub>4</sub>-gu<sub>7</sub>) in Š34 (MVN 10 149); barley as provisions for the festival (ni-ezem-ma) in Š43 (Gomi, *Acta Sum* 3 [1981] 155 no. 114). A distribution of gypsum (for building purposes?) for the festival during the month is

1. Pinches *Amherst* 83 has it<sub>1</sub>munu<sub>4</sub>-gu<sub>7</sub>-<zi>-ta on the tablet, but the expected it<sub>1</sub>munu<sub>4</sub>-gu<sub>7</sub>-ta on the envelope.

2. "A Torchlight Festival in Lagaš," *Acta Sum* 5 (1983), 59ff.

recorded in a Girsu tablet (Virolleaud *Lagaš* 114: nì-ezem-ma). Gypsum was distributed to the two houses of Ningirsu, the three houses of Baba, and to Nanše, Ninmar, Nindara, Dumuzi, Ħendursagga, Abau, Nindara of Keš, Dumuzi of Kinunir, Ningišzida, Ninazu and Ningišzida, Šulpae, the orchard and the Ebagara.

Another tablet records two oxen for Ninmar for the festival (šà-ezem-ma), perhaps a reference to the Malt Consumption festival or to another festival of Ninmar during this month (Barton *Haverford* 223 [Š35]).<sup>1</sup>

#### vi ezem-<sup>d</sup>Dumu-zi

There are no Ur III tablets from Girsu mentioning any festival during this month, which is named for a festival of Dumuzi.

#### vii ur / ezem-<sup>d</sup>Šul-gi

See the discussion above for the origin of the month <sup>iti</sup>ur, which was replaced by <sup>iti</sup>ezem-<sup>d</sup>Šul-gi during Šulgi's thirtieth jubilee year.

Two Girsu texts (MVN 7 332 and 374, both undated) record offerings of beer and flour for the èš-èš festival on the 3rd of the month and regular offerings for the 7th. And on the 3rd of the month, as part of the èš-èš festival, Šulgi presided at an offering to honor his deified stela (lugal <sup>d</sup>na-rú-a-šè gin-na) called <sup>d</sup>Šul-gi-a-lim. Both the èš-èš offerings for the 3rd and the regular offerings for the 7th of the month are summed in MVN 7 332 as royal festival provisions (nì-ezem-ma-lugal).

A Drehem tablet (YBC 16661 [ŠS4 vii 27]) may refer to a celebration in Girsu at the cattle pen during this month. The tablet begins with entries for the Sacred Mound festival at Nippur followed by offerings to Utu and Suen when one goes to the cattle pen:

5 udu-[x]  
5 máš-[x]  
Ur-<sup>d</sup>Lama [...]  
u<sub>4</sub> Gír-su<sup>ki</sup>  
giri<sub>3</sub> Ba-za-za [...]  
7 udu-ú KU<sub>4</sub> ni [...]  
<sup>d</sup>Utu ù <sup>d</sup>Suen  
u<sub>4</sub> é-tùr-šè l-gin-na

The reference to Girsu previous to the mention of Utu and Suen's attendance at the cattle pen suggests that this may be a Girsu festival. Moreover,

1. In the pre-Sargonic period, the amar-a-a-si-ge was a festival of Ninmar's at the cattle pen. For the Cattle Pen festival of Baba at Old Babylonian Girsu, see p. 235.

in the pre-Sargonic period, during the month <sup>iti</sup>amar-a-a-si-ga (see above) the amar-a-a-si festival occurred in the cattle pen.

#### viii ezem-<sup>d</sup>Ba-ba<sub>6</sub>

This month and festival is attested in the pre-Sargonic period (see above). An Ur III Drehem reference to this festival records ten sheep as a bridal gift for the festival of Baba at Girsu (MVN 13 527 [ŠS3 vii 29]): nì-mí-ús-sá ezem-<sup>d</sup>Ba-ba<sub>6</sub> Gír-su<sup>ki</sup>-šè). A sacred marriage involving Baba is attested during the first month at the New Year's celebration during the rule of Gudea (see above). An Ur III Girsu tablet records food for workmen towing a barge for the festival of Baba (Barton *Haverford* 169 [IS2]).

#### ix mu-šu-dug

In the Sargonic and Gudea periods the month is written <sup>iti</sup>mu-šu-dug and in the Ur III period both orthographies <sup>iti</sup>mu-šu-dug and <sup>iti</sup>mu-šu-du<sub>7</sub> occur (CT 10 BM 14316 contains both orthographies on the same tablet). Note also RA 4 (1897), pl. 15 no. 45 for the pre-Ur III reference: <sup>iti</sup>mu-«mu»-šu-dug. The term šu-dug means "to hold," "to assume guaranty," neither of which, when coupled with the basic meanings of mu, "year" or "name," provides a satisfactory interpretation of the month name <sup>iti</sup>mu-šu-dug.

There are no references to a festival in this month.

#### x amar-a-a-si

For the origin and meaning of this month name see our discussion of this month in the pre-Sargonic period. Sargonic orthographies are: <sup>iti</sup>ezem-amar-a-a-si (Donbaz-Foster *Telloh* 43); <sup>iti</sup>amar-a-si (CT 50 no. 135); Gudea period: <sup>iti</sup>amar-a-a-si (MVN 7 461). Ur III variants are: <sup>iti</sup>amar-a-si (MVN 2 72); <sup>iti</sup>amar-a-a-si (CT 7 12932); <sup>iti</sup>amar-a-a-si-ge<sub>4</sub> (MVN 9 109); <sup>iti</sup>amar-a-a-si-ig (MVN 12 97); <sup>iti</sup>amar-a-si-ge<sub>4</sub> (Weidner, OLZ 1912).

Two Drehem tablets (BIN 3 496; Jones-Snyder SET 70) record animals disbursed in the ninth month for the festival of amar-a-a-si of Girsu (ezem-amar-a-a-si-Gír-su<sup>ki</sup>). A Girsu text (BM 12374) records four grain-fed sheep as festival provisions (nì-ezem-ma) issued during the month (no day recorded).

A Girsu tablet (Barton *Haverford* 158) dated to this month lists provisions of beer, flour and oil for a trip of Šulgi's, beer for Kian, and beer, concluding with the entry nì-ezem-gu-la u<sub>4</sub>-2-kam <sup>d</sup>Šulgi, "provisions for the Great Festival—the second day (for?) Šulgi." The significance of the term ezem-gu-la in this context is unclear, unless this occasion is a reference to the ezem-mah festival at Ur in the tenth month.

xi še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>

This month occurs as the first month in one of the pre-Sargonic calendars from the Lagaš-state. For the reading and meaning of the month name see our discussion of the twelfth month of the Nippur calendar. In the Sargonic period from Lagaš the orthography <sup>iti</sup>še-kin<sub>x</sub> (ŠE+KIN)-a is attested (CT 50 no. 151). In the Ur III period the orthographies <sup>iti</sup>še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>, <sup>iti</sup>še-kin (Pinches *Amherst* 77; MVN 7 141; TCS 1 226) and <sup>iti</sup>ezem-še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub> (MVN 7 446) are attested (Reisner *Telloh* 110 contains both orthographies <sup>iti</sup>še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub> and <sup>iti</sup>še-kin on the same tablet).

We are unaware of any Ur III references to a festival in this month in Girsu/Lagaš.

xi<sup>2</sup> diri-še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>

The intercalary month of the Lagaš calendar occurred after the eleventh month.

xii še-íl-la

This month name may derive from the pre-Sargonic month <sup>iti</sup>udu-še-še-a-íl-la-<sup>d</sup>Nin-gír-su or <sup>iti</sup>udu-še-še-a-íl-la-<sup>d</sup>Nanše. However, note that the pre-Sargonic text RTC 47, which records daily activities for the Barley Consumption festival of Nanše, begins the third day's entry with: 1 udu 1 sila<sub>4</sub> <sup>d</sup>Nanše u<sub>4</sub> še-íl-la-a giš e-tag "1 sheep and 1 lamb offered (to) Nanše (on) the day of the *Transporting-of-the-Barley*." Thus, rather than being a shortened form of <sup>iti</sup>udu-še-še-a-íl-la-DN, this month name may derive from this special day of the Barley Consumption festival of Nanše.

During the reign of Gudea the orthography <sup>iti</sup>ezem-še-íl-la (MVN 7 415) is attested. In the Ur III period the following orthographies occur: <sup>iti</sup>ezem-še-íl-la (TLB III 2); <sup>iti</sup>še-íl-la (MVN 6 458); <sup>iti</sup>še-íl (MVN 2 54); <sup>iti</sup>íl-la (RA 5 [1902], 97 AO 3511).<sup>1</sup>

The actual name of the festival included the city Girsu: "the še-íl-la festival of Girsu" (ezem-še-íl-la-Gír-su<sup>ki</sup>) as noted in a Drehem text dated to the 20th of the month (MVN 15 110 [AS2 xii]). This text records offerings to neighboring towns which joined in the celebration: sheep for Ningirsu in Girsu, for Dumuzi in Kinunir, and for Ninmar in Guabba. Provisions for the še-íl-la festival of Girsu in this month are recorded also in Lau *OB Temple Records* 251 and in two Drehem tablets (PDT II 955 and 1115) which list grain-fed oxen as provisions for the še-íl-la festival of Girsu (n<sub>1</sub>-ezem-ma še-íl-la-Gír-su<sup>ki</sup>-še [no. 1115] and ezem-[š]e-íl-la-Gír-su<sup>ki</sup> [no. 955]).

1. Note MVN 12 297 and MVN 6 240, 241, 524 for the personal name Ur-še-íl-la.

At Umma an observance called the še-íl-la of Nanše is attested as occurring in the first month (<sup>iti</sup>še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>). It is unclear from this one context (Yildiz and Gomi *Umma* no. 1885) whether this observance occurred annually in the first month, or as part of the Festival of the Early Grass (which at Umma was not fixed to a particular date, but rather to the beginning of the spring).

A dedicatory inscription on a statue of Šulgi alludes to a boat trip by Nin-dara from Girsu to Guabba during the month <<sup>iti</sup>>še-íl.<sup>1</sup> The same inscription mentions "the day of the festival, in Ninmar's temple." It is unclear whether this latter occasion was a special ceremony for the dedication of Šulgi's statue or refers to an annual event in the temple of Ninmar. Moreover, this reference occurs before the passage citing the month <sup>iti</sup>še-íl-la. Thus the month of this latter festival in Ninmar's temple is not clear.

*Other Festival References*

An undated tablet (Limet *Textes Sumériens* 91) records oil rations and honey (lál ezen-ka) for a festival in the temples of Ningirsu and Baba.

A monthly festival of the new moon called ezem-an-na was celebrated in the Tiraš-temple in Girsu for Ningirsu during Gudea's governorship:<sup>2</sup>

Tirash he [An] founded  
for princely functions like the Apsū,  
therein, monthly at new moon,  
are great offices, my Ezenanna festival,  
performed for me to perfection.

A tablet (Sauren *Wirtschaftsurkunden* 144 [IS2]), provenience unknown, mentions a festival of Ningišzida: "32 gur and 76 liters of barley for the festival of Ningišzida (ezem-<sup>d</sup>Nin-giš-zi-da)." Since there was a cult of Ningišzida at several sites, including Ur and Lagaš, we do not know the native town for this festival.

1. M. Civil, "The Statue of Šulgi: The Inscription," *Studies Sjöberg*, 49ff.

2. Jacobsen *Harps*, 401 (Gudea Cylinder A). There is no evidence indicating a relationship between this festival and the Ur III Ur month name <sup>iti</sup>ezem-an-na.

# Nippur

The town of Nippur served as a focal point for the religious life of Sumer and its god Enlil, who dwelled in the Ekur, achieved a place of prominence among the Mesopotamians. The calendar of Nippur would continue after others had disappeared, being adopted throughout Sumer after the collapse of the Ur III empire, and then evolving as logograms for month names of the Standard Mesopotamian calendar for another 1700 years.

There were three main agricultural festivals at Nippur: (1) the *gusis*-festival from the 20th to 22nd of the second month to mark the onset of the entire agricultural cycle, specifically the retooling of farming equipment and the acquisition of livestock for the coming planting; (2) the *šunumun*-festival in the middle of the fourth month to mark the onset of both preparing the fields and the actual seeding which followed in the fall; and (3) the *šekinku*-festival in the middle of the first month to mark the onset of the barley harvest.

Around the 11th day of the fifth month the Nippur paternalia, called the *ne-IZI-gar* festival, was observed—a time when fires were kindled to guide the spirits of the dead back to their ancestral homes. In the middle of the sixth month the *iti*kin-*d*Inanna festival was held; the nature of this observance is unclear.

The New Year, *zag-mu*, was celebrated at the Tummal temple complex in Nippur during the first month. On the 27th of the seventh month the other Tummal festival was observed, the Sacred Mound (*du<sub>6</sub>-kù*) festival, a celebration involving Enlil's ancestors.

There is a late introduction by Amar-Suen of the *ab-è* festival in the tenth month, a politically motivated ceremony in honor of the dead kings of Ur III.

The order of several Nippur months in the pre-Sargonic period can be confirmed as being identical to that attested in the Ur III and later periods. A pre-Sargonic clay bulla lists in order the second and third months: *iti*ezem-*gu<sub>4</sub>-si-su* and *iti*sig<sub>4</sub>-*giš<sub>u</sub><sub>5</sub>-šub-ba* (Westenholz OSP 1 15). And another pre-Sargonic document, detailing a monthly disbursal of onions, lists in order months four through seven: *iti*šu-numun, *iti*ne-IZI-gar, *iti*kin-*d*Inanna and *iti*du<sub>6</sub>-*kù* (Westenholz OSP 2 136). The remaining Nippur months are attested individually on pre-Sargonic documents: *iti*bāra-zag-gar, *iti*gišapin-du<sub>8</sub>-a, *iti*gan-

gan-è, *iti*kù-su<sub>x</sub>, *iti*úd-duru<sub>5</sub> and *iti*še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>. The earliest document listing all twelve Nippur months in order is from the Ur III period (Owen NATN 298). The only change to the Nippur calendar occurred during the reign of the Ur III monarch, Amar-Sin, when *iti*ab-è began to replace *iti*kù-su<sub>x</sub> as the name of the tenth month.

A few tablets of unknown provenience are dated to a month named for the Tummal complex at Nippur: *iti*tum-ma-al or *iti*tum-al. One document (YBC 1484) dated to the sixth month in the Nippur calendar lists *iti*tum-al as the repayment month in the year AS1. Curiously the repayment clause has been added at the bottom of the tablet, after the date, an extremely unusual arrangement.

## YBC 1484

obv.

|                              |                      |
|------------------------------|----------------------|
| 2 gu <sub>4</sub> -giš       | 2 plow-oxen          |
| ki <sup>d</sup> Nanše-kam-ta | from Nanšekam        |
| Ḫa-ba-mu                     | has Ḫabamu           |
| ì-dab <sub>5</sub>           | taken in possession. |
| iti kin- <sup>d</sup> Inanna | The sixth month;     |

rev.

|   |                          |
|---|--------------------------|
| mu <sup>d</sup> Amar- <sup>d</sup> Suen lugal | Year Amar-Sin 1.         |
| (blank)                                       |                          |
| (blank)                                       |                          |
| iti tum-al                                    | (in) the month Tummal    |
| su-su-dam                                     | they are to be restored. |

In the next month, the seventh month, at the Tummal occurred one of the two major festivals at the complex, the festival of the Sacred Mound. Quite possibly the month *iti*tum(-ma)-al may have been an alternate name for *iti*du<sub>6</sub>-*kù*. The rare occurrences of the name, however, indicate that this naming convention was extremely limited in use. Nor can we be certain that this month is indeed from Nippur, since the clause in which it occurs has been appended to the body of the document, an unusual situation.



# The Months

## i. bára-zag-gar

The month *itibára-zag-gar* is attested in pre-Sargonic and Sargonic economic documents.<sup>1</sup> Two unusual variants occur in the Ur III period: *itibára-za-gar* (Çig-Kizilyay NRVN 1 207; TuM NF I-II 13) and *itibára-za-gál-ra* (Çig-Kizilyay NRVN 1 208 = N. 467; Huber, *Hilprecht* AV, 203).<sup>2</sup> And Landsberger suggested that the Old Babylonian reference *itizag-gal-gar* (CT 8 41 c [Bu. 91-5-9, 867]) might also be a variant for this month.<sup>3</sup>

The month *itibára-zag-gar* was the beginning of the year (Mar./Apr.) and was eventually utilized as a logogram for the Standard Mesopotamian calendar name *Nisannu*. This relationship, as well as the derivation of the name *Nisannu* from *nisag*, "first," is intertwined in the composition "The Message of Lú-Dingir-ra to His Mother," wherein a syllabic rendering of *itibára-zag-gar* as *pa-ra-za-an-kar* occurs in the Ugaritic version. The non-Ugaritic recension parallels *zag-mu*, "the new year" (translated loosely into Akkadian as "early") with *nisag*, "the first produce": *gurun-zag-mu-a ni-tu-ḥu-um* (var: *giš.Ú.SAR; ú.giš.SAR*) *nisag-gá inbu pan šatti muthummu nissāni* "An early fruit, the yield of the first month."<sup>4</sup> In the Ugaritic version, although the month *itibára-zag-gar* has replaced *nisag*, it is still translated by *nisanu*: [*gurun-zag*]-*mu* G[URU]N<sup>2</sup>.GIŠ.KIRI<sup>6</sup> [*itibára-zag-gar* ku-ru-um za-an-ku mu-ut-ḥu pa-ra-za-an-kar *inbu ša pana* [x] MU x ti muthummi nissāni.<sup>5</sup>

First millennium B.C. bilingual vocabulary lists equate the term *zag-gar-ra* with Akkadian *aširtu*, "sanctuary."<sup>6</sup> For *zag-gar-ra* as a sanctuary, note the Old Babylonian year-date formula of Ibalpiel of Ešnunna: *mu alam-kù-sig<sub>17</sub> zag-ga-ra ba-an-ku<sub>4</sub>-ku<sub>4</sub>*, "the year the golden statue was brought into the sanctuary"<sup>7</sup> and a Larsa document: *10 gur še zag-gar-ra*.<sup>8</sup> In the Old Babylonian period onward the term *zag-gar-ra* also denoted a "special room in a private house for cultic purposes"<sup>9</sup> and a "socle" (in the form of a sanctuary for im-

ages or symbols).<sup>1</sup> The earliest literary reference to *zag-gar-ra* is in the Keš Temple Hymn 6': *é kalam ki-gar-ra zag-gar-ra ús-sa*, "The house which supports the nation, the established places, and the sanctuaries."<sup>2</sup>

The obvious translation of our month is "throne of the sanctuary" as in MSL 13 213. In the pre-Sargonic references the term is not unequivocally a genitival construction (the form *\*itibára-zag-gar-ra* is unattested and the forms *itibára-zag-gar-še* [Westenholz *Jena* 138] and *itibára-zag-gar-ta* [Westenholz OSP 2 114 and 164] occur). Perhaps the month name is syntactically analogous to the expression *bára-dúr-gar*, "to take a seat on the dais," and that *zag-gar* in our month name is not a noun, "sanctuary," but rather a compound verb, from which the noun "sanctuary" ultimately derived. The term *zag-gar* might mean "to place off to the side," and would thus have designated cellas which were set off to the side of the main sanctuary. The evolution into a nominal form *zag-gar* would parallel *dúr-gar* "to take a seat" from which the noun "chair" developed (note the Sumerian loanword *durgarû*, "an ornate chair," [CAD D 191] and *gišdúr-gar* = *kussû*). If this hypothesis is valid, perhaps, then, *itibára-zag-gar* designated the month in which statues of the gods or their votive objects "took (their) place by the side of the throne or sanctuary (of Enlil?)," thus portraying Enlil holding court.

In Nippur a New Year's festival *zag-mu* (literally "edge of the year") was observed.<sup>3</sup> The New Year was the occasion for taking inventory at the temples and for distributing foodstuffs (e.g., grain, oil and perhaps onions) to the personnel for the coming year. Foodstuffs were also stockpiled for the coming year's offerings to the gods. One Old Akkadian text details deliveries of barley throughout the entire year for distribution at the New Year observance: "210 niga of barley, in monthly deliveries of 17.2 niga, (to?) Na-ba-LUL; 90 niga of barley, in monthly deliveries of 7.2 niga, (to?) Lugal-GIR-gal; from the month *ezem-gu<sub>4</sub>-si-su* [the second month] to the month *bára-zag-gar* [the first month of the following year], these deliveries for the New Year festival (*sá-du<sub>11</sub> zag-mu-ka-kam*) were received."<sup>4</sup>

In Nippur the New Year's festival was observed in the Tummal temple of Ninlil. The Sumerian Temple Hymns praises the Tummal's appearance during the festival: *iti zag-mu ezem-gál-la-za u<sub>6</sub>-di tag-ga* (var: *du<sub>10</sub>-ga-ám*) "In the month of the New-Year's Day, on which the feast is celebrated, (you are) wondrously adorned."<sup>5</sup> Disbursements of barley for the New Year's celebra-

1. Westenholz OSP 1 73; Westenholz *Jena* 117, 138, and 151; Westenholz OSP 2 114 and 164; Pohl, TuM NF I-II 117 and 151.

2. Note Sauren *Wirtschaftsurkunden*, 129: *itib[ár]a-[z]à-gal>[l]a*.

3. LSS 6 1/2, 24. Note the Old Babylonian text BRM 3 182 whose month should probably be read: *itibára<sup>1(BA)</sup>-zag-gar*.

4. M. Civil, "The Message of Lú-Dingir-ra to His Mother," JNES 23 (1964), 1ff.

5. *Ugaritica* V, 314.

6. See CAD A/2 436 sub *aširtu* A) and note in particular IZI J iii 6: (MSL 13 213) *bára-zag-gar-ra* = MIN(=parakku) *a-ši-ir-tu<sub>4</sub>*, "throne (of) the sanctuary."

7. JCS 13 (1959) 74, quoted CAD A/2 437 sub *aširtu* 1b.

8. Leemans SLB 1 (2) no. 40.

9. CAD A/2 sub *aširtu* A 439 mng. 2.

1. *Ibid.* mng. 3; note also OECT 6 pl. 18 K. 4642 3/4: *zag-gar-ra* [...] = *šum-ma la x* [...].

2. G. Gragg, TCS 3 176 (translation different).

3. For several Kassite kings frequently attending the New Year's celebration in Nippur in the 14th and 13th centuries B.C., see pp. 306-307.

4. Translation Westenholz *Jena* 138.

5. Translation Sjöberg, TCS 3, 19.

tion at the Tummal are recorded on an Ur III tablet dated to ŠS7: 13 še-gur ni-ezem-ma-tum-al 0.4.4 še-gur 0.3.3 zíz ni-ezem-ma-ḫal-ḫal "13 gur of barley as festival provisions for the Tummal; 44 liters of barley and 33 liters of emmer as festival provisions for various (shrines?)" (BE 3 117). Although this text does not specifically mention a festival, its summing of disbursements from the second month <sup>iti</sup>gu<sub>4</sub>-si-su to the first month of the following year <sup>iti</sup>bāra-zag-gar-ra, similar to the aforementioned Old Akkadian tablet involving New Year's provisions of barley, suggests that the supplies were, in fact, for the New Year's festival. A tablet probably dating to the reign of the Akkadian king Šar-kali-šarri records: 5 sum líd-ga sá-du<sub>11</sub> zag-mu <sup>d</sup>En-líl-kam "1200 liters of onions, Enlil's regular offerings of the New Year" (Westenholz OSP 2 171). Although, as seen in the above passages, the New Year's celebration was termed a festival, the term \*ezem-zag-mu is unattested.

S. Oh'e observed that Drehem references to live animals brought as offerings to the Tummal complex followed a pattern.<sup>1</sup> The one reference from Š43 dates to the sixth month, those from Š44 to Š46 date to the seventh month, and from Š47 to ŠS7 date to the eighth month. Oh'e, noting that the Temple Hymn mentions the splendor of the New Year festival at the Tummal and that no offerings from Drehem are recorded for the first month of the year, raises the possibility that the religious year at the Tummal began in the seventh month. The references to the eighth month Oh'e attributes either to a discrepancy between the Nippur calendar used at the Tummal and the Drehem calendar beginning in Š47, or to an actual change in the date of the festival. Oh'e accurately notes that in Nippur proper there was no disparity between the Drehem and Nippur calendars before and after Š47. Thus, she suggests, "it is possible that before Š47 the Nippur calendar used in Tummal was a month ahead of the calendar used in Nippur itself." To bolster her argument for a New Year observance in the fall, Oh'e cites two inscriptions of Gudea which state: "The New Year's Day, the Festival of Baba," the Festival of Baba being the seventh month of the Lagaš/Girsu calendar at that period.<sup>2</sup>

However, as mentioned above, BE 3/1 117 is an account of festival provisions for the Tummal, the tablet recording entries from gu<sub>4</sub>-si-su (ii) to bāra-zag-gar (i). This is the order expected if the festival of the New Year occurred in the first month, but hardly were it in the seventh. And, as also cited above, in the pre-Ur III period, this same accounting from the second month to the first for the zag-mu festival is recorded in another text (Westenholz, *Jena* 138).

There is a solution to this apparent discrepancy. The two above texts which indicate that the New Year occurred in the spring list grain as provisions for the Tummal, presumably much of this grain to be distributed to

functionaries as the coming year's wages. Similarly at Umma, where there are many tablets listing contributions for the zag-mu, tablets list grain and oil rations for the zag-mu, but never livestock. The zag-mu observance at the Tummal apparently involved neither the distribution of animals as wages nor the use of animal sacrifices. This would account for the lack of Drehem texts recording the shipment of animals to the Tummal during the first month of the year. Any offerings which may have occurred at the Tummal during the zag-mu festival may have been mainly restricted to grain-based offerings, after all, both at Nippur and Umma this was the time of the barley harvest. The Drehem references to the delivery of animals in the seventh or eighth month, therefore, must refer to another festival at the Tummal, assuredly the "Sacred Mound" (du<sub>6</sub>-kù) festival, which is recorded on several tablets as being celebrated on the 27th day of the seventh month at the Tummal.<sup>1</sup>

As Oh'e observes, beginning in Š47 the deliveries to the Tummal were in the eighth month and before Š44 in the sixth month. M. Cooper demonstrates that various calendars, all using the same month names, were employed at this same period in Drehem.<sup>2</sup> And, in fact, the years Š44 and Š47 were crucial years for attempting to synchronize these calendars. This assuredly is at the heart of the change in the delivery month to the Tummal, not a change in the month of the festival at the Tummal itself (one of Oh'e's alternate solutions). But whether this reflects a lack of synchronization with a calendar used specifically at the Tummal, another of the suggestions put forth by Oh'e, or rather indicates that those making the deliveries from Drehem to the Tummal employed a different calendar from those making deliveries to the other areas in Nippur, cannot be determined.

## ii. ezem-gu<sub>4</sub>-si-sù

In the pre-Sargonic and Sargonic periods the month is written: <sup>iti</sup>ezem-gu<sub>4</sub>-si-su (Westenholz OSP 1 15; Westenholz *Jena* 138), <sup>iti</sup>ezem-gu<sub>4</sub>-si-sù (Westenholz OSP 1 105; Westenholz *Jena* 112), <sup>iti</sup>ezem-gu<sub>4</sub>-[si]-su<sub>x</sub> (MUS) (Pohl, TuM 5 112 and 123), and <sup>iti</sup>gu<sub>4</sub>-si-sù (Westenholz *Jena* 123)—but never: \*<sup>iti</sup>gu<sub>4</sub>-si-sá, the orthography that predominates by the Old Babylonian period. By the Ur III period the term ezem "festival" had been dropped from the month name, resulting in the Ur III orthographies: <sup>iti</sup>gu<sub>4</sub>-si-sù (UET 3 10), <sup>iti</sup>gu<sub>4</sub>-si-su (Owen NATN 297), <sup>iti</sup>gu<sub>4</sub>-si-sú (Owen NATN 122), and <sup>iti</sup>gu<sub>4</sub>-si-sá (Fish *Catalogue* 355).

As Landsberger noted, the first millennium B.C. interpretation of the month name as ITI GUD.MEŠ *ušteššir uptattâ bamâtu* "the month (in which)

1. S. Oh'e, "An Agricultural Festival in Tummal in the Ur III Period," *Acta Sum* 8 (1986), 121ff.

2. Gudea Statue E 5 1-2; Statue G 3 5-6.

1. See our discussion of the seventh Nippur month below for the du<sub>6</sub>-kù festival in the Tummal.

2. "The Drehem Calendars During the Reign of Šulgi," *ZA* 77 (1987), 174ff.

one yokes the bulls (and when) the high (lying land) is broken (for cultivation)<sup>1</sup> must be a false etymology, since this is based upon an orthography *i<sup>ti</sup>gu<sub>4</sub>-si-sá* (si *sá* = *esēru*), yet the original orthography, as noted above, is *i<sup>ti</sup>gu<sub>4</sub>-si-su/sù*.<sup>2</sup>

In this month name, *gu<sub>4</sub>-si* is most probably a nominal form and *sù/su* a verb. The term *gu<sub>4</sub>-si* occurs in the expression (*gi<sup>is</sup>*)*gu<sub>4</sub>-si-dili, ašibu*, “a battering ram,” which derives from a “one-horned ox”, a “unicorn” (si = horn, *gu<sub>4</sub>* = ox).<sup>3</sup> Ninurta (who is the chief deity of the *gusisu*-festival) is described as a battering ram in the Hymn to Ninurta with a Prayer for Šu-Sin: *dNin-urta am-gal gu<sub>4</sub>-si-dili bād-gal šu x x-e*, “Ninurta, the great wild ox, a battering ram which can [push down(?) ] great walls.”<sup>4</sup> The lexical entry *gu<sub>4</sub>-si* “horned ox” is attested at Ebla (MEE 3 p. 138)<sup>5</sup> and in middle second millennium B.C. tablets from Emar.<sup>6</sup> A reference quite relevant for our understanding of the month name is “Enki and the World Order” 317-318, wherein *gu<sub>4</sub>-si* (“horned oxen”) are the animals pulling the plow: *gi<sup>is</sup>apin-gi<sup>is</sup>dul-er-in-bi si ba-an-sá nun-gal dEn-ki-ke<sub>4</sub> gu<sub>4</sub>-si kisal-ús-a ba-an-sum* “He directed the plow, the yoke and the team. The great prince Enki caused the ‘horned-oxen’ ... to go in straight lines.” (A similar usage of the term *gu<sub>4</sub>-si* may have occurred in a fragment which possibly belongs to “Lipit-Ishtar and the Plow” [N 4166, courtesy Sjöberg]: *gu<sub>4</sub>-si é-gal gi<sup>is</sup>ur(?)*-[...].) Thus, in our month name, the term *gu<sub>4</sub>-si* probably refers to horned oxen.

The verb *su/sù* frequently means “to repay” or “to replace” in pre-Sargonic and Ur III economic documents.<sup>7</sup> However, such a meaning does not seem appropriate in our context. There is one occurrence of the verb *sù* as part of the name of a cultic plow: “ $\frac{1}{2}$  liter of oil is provided for the *gi<sup>is</sup>apin-dŠarā-da-sù-a*.”<sup>8</sup> In lexical texts and bilingual literary texts the term *sù* is frequently rendered into Akkadian as *šadāhu*, “to stride,” being used to describe the movement of gods and to indicate processions. This interpretation of *sù* for the cult object *gi<sup>is</sup>apin-dŠarā-da-sù-a* seems appropriate: “The plow (called) ‘Marching with Šara’, which would describe the plow as moving ever onward with the help of Šara. This same meaning for *sù* also suits our month name: “the month the horned oxen march forth.” This month name may refer then

either to the forceful pulling of the plow by horned oxen as part of the festival ritual or to a specific cultic procession of oxen through the *Lugalgusisugate* of the city as part of the *gusisu*-festival. One Ur III text (Çig-Kizilyay NRVN 229) confirms the *Auslaut-g* in the verb *su* in our month name: *ša i<sup>ti</sup>gu<sub>4</sub>-si-su-ga*.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, the verb *su* is not attested as having a meaning “march.”

The earliest reference to the *gusisu*-festival, aside from the month name, is a pre-Sargonic list of offerings(?) for the Sacred Mound festival (*ezem-du<sub>6</sub>-kù*) and the *gusisu*-festival: “6 goats and 5 spears(?) , for the *du<sub>6</sub>-kù* festival; 5 goats, [x] pigs, and 1 ... for the *gusisu*-festival, Ur-gu, the land registrar, brought in(?).”<sup>2</sup>

Information concerning the *gusisu*-festival is quite abundant in Ur III sources:<sup>3</sup>

| Year | Day(s) | Reference                              |
|------|--------|--|
| \$46 | 22     | Sauren NY Public Library 348           |
| \$47 | 22     | Toronto 910.209.587                    |
| \$49 | 21-22  | TCL 2 AO 5501 and MVN 15 146           |
| AS   | 20     | Kang <i>Drehem</i> 186                 |
| AS1  | 20     | Fish, BJRL 11 (1927) no. 8             |
| AS3  | 22     | Jones-Snyder SET 60                    |
| AS4  | 21     | M. Lambert, RA 49 (1955) no. 11        |
| AS7  | 20-21  | Jones-Snyder SET 64                    |
| AS7  | 22     | Fish <i>Catalogue</i> 355              |
| AS7  |        | Archi-Pomponio <i>Drehem</i> I no. 252 |
| \$S1 | 20-21  | TCL 2 AO 5527                          |
| \$S2 | 20     | AASF B 92 592                          |
| \$S3 | 20-21  | Michalowski, OA 16, YBC 12565          |
| \$S5 | 18     | Watson <i>Birmingham</i> I 102         |
| \$S7 | 20     | Or 47-49 no. 42                        |
| ?    | 22     | PDT 1 572                              |
| ?    | 22     | AUCT 2 306                             |

In the Ur III period the *gusisu*-festival was a three-day celebration, from the 20th through the 22nd of the month. (The one reference to the 18th is

1. Translation CAD A/I 368.

2. Landsberger, LSS 6 1/2, 25.

3. See Heimpel *Tierbilder*, 177; for *gu<sub>4</sub>-si-dili* at Ebla, see Steinkeller, NABU 1987/2, 14.

4. Sjöberg, *Kramer AV*, 412 4.

5. The somewhat similar expression “ox-horn” (*si-gu<sub>4</sub>*) is attested in another Ebla lexical text (MEE 3, 260), in Ebla documents (Sollberger, ARET VIII [1986] no. 529: 4 si 2 *gu<sub>4</sub>* and no. 534: si-*si-gu<sub>4</sub>*), and in an economic text from Girsu (Reisner *Telloh* 126: šu-nigin<sub>2</sub> 3 si-*gu<sub>4</sub>*).

6. Arnaud *Emar* 6 77 423'-432'.

7. Selz *Wirtschaftsurkunden*, 322 with references.

8. TCL 5 AO 6040 obv. iv 1.

1. For *sù-ge* = *šadāhu* see AHw 1122.

2. Translation Westenholz *Jena* no. 160.

3. There is one document (AUCT 3 480) which dates to the 19th day of the month *i<sup>ti</sup>maš-da-gu<sub>7</sub>*. However, the year is not preserved and thus we cannot be positive that this is the second month, thus referring to the *gusisu*-festival. The tablet lists many offerings, specifying the *uzu-a-bal* and the *si<sub>2</sub>kur-gu-la* offerings, clear indications of a major festival. Other tablets recording offerings possibly for the *gusisu*-festival include: TuM NF I-II 272 (\$S7 ii [*i<sup>ti</sup>maš-da-gu<sub>7</sub>*]) which contains a lengthy list of offerings and mentions the *uzu-a-bal* offering; MVN 13 525 which records offerings from the *é-dEn-lil* on the 23rd of the month.

clearly an anomaly). This can be determined by two texts dated to AS7 which record offerings for the *gusisu*-festival. One text lists offerings for the 20th and 21st, while another records the offerings for the 22nd.

Thus the festival was a three-day event.<sup>1</sup> The first day involved offerings of calves only to Enlil and Ninlil, special honors afforded to the chief deities of Nippur. On the second and third days the Great Offering was performed, while only on the second day the otherwise unattested MÜŠ.MÜŠ-offering was performed. The culmination of the entire festival occurred on the third day, when the statue of Ninurta received special honors. Based upon Ur III economic documents, a partial ritual schedule for these three days can be reconstructed:

#### 20TH OF THE MONTH

The earliest recorded activity involved sheep as the night offering (*sizkur-gi<sub>6</sub>*). Thereafter, during the day of the 20th, the only offerings recorded are calves (and in one text other bovines) for Enlil and Ninlil.

#### 21ST OF THE MONTH

On the second day offerings were provided to the full pantheon residing in the Enlil and Ninlil temples of the Ekur complex (TCL 2 AO 5501 and MVN 15 146):

*Ninlil temple*: 1 lamb each for Nusku, Ninurta, Enlil, the Hursaggalama; two lambs for Ninlil; 1 ewe and 1 lamb for Nanna; 1 ewe each for Nisaba, Nintinugga and Ninḥursag;

*The Great Offering* (*sizkur-gu-la*): 2 lambs for the Sacred Mound; 1 ewe each for Ninḥursag, Nusku, Ninurta, Inanna, Ninsun, Lugalbanda, Enki, Nintinugga;

*1 lamb for the Great Door* (*ká-gu-la*);

*The MÜŠ.MÜŠ-offering*: 4 ewes for the MÜŠ.MÜŠ of the Enlil temple; 1 ewe each for the oracle(?) (*IGI.GÁL*), for Ningagia, for the cedar plow(?) (*gi<sup>3</sup>eren-KU*),<sup>2</sup> and for the dais (*bāra-ri-a*);

*Royal offerings*: 2 ewes and 1 lamb each for Nusku and Sadaranunna;

1. A possibly unusual situation occurs in AS1. One text (Fish, BJRL 11 [1927] no. 8) records offerings for the 20th. However, another text (*Annual Review of the RIM Project* 4 [1986], 4 no. 13) records offerings for days 7, 8 (phases of the moon) and 13 (festival of Annunitum) for Ur followed by a section for days 21-30 for the *é-muḥaldim* (at Nippur). The 21st was the period of the *gusisu*-festival, and thus may be the reason that the text begins with the 21st of the month. For each of these days there is a one line entry of oxen. On the 22nd there is an entry for a cow and for the 23rd there are multiple entries of oxen and cows for Enlil, and oxen for Nanna, Inanna, Ninḥursag, Namḥani, and Urmes the singer. If the entries for the 23rd are for the *gusisu*-festival, then it would be the only reference to a date past the 22nd.

2. See Civil, "The Song of the Plowing Oxen," *Kramer AV*, 93 for *gi<sup>3</sup>en-KU* "plow(?)."

*Royal offerings for the Temple of Enlil*: 1 lamb each for Nusku, Ninurta and Ninlil; 2 goats for the Gate of Enlil; 1 ewe for Kalkal; 1 lamb and 1 goat for the abzu of Enlil; 48 ewes, 1 lamb and 1 goat for Enlil; 2 ewes and 1 lamb for the Hursaggalama; and 2 ewes for the royal statue;

*Royal offerings for the Temple of Ninlil*: 1 lamb and 1 goat for the abzu of Ninlil; 36 sheep, 13 goats and 1 lamb for Ninlil; 2 sheep and 1 lamb for Nanna; 1 goat for the footstool; 1 sheep each for Nisaba and Nintinugga; 2 goats for the stool; 1 goat each for the harp and for the chariot; 1 sheep each for Ur-Suen and Enlillazi; 1 goat for the plow; and 3 sheep for the royal statue;

*Offerings with honey-wine*: 5 sheep, 3 female lambs and 4 young goats for the Sacred Mound; 1 lamb each for Nanna and Inanna.

Offerings of bovines on the 21st are recorded elsewhere: 1 ox and 7 cows as *šu-gid* offerings for the cook-house, for the maidservants and "sons" of Enlil and Ninlil, provisions for the *gusisu*-festival, the 21st day" (Michalowski, OA 16 [1977], YBC 12565); offerings for Enlil: 1 suckling calf; for Nanna: 1 grain-fed ox; and for Ninlil: 10 grain-fed oxen, 1 grain-fed cow, 1 suckling calf, 4 common sheep, 20 goats, 1 grain-fed, unplucked sheep, 2 grain-fed, top-quality mountain sheep, 2 grain-fed, top-quality goats, and 1 grain-fed, top-quality young goat (Jones-Snyder SET 64). Another text records ovine offerings: "2 grain-fed, top-quality sheep for Enlil, 1 grain-fed, top-quality sheep and 1 top-quality grain-fed ewe for Ninlil, for the *gusisu*-festival, 21st day" (M. Lambert, RA 49 [1955] no. 11).

#### THE 22ND OF THE MONTH

The first two days were but a prelude to the third day, the climax of the festival, when special honors were bestowed upon Ninurta (Lugalḡusis), the chief god of the festival. As on the second day, the Great Offering was performed:

*Ninlil temple*: 1 lamb each for Nusku, Ninurta, Enlil, the Hursaggalama, and Ninlil; 1 ewe and 1 lamb for Nanna; 1 ewe each for Nisaba, Nintinugga and Ninḥursag;

*The Great Offering* (*sizkur-gu-la*): 1 ewe each for Ninḥursag, Nusku, Ninurta, Inanna, Ninsun, Lugalbanda, Enki, and Nintinugga;

*Royal offerings*: 1 ewe and 1 lamb for Ninurta; 1 ewe and 1 goat for Ninḡibru; 1 lamb each for Nusku and Sadaranunna;

*Offerings of 1 sheep each for Lugalḡusis and Memeḡaga, the en-priest of Nina*

*Offerings with fish:* 1 lamb each for Enlil and Ninlil.

Several Drehem tablets dated to the 22nd refer to the bathing of Ninurta. A Drehem tablet from AS7 ii 22 records 3 grain-fed sheep as the "great offering" for Ninlil and 1 grain-fed sheep for the ritual lustration of Ninurta (Fish *Catalogue* 355). PDT I 572 records: the uzu-a-bal and Great Offering (sizkur-gu-la): "1 grain-fed ox each for Enlil and Ninlil; royal offering for the [gusis]-festival: 1 grain-fed ox for Ninḫursag, 1 grain-fed ... ox for the Sacred Mound, one grain-fed ox for Utu, 1 grain-fed ox and 1 grain-fed ... ox for the bathing of Ninurta, 1 grain-fed ox each for Šu-Sin, Suen, Šulgi, Ninsun, Lugalbanda, Ninimma, Lugalḡusis, Enki and Nintinugga." Another Drehem tablet contains daily disbursements of cattle for the second month (Jones-Snyder SET 60, AS3). Days 1 to 19 each contain a one line entry of the form "x cattle for the *n*th day." The 20th and 21st of the month, however, contain the entries "2 suckling calves for Enlil and Ninlil for the 20th; 2 suckling calves for Enlil and Ninlil and 4 cows and 2 suckling calves for the 21st." Thus the tablet suggests something special for the 20th and 21st of the month. Thereupon follow a series of entries summed as "the gusis-festival for the 22nd." The text is partially broken: "2 grain-fed oxen for Ninurta and 1 grain-fed ox each for Suen, [...] and Ninḫursag." The double portion for Ninurta is further evidence that this festival was in honor of Ninurta. A Drehem tablet records a large quantity of ovines: 83 sheep, 85 ewes, 166 goats, 64 female goats and [...] lambs for the 22nd of the month as offerings for the gusis festival (AUCT 2 306).

A document assuredly concerning the gusis-festival is a list of offerings from Drehem for the 22nd of the second month in the 46th year of Šulgi (Sauren *NY Public Library* 348). The list includes the expected offerings:

*Ninlil temple:* 1 sheep each for ... and Ninlil, 1 grain-fed ox, 1 two year old grain-fed cow and 1 lamb for Enlil, 1 lamb for the Ḫursaggalama, 1 grain-fed ox, 1 two year old grain-fed cow and 1 lamb for Ninlil, 1 sheep and 1 lamb for Nanna, 1 sheep each for Nisaba, Nintinugga and Ninḫursag;

*The Great Offering* (sizkur-gu-la): 2 lambs for the "sacred mound", 1 sheep each for Ninḫursag, Nusku, and Ninsun, 1 goat each for Ninurta, Inanna, Lugalbanda, Enki, and Nintinugga;

It is the royal offerings which indicate that Ninurta was the main god of the celebration):

*Royal offerings:* 2 grain-fed oxen, 4 sheep, 1 lamb and 1 goat for Ninurta, and (for) the ritual bathing of Ninurta.

A pre-Ur III tablet discussed above (Westenholz *Jena* 160) includes a pig as one of the offerings for the holiday. But not one of the Ur III documents

lists pigs, probably indicating that pigs were no longer used as offerings during the gusis-festival.

A probable reference to the acquisition of oxen for the gusis-festival is from a Drehem text dated to ŠS9 i (i<sup>u</sup>še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>) which records the purchase of 4 oxen for the "Plow of Ningirsu" (Manchester no. 3488).<sup>1</sup>

The pattern of offerings indicates that the most prestigious gods received a lamb offering: Enlil, Ninlil, Ninurta, Nusku, Inanna and the Ḫursaggalama. Nanna, the chief god of the royal capital Ur, is uniquely honored by both a lamb and a ewe on both days. The standard offering was a ewe or a sheep and the least significant offering was just a goat, offered to the footstool, the harp, the chariot, the plow, the gates of Enlil, and to the gods Suen and Nintinugga on the second day.

Ninurta was central to the gusis-festival, as noted by large quantities of offerings for Ninurta and the ritual bathing of Ninurta on the 22nd of the month, the culmination of the festival. The term gu<sub>4</sub>-si-su was incorporated into epithets of Ninurta (in the Old Babylonian recension of the lamentation zi-bu-um zi-bu-um of Enlil, Ninurta is ù-mu-un-gur<sub>4</sub>-u[ša-gu<sub>4</sub>] si-sá<sup>2</sup>). Ur III Nippur tablets list offerings to a god <sup>d</sup>Lugal-gu<sub>4</sub>-si-su (a manifestation of Ninurta) on the third day.<sup>3</sup> A statue of Lugalḡusis was stationed in the temple of Ninurta (MVN 10 144) in Nippur (another text [Sauren *Wirtschaftsurkunden* 154] refers to his statue in the temple of Nintinugga in Nippur) and a building at Nippur was referred to as the "palace of Lugalḡusis" (YBC 1351: 1 úg é-gal<sup>d</sup>Lugal-gu<sub>4</sub>-si-su ... ša Nibru<sup>ki</sup>). One of the gates of Nippur was named "The Gate of Lugalḡusis" (abul-lugal-gu<sub>4</sub>-si-su), which, as Landsberger noted, probably derived its name from cultic activity associated with the gusis-festival.<sup>4</sup> A text from the Inanna temple in Nippur records festival offerings to Ninurta this month, as well as referring to a gusis-boat (má-gu<sub>4</sub>-si-su).<sup>5</sup>

The Sumerian composition "Lipit-Ištar and the Plow" provides insights into the ritual of the gusis-festival and was composed to commemorate the festival observance during the reign of Lipit-Ištar of Isin (1934–1924 B.C.). In the ritual the king of Isin assumed the role of the divine farmer Ninurta. Lipit-

1. The cult of Ningirsu in relation to the plow and oxen is also evident in Ur III Girsu on a tablet which contains a long list of cattle summed as "plow-oxen of Ningirsu" (gu<sub>4</sub>-apin-gub-ba<sup>d</sup>Nin-gir-suka) (Barton *Haverford* 80).

2. In first millennium B.C. editions of the lamentation a-gal-gal buru<sub>14</sub> su-su Nergal has the epithet umun-gu<sub>4</sub>-si-sá (M.E. Cohen *Lamentations*, 500ff.).

3. BIN 3 221; MVN 10 144; AASF B 92 572; Hallo, JCS 14 (1960), 103 NCBT 1607; Sigrist *Rochester* 81; Sauren *Wirtschaftsurkunden*, 154; TCL 2 AO 5501.

4. Attested in the Ur III period in Yildiz-Gomi PDT 2 1050 (abul<sup>d</sup>Lugal-gu<sub>4</sub>-si-su) and attested in first millennium B.C. Nippur as abul-lugal-gu<sub>4</sub>-si-sá in BE 8 1, BE 10 45 and 46; BE 10 29: abul-lugal-gu<sub>4</sub>-si-sá.

5. Zettler, *Inanna Temple* 6NT 430 a-b = NBC 10850.

Ištar presumably laid hold of a ritual plow and performed certain functions indicative of using the plow. According to this text, Ninurta took out the plow at the place where the fates are determined and various deities then operated it, presumably each god's handling of the plow representing a blessing. At the completion of these activities praise was uttered and:

[In] the month *gusisu*, [at] the place the fates are determined,  
Nar, the great singer of Enlil, (sings the song:) "He Has a Father."  
The hero ..., has performed (his) divine function.  
Ningal, the ... of Enlil, let go of the plow and removed the yoke.  
From that place the gods depart to [perform their routine] duties.  
Ninurta stands by the Ekurzagin, head raised high,  
and calls forth to his father, the great mountain Enlil:  
"My father, the divine functions of the month *gusisu* have been completed;  
seed has touched the earth."

There are exhortations to Ninurta, the farmer, and to Lipit-Ištar, who assumes the role of Ninurta, to plow the fields and seed the ground.

This same scenario is described in the composition "Išme-Dagan and Enlil's Chariot,"<sup>1</sup> wherein Išme-Dagan, king of Isin and predecessor of Lipit-Ištar, assumed the role of Ninurta and dropped the first seed:

Let the hoe (and) the plow, the implements of the working people, have a  
contest before you.  
The King paid attention to Enlil's instructions,  
Ninurta put the holy plow in good order, and plows the fertile field.  
So that the silos and granaries of Enlil  
May be piled high, he drops the fertile seed.  
The youthful Hero proudly enters the resplendent Ekur.

Because use of the plow was the central act of the *gusisu*-festival, the Sumerian composition "Plow and Hoe," which fortunately has been preserved, was recited as part of the festival's activities. The dialogue between Plow and Hoe was recited also in the eighth month during the first millennium B.C., the month when the plow was put away until the following year.<sup>2</sup>

Another composition, "The Song of the Plowing Oxen," an ù-lu-lu-ma-ma to Ninurta, was recited at the *gusisu*-festival.<sup>3</sup> And, as M. Civil observes, the composition "Lipit-Ištar and the Plow" (quoted above) actually quotes several lines from "The Song of the Plowing Oxen." According to "Lipit-Ištar and the Plow," the man who is leading the oxen says:<sup>4</sup>

1. M. Civil, "Išme-Dagan and Enlil's Chariot," *Studies Speiser*, 3ff. The following translation is according to Civil.

2. See pp. 331-332.

3. M. Civil, *Kramer AV*, 83ff.

4. Translation Civil, *op. cit.*, 85; lines 2 through 6 below of "Lipit-Ištar and the Plow" are actually an extract from "The Song of the Plowing Oxen."

My king, I want to praise the leading oxen of the plow:  
'Ellu! go, oxen, go, put the neck under the yoke,  
go, royal oxen, go, put the neck under the yoke!  
Step on the furrows of the fertile field, that the sides be made straight.  
With your lion's tail beat the sides of the plow,  
Your step, oxen, rejoices the people, you have been given strength to work!  
The oxen you guide, Lipit-Ištar, and your song is a pleasure.

"The Song of the Plowing Oxen" contains the following sections:

- 1) Exhortation by the farmer (Civil suggests that the farmer is the king, or perhaps a god) to the oxen to submit to the yoke.
- 2) The Farmer goes to Nanše to induce a dream, the purpose of which, Civil suggests, might be to select the proper oxen for the plow.
- 3) (*large break*)
- 4) Enkimdu, the god of dikes and canals, discusses irrigating the fields.
- 5) The Farmer is exhorted to prepare his implements: the harrow, hoe and plow.
- 6) The implements are taken from storage and refitted for the Farmer; the fields are cleared of stumps.
- 7) (*16 lines missing or poorly preserved*)
- 8) The oxen are exhorted to submit to the yoke and as a result there is drinking in the alehouse and Inanna is happy.

The emphasis of this composition is upon the preparation for seeding, rather than performance of the actual seeding. Oxen are selected through the intervention of the dream-interpreter, Nanše; irrigation is arranged with Enkimdu; the harrow is refitted with new teeth; the fields are cleared of stumps by the hoe; and the carpenter tightens the straps of the plow, which had been stored the last eight months hanging from a beam. Although the seeding by the farmers would not begin in earnest until the fall, the *gusisu*-festival marked the onset of preparations for seeding: finishing the clearing of fields, refitting of tools, final checking of the irrigation system, and obtaining a team of oxen for the plow. It marked the onset of the entire agricultural cycle, culminating in the planting in the fall and the harvesting in the spring. The ritual observance of the *gusisu*-festival included the symbolic dropping of seed by the plow onto the earth ("seed must touch the earth,") to demonstrate that the ritual preparations were complete.

There are Middle Babylonian recensions of both "The Song of the Plowing Oxen" and "Lipit-Ištar and the Plow." And Civil notes a Middle- or Neo-Babylonian exercise tablet from Nippur which mentions *ezem-gal ezem-iti-gu4-si-su* "the great festival, the *gusisu*-festival."<sup>1</sup> However, this is inconclusive ev-

idence as to whether the *gusis*-festival continued to be observed after the Old Babylonian period. Compositions continued to be copied as scribal exercises and for antiquity's sake, not necessarily as a result of continued ritual usage. Moreover, the Middle-Babylonian versions mention Lipit-Ištar, indicating that this was not a catch-all text in which the name of the current monarch was inserted.

Umma tablet PTS 824 is a rather unusual document for it records the Great Offering (which was restricted to festivals) in Nippur for the fifth and sixth days of the second month, <sup>it</sup>sig<sub>4</sub>-<sup>giš</sup>NI-šub-gá-ra in Š46 (or possibly AS3). Although the text does not specifically state "in Nippur," the references to the Sacred Mound, to the lustration (a-tu<sub>5</sub>-a) of Nintinugga, to Enlil and Ninlil, and the absence of Šara from the listed gods, clearly indicates Nippur, rather than Umma, as the destination of the offerings. The listing of offerings for the Great Offerings before and after those for the *ešeš*-festival of the fifth of the month indicates that the Great Offering spanned at least two days, the fifth and sixth. Thus these could not be offerings intended for the *gusis*-festival later in the month. However, we are unaware of any other references to a festival in Nippur at this time.

- 1 two-year old cow for Enlil (and)
- 1 two-year old cow for Ninlil
- (for) the Great Offering,
- 1 two-year old cow (as) the offering for the Place-of-Utu,
- 2 high-quality grain-fed oxen, 5 grain-fed oxen, (and)
- 1 (two)-year old cow for Enlil,
- 2 high-quality grain-fed oxen, 5 grain-fed oxen, (and)
- 1 two-year old cow for Ninlil,
- 1 two-year old cow for the Sacred Mound,
- 1 grain-fed ox for the lustration of Nintinugga,
- 1 grain-fed ox for Ninhursag,
- 1 grain-fed ox for Inanna, (and)
- 1 grain-fed ox for Nintinugga
- withdrawn (for) the *ešeš*-(festival) on the fifth day (of the month).
- 1 two-year old ox for Enlil (and)
- 1 two-year old ox for Ninlil
- (for) the Great Offering
- withdrawn on the sixth day (of the month).

### iii. sig<sub>4</sub>-<sup>giš</sup>u<sub>5</sub>-šub-ba-gá-gar

In the pre-Sargonic and Sargonic periods the following Nippur orthographies for "the month the brick is placed in the brick mold" are attested:

1. Civil, *ibidem* 84 (12N-T 499).

<sup>it</sup>sig<sub>4</sub>-<sup>giš</sup>u<sub>5</sub>-šub-gá-gar (Westenholz *Jena* 90, Westenholz OSP 1 16), <sup>it</sup>sig<sub>4</sub>-<sup>giš</sup>u<sub>5</sub>-šub-ba-gá-gar (Westenholz OSP 1 54), <sup>it</sup>sig<sub>4</sub>-<sup>giš</sup><u<sub>5</sub>>-šub-ba-gá-gar (Westenholz *Jena* 92), <sup>it</sup>sig<sub>4</sub>-<sup>giš</sup>u<sub>5</sub>-šub-ba-gar (Westenholz OSP 1 15), <sup>it</sup>sig<sub>4</sub>-<sup>giš</sup>šub-ba-galga (Pohl, TuM 5 92), [<sup>it</sup>sig<sub>4</sub>-<sup>giš</sup>]u<sub>4</sub>-šub-gá-gar (Westenholz OSP 2 153). In the Ur III period the following Nippur orthographies are attested: <sup>it</sup>sig<sub>4</sub>-ga (Owen NATN 17), <sup>it</sup>sig<sub>4</sub>-a (Owen NATN 50); <sup>it</sup>sig<sub>4</sub>-ka (Owen NATN 432), <sup>it</sup>sig<sub>4</sub> (Owen NATN 281), <sup>it</sup>sig<sub>4</sub>-sig<sub>4</sub>-ga (Pohl, TuM 5 25 [dated by the Drehem calendar to <sup>it</sup>ezem-me-ki-gál]), <sup>it</sup>sig<sub>4</sub>-šub-ba-gar-ra (Owen NATN 484), sig<sub>4</sub>-gar-r[a] (?) (Owen NATN 427), <sup>it</sup>sig<sub>4</sub>-ù-šub-ba-gar (BE 3 13). The abbreviated Nippur form <sup>it</sup>sig<sub>4</sub>, which was to become the standard logogram for the third month from the Southern-Mesopotamian Sumerian calendar, is attested as early as the middle of the reign of Šulgi (Owen NATN 740 [Š24]).

This month name also occurs as the second month of the Umma calendar. However, Umma scribes almost always write brick mold as <sup>giš</sup>NI-šub, whereas the Nippur scribes write <sup>giš</sup>u<sub>5</sub>-šub, <sup>giš</sup>ù-šub and even <sup>giš</sup>u<sub>4</sub>-šub, but never <sup>giš</sup>NI-šub. Umma variants are: <sup>it</sup>sig<sub>4</sub>-<sup>giš</sup>NI-šub-ba-gar (Bedale *Umma* 23), <sup>it</sup>sig<sub>4</sub>-šub-ba-gar-ra (Owen NATN 484), <sup>it</sup>sig<sub>4</sub>-<sup>giš</sup>NI-šub-gar (Kang *Umma* 264), <sup>it</sup>sig<sub>4</sub>-šub-gar-[ra] (MVN 14 219), <sup>it</sup>sig<sub>4</sub>-NI-šub-ba-gá-gar (Durand *Catalogue EPHE* 39), <sup>it</sup>sig<sub>4</sub>-<sup>giš</sup>NI-šub-gá-gar (Kang *Umma* 308), <sup>it</sup>sig<sub>4</sub>-ba-gar (Durand *Catalogue EPHE* 295), <sup>it</sup>sig<sub>4</sub>-<sup>giš</sup>NI-šub-ba-gá-ra (Forde *Nebraska* 47), <sup>it</sup>sig<sub>4</sub>-<sup>giš</sup>NI-šub-gá-ra (Kang *Umma* 29), <sup>it</sup>sig<sub>4</sub>-<sup>giš</sup>NI-šub-gá (Conteneau *Umma* 8), <sup>it</sup>sig<sub>4</sub>-<sup>giš</sup>NI-šub-ba-gál-la (Conteneau *Umma* 41), <sup>it</sup>gišNI-šub-gál-la (Sigrist PTS 235), <sup>it</sup>sig<sub>4</sub>-<sup>giš</sup>NI-šub-ba-gál-la (Sigrist PTS 274), <sup>it</sup>sig<sub>4</sub>-<sup>giš</sup>NI-šub-ba-gál (Or 47 no. 189), <sup>it</sup>sig<sub>4</sub>-<sup>giš</sup>NI-šub-gál-la (Or 47 no. 206), <sup>it</sup>sig<sub>4</sub>-<sup>giš</sup>NI-šub-gá-gál (CTMMA 1 Ur III 45), <sup>it</sup>sig<sub>4</sub>-<sup>giš</sup>NI-šub-gá-ra-gál-la (AnOr 7 no. 276), <sup>it</sup>sig<sub>4</sub>-<sup>giš</sup>NI-gá-ra (BIN 5 33), <sup>it</sup>sig<sub>4</sub>-<sup>giš</sup>NI-šub-gá-gá-ra (Oberhuber *Florenz* 78), <sup>it</sup>sig<sub>4</sub>-<sup>giš</sup>NI-šub (MVN 2 372), <sup>it</sup>gišNI-šub-gá-ra (YOS 4 231), <sup>it</sup>sig<sub>4</sub>-<sup>giš</sup>NI-gar-gar (Boson *Tavolette* 312), <sup>it</sup>sig<sub>4</sub>-<sup>giš</sup>NI-gál-la (Archi-Pomponio *Tavolette* 18), <sup>it</sup>sig<sub>4</sub>-ù-šub-ba-gar-ra (Grégoire AAS no. 35), <sup>it</sup>sig<sub>4</sub>-BI-ù-<šub>-ba-gá-ra (MVN 3 138), <sup>it</sup>sig<sub>4</sub>-<sup>giš</sup>ù-šub-ba-gá-ra (Kang *Umma* 243; JCS 23 [1971], 97 no. 5), <sup>it</sup>sig<sub>4</sub>-ù-šub-ba[...] (Sigrist PTS 1158), <sup>it</sup>sig<sub>4</sub>-<sup>giš</sup>-gá-ra (Toronto 925.62.82).<sup>1</sup>

There is a reference to the orthography <sup>giš</sup>NI-šub in an Ur III Umma tablet listing objects for the Tummal in Nippur (RA 16 [1919] 49 obv. ii [Š36]). Another Ur III tablet (provenience unknown) records 70 <sup>giš</sup>NI-šub in an accounting for the é-MI of Gaes.<sup>2</sup> Steinkeller, examining usage of the sign NI in pre-Sargonic Lagaš orthography, suggests reading the Umma orthography NI-šub as u<sub>x</sub>-šub: "... NI.RU.AN.NA, which is also documented as a part of [a]

1. Note the unusual orthography in an Old Babylonian letter from Kisurra: <sup>it</sup>sig<sub>4</sub>-ù-IGI-šub (Kienast *Kisurra*, 68:13).

2. *Annual Review of the RIM Project* 7 (1989), 17 tablet ML2.7 (AS7, no month).



chair (DP 486 iii 3), in all probability is to be read  $u_x$ -šub-an-na, with  $u_x$ -šub representing a variant spelling of  $ù/u_5$ -šub, '(brick-)mold', and with an-na meaning 'upper'.<sup>1</sup> Steinkeller references another pre-Sargonic Lagaš text: lú gá  $u_x$ (NI)-šub-ba <sup>d</sup>Nanše-ka sig<sub>4</sub> dí-m-me-dè, "men (who were designated) to make bricks in the brick mold shed of Nanše."<sup>2</sup> Lagaš, of course, is geographically near Umma and the political histories of the two towns are intertwined. Thus it would not be unexpected that scribal practices in Umma might reflect those of Lagaš rather than those of Nippur, much further north. The reading of NI as  $u_x$  is hinted at by the possible reading of the economic term lá-NI, "credit balance," as 'lau' on the basis of MSL 2 130 1: la-u<sub>4</sub> LÁL+KAK *ri-ib-ba-tum* and LÁL+A / *ribbatum* with the glosses la-al-ú and la-a'-u (AHw 980 sub *ribbatu(m)* I).<sup>3</sup> It may be significant that although Nippur freely interchanges  $ù$ ,  $u_5$  and occasionally  $u_4$  in the term "brick mold," Nippur scribes never utilize NI( $u_x$ ?) in the month name and conversely Umma scribes only rarely write  $ù$ -šub in the month name and never  $u_4$ -/ $u_5$ -. This would indicate either  $u_x$ -šub and  $ù/u_5$ -šub merely represent two orthographic traditions or the term NI-šub, "brick mold," represents a real pronounced, dialectal difference. If this latter alternative is valid, then a proposed reading in Umma and pre-Sargonic Lagaš as <sup>gi</sup>i-šub may be just as valid as proposing a reading <sup>gi</sup>i $u_x$ -šub. By post-Sargonic Lagaš the orthography  $ù$ -šub is attested in Lagaš.<sup>4</sup>

The Nippur orthography <sup>iti</sup>sig<sub>4</sub>-<sup>gi</sup>išub-ba-galga (Pohl, TuM NF 5 92), as well as the aforementioned orthographies gá-gar, gá-gá-ra, gá-ra-gál-la, and gá-gál, indicate an original duplicated verbal form gar-gar (with apparent variant gál-gál), thus \* <sup>iti</sup>sig<sub>4</sub>-<sup>gi</sup>išub-ba-gar-gar-ra "the month the bricks are set in the brick mold." For an early Lagaš attestation of the form gá-gar note Bauer *Lagash* 183: ku<sub>6</sub> gá-gar-ra-šè nu-mu-túm-a-ka-nam "Since they have not brought a suitable amount of fish"; for gá-gar as a variant for gar-gar in pre-Ur III Lagaš note Gudea Statue B v 5: u<sub>4</sub> mè-šè gù gá-gar-àm "the storm which raises his voice to go to war." For later attestations of gar-gar / gá-gar, "to deposit," "to set," or "to pile up" note: Sjöberg, Nungal in the Ekur, AfO 24 (1973), 32 73: nin agrig-zi-<sup>d</sup>En-líl-lá-me-en ni-ga ma-gar-gar (yar. ma-GAR-GAR) "I am the lady, the true stewardess of Enlil, he has heaped possessions for me"; gù-gar-gar *garānu*, "to pile up," (CAD G 46); gar-gar *kumurrū* (CAD K); AUCT 2 412: 10 gín kù-<babbar> gar-gar gál-la "a total of 10 shekels of silver"; Sauren *NY Public Library* 9: ni-gál-la gar-gar-dè "provisions have

1. "II. Threshing Implements in Ancient Mesopotamia: Cuneiform Sources," *Iraq* 52 (1990), 22.  
2. *Ibidem* n. 37, DP 122 iii 4-5.

3. Lafont *Tello*, p. 246 transliterates the term lá-NI as lá-i. For a discussion of the reading of the sign LÁL+NI, see P. Steinkeller, *AuOr* 2 (1984), 137ff.

4. Gudea Cylinder A xviii 17. For NI having a value 'a<sub>x</sub>' in third-millennium Ebla, see L. Milano, "NI = 'a<sub>x</sub>' nel Sillabario di Ebla," *Studi Eblaite* VII (1984), 213ff.

been deposited"; AHw 1137 sub *šakānu* Gtn 11); má gá-gar and má gá-gá-ra, "to set onto a boat," (AUCT p. 59); TCS 1 222: še ni-gál-la ù maš a-šà-ga-bi Ur-<sup>d</sup>Utu ḥa-za-núm i-in-gá-gar-ra "The stored barley and the yield of the field, which Ur-Utu, the mayor, had deposited."

The month was named for the production of bricks using a brick mold. A Drehem tablet contains the entry: [síz] kur ki-sig<sub>4</sub>-<sup>gi</sup>išub-ba-gar-ra "an offering at the place the brick is set in the brick mold" (MVN 10 169). This document is dated to the month <sup>iti</sup>maš-dà-gu<sub>7</sub>-min. M. Cooper suggests that this month coincided with the standard Drehem calendar intercalary 13th month of Š44.<sup>1</sup> Yet this would be three months earlier than the Nippur month <sup>iti</sup>sig<sub>4</sub>-<sup>gi</sup>išub-ba-gá-gar and two months too early for the Umma month of the same name. Possibly Šulgi's actions were not part of an annual cultic celebration, but were in response to a specific event, analogous to the modern symbolic act of breaking ground as marking the beginning of building activities. The most noted example of the symbolic placing of the brick in the brick mold at the onset of building activities is Gudea's building of Ningirsu's Eninnu temple.<sup>2</sup>

Landsberger did not believe that this month involved any specific cultic activity relating to the placement of a brick in a brick mold, but rather was originally named after the making and follow-up drying of bricks in this month's hot summer sun.<sup>3</sup> However, at Umma there was, indeed, a special ceremony for the brick mold during the month, <sup>iti</sup>sig<sub>4</sub>-<sup>gi</sup>išub-ba-gar-ra (second month at Umma), which, as part of the cult of Šara, was performed probably at some point after the 7th of the month. The Umma tablet Toronto 967.827.12 (AS6 ii) lists offerings for the new moon, for the 7th of the month (<sup>gi</sup>išigir u<sub>4</sub>-7), daily provisions (á-u<sub>4</sub>-da), and 1 grass-fed sheep as provisions for the "laying of the brick in the brick mold" (ni-dab<sub>5</sub> sig<sub>4</sub> <sup>gi</sup>išub-ba gar-ra).

#### iv. šu-numun

The month <sup>iti</sup>šu-numun occurred in pre-Sargonic Nippur and Ur III Girsu as the fourth month and in Ur III Umma as the sixth month. At Ur the á-ki-ti festival of the seventh month was called á-ki-ti šu-numun, although there was never a month <sup>iti</sup>šu-numun at Ur.

An Ur III Lagaš tablet contains the only attestation of a variant <sup>iti</sup>še-numun for <sup>iti</sup>šu-numun (Sauren *Wirtschaftsurkunden* 108: <sup>iti</sup>še-numun-ta <sup>iti</sup>ezem-<sup>d</sup>Dumu-zi-šè). However, Landsberger, reiterating the suspicions of Thureau-Dangin, suggested that the month name <sup>iti</sup>šu-numun should not be interpreted as de-

1. "The Drehem Calendars During the Reign of Šulgi," *ZA* 77 (1987), 182.

2. Gudea Cyl. A xiii 16ff., xviii 17.

3. LSS 6 1/2; 29.



iving simply from *itiše-numun*, the month of “seed sowing.”<sup>1</sup> To support his suggestion, Landsberger noted the form *itišu-še-numun* in a Nippur document (BE 3 53) and occurrences of *itišu-ni-gi-na* (LIH III 36) and *itišu-ni-gi-na* (VAS 9 183), which Landsberger suggested might be phonetic writings for *itišu-numun*. Landsberger hypothesized that *numun* in *itišu-numun* might be an old Emesal form for *nigin*. However, the only syllabic Emesal attestation of *nigin* or *šu-nigin* is *šu mu-un-na-ni-me-en* for *šu mu-un-na-nigin*.<sup>2</sup> The references to *itišu-ni-gi-na* and *itišu-ni-gi-na* are Old Babylonian and, although they are unusual variants for our month, we are skeptical about the importance of these orthographies for understanding the pre-Sargonic meaning of *itišu-numun*. Assuming that the Ur III scribe of BE 3 53 did understand the term *šu-numun*, the orthography *itišu-še-numun* indicates that *numun* was, indeed, “seed,” and that *šu* was not a variant for *še*.

The key to understanding the month name *itišu-numun* is two passages from the Sumerian “Disputation Between the Plow and Hoe.” This fourth month was the time to start preparing the fields for seeding, and the plow was utilized in this process, as the plow boasts (Hoe and Plow 24, manuscript Civil): *ezem-mu itišu-numun-a-a-ša-ga aka-da-bi* “my festival, in the month *šu-numun*, is when the fields are worked.” Thus it would seem quite likely that the month name *itišu-numun* should somehow be related to activity involving the plow, since this month was “the plow’s holiday!” However, two texts omit the month determinative *ITI* in this passage.<sup>3</sup> This omission may be an intentional play upon the name of the month and its true etymology: “my festival, when seeding occurs in the fields.”

Our month name may well be a shortened form for: *itišu-numun-ak*. The form *šu-ak* serves as a causative. Note the expressions: *šu-gibil ak* “to make new”<sup>4</sup>; *šu-ḫul ak* “to do evil”<sup>5</sup>; *šu gišḫa-lu-ub<sub>4</sub> ak* “to place *ḫaluppu*-trees.”<sup>6</sup> Our expression *šu-numun ak* means “to seed.” Support for an original form *\*itišu-numun-ak/a<sub>5</sub>* may be detected in the numerous occurrences of *itišu-numun-a* and *itišu-numun-na*, which, as seen in the form *itišu-numun-a-še*<sup>7</sup> is not a locative “in the month *šu-numun*.”

Further support for this interpretation derives again from the “Disputation Between the Plow and Hoe,” a composition which in later Assyria was

1. Th. Dangin, RA 8 (1911), 87; B. Landsberger, LSS 6 1/2, 30.

2. M.E. Cohen *Eršemma*, 64.

3. STVC 117, Um. 29-16-57+N 1777.

4. CT 21 44 17-20: *lugal bára-bára-dingir-gal-gal-e-ne šu-gibil bí-in-ak-a*; Warad-Sin 10 18-19: *uru-ti-dingir-ma-da-bi-ne šu-gibil bí-in-ak*; Rim-Sin 11 20-21: *lú é-dingir-re-e-ne šu-gibil bí-in-ak-a*.

5. The Uruk Lament 1, 24: *ní me-lám ság-gá gál-la-ba šu-ḫul a-ba-a in-ak*.

6. AnSt 30 (1980), 8, 63-64: *kar sa-ám-me šu gišḫa-lu-ub<sub>4</sub> a[k-me-eš] sír-re-meš <šu> gišḫa-lu-ub<sub>4</sub> ak-me-eš imin ḫé-na-[me-eš]*.

7. Gomi, *Ancient Orient Museum* II (1980), no. 107 (BM 12649).

recited during the eighth month as part of agricultural rites.<sup>1</sup> The hoe brags that he is used all year round, whereas the plow is utilized but four months and then put away (lines 107-109): *u<sub>4</sub>-zag-mu iti-12-ám u<sub>4</sub>-gub-ba-zu iti-4-ám u<sub>4</sub>-zāḫ-zu iti-8-ám* “My full term is 12 months. Your period of service is but 4 months. The time you’re hidden away is 8 months.” This line, which reflects actual agricultural practice, indicates that the plow was used in months 4 (the “holiday of the plow”), 5, 6 and 7. And in month 8 the plow was hung from a beam and stored away until next year.<sup>2</sup> This is exactly the name of the eighth month: *iti gišapin-duḡ-a*, “the month the seed-plow is let go” (*duḡ=paṭāru*, “to release, to let go”). In fact the Assyrian Astrolabe B renders the month name as meaning the month “the plow is released.”<sup>3</sup>

The naming of the fourth month at Nippur “the month of seeding” seems inappropriate, since seeding did not commence until the fall. Rather, in the fourth month (as noted in texts from Umma) the fields were prepared by removal of stones and clods from the furrows (Jones-Snyder SET 256, Yildiz and Gomi *Umma* 2122), weeding (Yildiz and Gomi *Umma* 2186, 2260), stubble removal (Yildiz and Gomi *Umma* 2182), and hoeing (Yildiz and Gomi *Umma* 1623, 2178). The plow was also used during these preparatory months as noted not only in the above cited literary compositions, but in an Umma document dating to the fourth month in which it is noted that workers did not have enough time to plow the field (Kang *Umma* 121).

At Umma and Ur, clearly the timing for usage of the term *šu-numun* was appropriate. The sixth month at Umma, which was the beginning of seeding, was named *itišu-numun* “the month of seeding.” And at Ur the *á-ki-ti* festival of the seventh month was differentiated from that of the first month by labelling it *á-ki-ti-šu-numun* “the *akitu*-festival of the seeding (season).”

There were four main phases in the agricultural cycle for the farmer. The first was the acquisition and retooling of equipment, which at Nippur was marked by the *gusisu*-festival in the second month. The second phase was the preparation of the fields in advance of the seeding. The third phase was the early and late seeding which occurred in the fall. And the fourth phase was the actual harvesting, the onset of which was marked by the *šekinku*-festival. The *šunumun*-festival at Nippur apparently marked the start of both the second and third phases, the field preparation and actual seeding. The more important of the two, the seeding, was used to name the festival. It is unclear

1. KAV 218, the Assyrian Astrolabe B: “The month Araḫsamna, the releasing of the plow, the hoe and plow hold a disputation in the field, the *akitu*-festival of the seeding (season) is celebrated, the month of Adad, the canal inspector of heaven and earth.”

2. Note Civil, “The Song of the Plowing Ox,” *Studies Sjöberg*, 89 124-125: “Once you have taken down your sacred plow, which was hanging from a beam (*giš-da-la lá-a-ba*), your master carpenter must tighten (its) bonds.”

3. KAV 218, cited above.

as to why there were not separate festivals to distinguish the second and third phases. Perhaps the existence at Nippur of the kin-<sup>d</sup>Inanna festival in the sixth month and the festival of the Sacred Mound in the seventh precluded another festival during this period.

The *gusis*-, *šunumun*-, and *šekinku*-festivals each occurred at the beginning of an agricultural phase to ensure coming success. The priest's blessing of the fishing boats at the beginning of the fishing season is a modern adaptation of this same concept.

In Nippur the *šunumun* festival occurred during the middle of the month, which, at least during the latter half of the Ur III period, was also referred to as the *á-ki-ti-šunumun* festival. There are two references to the *šunumun*-festival in Nippur without the term *á-ki-ti*. A disbursement of livestock as provisions for the festival states: "2 grain-fed sheep, 1 grain-fed lamb, 5 grain-fed ...-sheep and 1 goat for the goat-offering as provisions for the *šunumun*-festival" (Owen NATN 416: *nì-èzem-ma-šunumun-ka*). The tablet is dated to the 14th day of the month *iti-šunumun* in the year Š48. Although the day of the month is not preserved, a Drehem tablet (PDT I 300) records a grain-fed ox for the *èzem-šunumun-ka* in the fourth month (AS4 *iti-ki-sig-dNin-a-zu*). A balanced-account tablet from Nippur (Owen NATN 745) itemizes the delivery of wool, and although the beginning lines are broken away, the reverse states: *é ki-šunumun-ka mu-túm* "delivered into the temple which is the place of the *šunumun*-(festival)." This same location is referred to in a Drehem tablet (CUA 4) dated to the 22nd day of the fourth month (*iti-ki-sig-dNin-a-zu*) of Š44 which lists four locations receiving offerings as part of the *šunumun*-festival:

|                                     |  |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| 5 udu-niga ki- <sup>d</sup> Suen    | 5 grain-fed sheep for the place of Suen;                             |
| 5 udu-niga ki-šunumun-a             | 5 grain-fed sheep for the place of the <i>šunumun</i> ;              |
| 3 udu-niga <sup>815</sup> kirig-šim | 3 grain-fed sheep for the herb(?) garden; and                        |
| 4 udu-niga du <sub>6</sub> -kù      | 4 grain-fed sheep for the Sacred Mound                               |
| èzem-ki-šunum[un-a]                 | (for) the festival at the place of the <i>šunumun</i> . <sup>1</sup> |

It is understandable that there would have been offerings at the 'Place of Sin (the moon)' for a festival occurring at the full-moon and that offerings would have been performed at a garden for a festival which involved preparations for planting. The Sacred Mound at Nippur was the recipient of offerings at almost all festivals (see month 7 below). Unfortunately the ritual that occurred at the place of the *šunumun* is unknown.

1. The tablet Nakahara Sumerian Tablets 10, which dates to Š46 iv 17, may also refer to the *šunumun*-festival at Nippur. The text lists offerings for Enlil, Ninlil, *sizkur šá-é-a*, the Sacred Mound, Ninhursag, Nusku, Ninurta, Inanna, Ninsun, Lugalbanda, Nintinugga, *sizkur gi<sub>6</sub>* and offerings for the <sup>815</sup>kirig-mab. So too Watson *Birmingham I*, which dates to Š47 iv 15, may refer to the *šunumun*-festival. The tablet lists offerings for Enlil and Ninlil, which are *sizkur šá* [é?-gal?] and offerings for the Sacred Mound.

The term *á-ki-ti* is first attested on a list of barley rations from Šuruppak (Jestin TSŠ 881 obv. ii 1'-3'): [...] *á-ki-ti é-kur é-zi*, its tantalizing juxtaposition to the Ekur in this passage possibly indicating an early connection with Nippur. The festival name *á-ki-ti-šunumun* for this festival of the fourth month in Nippur occurs in a Drehem tablet dated to the 8th day, month 4 (*iti-ki-sig-dNin-a-zu*) in AS4: "1 grain-fed sheep and 1 grain-fed large goat each for Enlil and Ninlil ... for the *akiti-šunumun* (festival) ... for Nippur ... disbursed" (TLB 3 98). Although this disbursement occurs on the 8th, it is most likely that the actual observance occurred days later. A Drehem tablet dated to the fourth month (*iti-ki-sig-dNin-a-zu*) in AS7 records a day by day disbursement of bovines for Nippur and from the 11th of the month through the 13th grain-fed oxen were disbursed *ša á-ki-ti-šunumun* (MVN 13 694). PDT II 1232 also places the *akiti-šunumun*-festival in Nippur around the 11th day of the fourth month: "[...] for the *akiti-šunumun* (*ša-á-ki-t[i]-šunumun-na*); 1 grass-fed ox for Enlil and 1 grass-fed cow for Ninlil—it is a black ox—for the offering at daybreak at the entrance of the king in Nippur." A Drehem tablet from the fourth month (*iti-ki-sig-dNin-a-zu*) of AS4 records the withdrawal of 3 sheep which had originally been delivered for the *akiti-šunumun*-festival (AUCT 1 794). A Girsu document records *mašdaria*-offerings: *maš-dari á-ki-ti ša Nibru<sup>ki</sup>* (Lafont *Tello* 29); TuM NF 1/2 264 (ŠS iv 11): "1 grain-fed ox for Enlil and 1 grain-fed ox for Ninlil ... the midnight offering *ša á-ki-ti-šunumun*"; and a Drehem tablet which record two grain-fed oxen *ša á-ki-ti-šunumun-a ... ša Nibru<sup>ki</sup>* (PTS 138 [ŠS1 iv]). An *á-ki-ti*-street (*e-sir á-ki-ti*) in Nippur is mentioned in another Drehem text (PDT II 1050) as the location of an offering of a sheep and goat.<sup>1</sup>

The *á-ki-ti* festival at Nippur is mentioned in the "Message of Lu-Dingira to His Mother," in which a courier to Nippur is asked to hand a note from a loving son to his mother. One of the passages refers to the *á-ki-ti*-festival, (the Akkadianized forms *á-ki-tum* and *a-ki-tum* are used): "My mother fills songs (and) prayers with joy, her glance is *sparkling* in the Akitum-festival."<sup>2</sup> The mother's name was Šāt-Ištar and this, coupled with lines 15-16: "She stands humbly before the goddess, her lady, knows how to look after Inanna's place," raises the possibility that her participation in the *á-ki-ti* festival was more than that of an observer along the procession-way. She may have served the cult of Inanna in some capacity during the ceremonies.

1. A Drehem tablet dated the 23rd day of the fourth month (*iti-ug-bi-gu<sub>7</sub>*) in ŠS7 lists "1 grain-fed ... ox for Enlil, 1 grain-fed ... ox for Ninlil: the Great Offering (*sizkur-gu-la*) in Nippur at dawn" (MVN 10 225) and another Drehem text from ŠS1 dated to the 1st of the month records: "1 grain-fed ... ox each for Enlil and Ninlil: a royal Great Offering (*sizkur-gu-la*)" (AUCT 3 294). The observance of the Great Offering raises the specter of a special observance, yet the above quoted Nippur text indicates the *šunumun*-festival occurred around the 14th of the month.

2. Translation M. Civil, JNES 23 (1964), 5: 41-42.

The á-ki-ti festival probably originated in Ur as a reenactment of Nanna's originally entry into and claiming of Ur as his city, but was adopted and adapted elsewhere, including at Nippur at a very early time.<sup>1</sup> Nippur placed the two Ur á-ki-ti celebrations (which occurred at Ur at the new moon of the first and seventh months) in the Nippur months which bore the same names as the Ur festival names, á-ki-ti-šu-numun and á-ki-ti-še-kin-kuš, thus in Nippur months four and twelve. At Nippur the festival became associated with agricultural festivals in those two months, which eventually led to their celebration during the full moon, rather than during the new moon as at Ur.

There is a Drehem reference to the ezem-giš-gi, "the festival of the cane-brake," on the 1st day of the fourth month (MVN 15 352 [ŠS2 iv 1]): "1 grain-fed ox for Enlil and 1 grain-fed cow for Šuzianna ... provisions for the Festival of the Canebrake." The references to Enlil and Šuzianna suggest that Nippur may have been the site of the observance. For the possible significance of this festival for our understanding of the meaning of the term *ab/pum*, the festival and month name, see pp. 259-261.

#### v. ne-IZI-gar

For <sup>iti</sup>ne-IZI-gar as "(the month when) lamps/braziers are lit" see our discussion of the pre-Sargonic Ur month <sup>iti</sup>ne-gir<sub>x</sub>(UM). Note also the similar month name occurring at Ebla: <sup>iti</sup>ne-gar. A pre-Sargonic tablet from Ur (UET 2 Supplement no. 39) contains the term ne-gir<sub>x</sub>(UM)-IZI-gar, which is probably related to our Nippur month name ne-IZI-gar, an observation already made by Langdon.<sup>2</sup>

For the reading of the first sign in the month name, note the Old Babylonian variant: <sup>iti</sup>nì-IZI-gar (YOS 12 11). There is a lexical bilingual attestation of the term NE.NE.GAR along with pronunciation gloss: NE<sup>ni</sup>-niNE-ni-igGAR = *mimma šumšu*, "whatever it is."<sup>3</sup> However, this is not related to the meaning of our month name, since the third sign of the month name is to be read GAR, as demonstrated by the orthography <sup>iti</sup>ne-IZI-gar-ra (Owen NATN 169 and 275; Çig-Kizilyay NRVN 1 5).<sup>4</sup>

The term izi-gar, *dīpāru* "torch" or *nūru* "light," is well-attested.<sup>5</sup> The term izi-gar occurs in Proto-IZI without gloss<sup>6</sup> and for the reading izi-gar note TCL

1. For a full discussion of the development of the á-ki-ti festival, see pp. 400ff.

2. Langdon *Menologies*, 157.

3. CT 19 11 a iii 2 (Lanu).

4. Note the late explanation of the month name (ACh Sin 3:50, quoted CAD § 119 sub *šātu*): ITI.NE ITI *šātu* NE *šātu* ina *šāti qabi* "ITI.NE (usually the month of Ab means) 'this month', in the word list it is said that NE equals *šātu*."

5. See Å. Sjöberg, *Kramer AV*, 423 with references.

6. MSL 13 17.

6 51 r. 19 (quoted CAD D 156): *i-zi-ga-ri-zi-gar* (translated *di-pa-ri-ki*). Thus a reading ne-izi-gar is possible, although unproven; a reading ne-ne-gar is also possible, (ne-ne being perhaps a plural of ne, "brazier"). Note the section of the *Enuma Eliš* which deals with the names of Marduk, about which M. Stol notes: "NE.NE.GAR with the epithet *ša ina ramānišu banū*. The Akkadian is based on Sumerian *ní.ní.gar*, as W.G. Lambert has seen in AfO 17 (1954-56) 320, on line 6."<sup>1</sup>

Except for its use in the month name, the term ne-IZI-gar is unattested in Sumerian literary compositions. However, the lexical series IZI = *išātu* 191-193 has three bilingual entries for the term:<sup>2</sup>

ne-IZI-gar ŠU  
[ne-I]ZI-gar *ši-ki-in* IZI  
[ne-IZI]-gar *a-bu*

The third entry above is based upon equating this month with the Standard Mesopotamian month *Abu*. The second entry renders the term as *šikin išāti* "to make a fire." However, nowhere is Akkadian *išātu* equated with the duplicated form izi-izi. Rather, this appears to be an attempt at an etymology for the month name.<sup>3</sup> The first entry above indicates a derivative from Sumerian, *nēZIGarrū*, referring perhaps to the ne-IZI-gar observance.

The ne-IZI-gar observance is attested as early as pre-Sargonic or Sargonic Nippur in a receipt dated to the month <sup>iti</sup>ne-IZI-gar which itemizes bovines and hides for a shrine (ēš-šē) followed by "3 for Ninurta, 1 for Dingirmah, 1 for Inanna, 1 for Nusku, 1 for Nintinugga, 1 for Enki, 1 for Irda and 1 for Dingirmah [again!]; they are *nidba*-offerings of the ne-IZI-gar (observance)" (Westenholz *Jena* 154: *nidba* ne-IZI-gar-kam).

An Ur III Drehem tablet contains a reference with the term "festival," ezem-ne-IZI-gar (Nakahara *Sumerian Tablets* 44): "32 pastured sheep for the various statues in the temples of Enlil and Ninlil; the uzu-a-bal offering of the Great Offering (*sízkur-gu-la*)—provisions for the ne-IZI-gar festival (*nì-dab<sub>5</sub>-ezem-ne-IZI-gar*) provided by the king." This text is dated to the 11th day of the month (ŠS v 11). Another reference with the word ezem "festival" is from Nippur, (directly before an entry for the phase of the moon called the House-of-the-15th-Day) on a tablet dated to the fifth month: *nì-ezem-ne-IZI-gar-ra* (TuM NF I-II no. 121), supporting the 11th of the month as the festival date. In the year Š46 the first entry for a Drehem document dated to the fifth month records: 4 sila-ga *sízkur-ne-IZI-gar* [...] u<sub>4</sub>-12 ba-zal "4 suckling lambs (for) the ne-IZI-gar (observance) [...] on the 12th day" (MVN 8 216). Again

1. M. Stol, NABU 1989/3, 39.

2. MSL 13 159.

3. For a related meaning using this doubled form read *bar<sub>7</sub>-bar<sub>7</sub>* "flames," note Michalowski *Sumer and Ur* 79 with references.

in the fifth month in Drehem grain-fed oxen were disbursed for the ne-IZI-gar observance: 14 gu<sub>4</sub>-niga ni-é-e-sum-ma ne-IZI-gar ù é-u<sub>4</sub>-15 "14 grain-fed oxen given as temple provisions for the ne-IZI-gar (observance) and for the House-of-the-15th-Day" with another reference to 5 gu<sub>4</sub>-niga ne-IZI-gar-še on the same tablet (Langdon *Archives of Drehem* 27, quoted LSS 6 1/2). The ne-IZI-gar offering for the "royal" Geštinanna, Ningišzida of the winery(?), and Ningegal of the é-uri is attested for the 11th of the month (MVN 15 118 [IS1 v 11]).

The ne-IZI-gar was observed in other cities, though at varying times of the year. A ne-IZI-gar observance occurred in Sargonic Adab, probably during the eighth month (A 865, Zhi *Adab* 342): "1.5 liters of ... emmer meal (for) the ne-IZI-gar." This text is dated to the seventh month (<sup>iti</sup>du<sub>6</sub>-kù) and lists offerings for the festival ni-gi<sup>is</sup>kirig in the eighth month and for the ne-IZI-gar observance. The ne-IZI-gar observance of Ninġursag was celebrated around the 20th of the fourth month in Urusagrig (Watson *Birmingham* I 66). A Girsu text (MVN 6 427) records ghee and large and small cheeses to be sent to Nippur for the ne-IZI-gar and oil and large cheeses for KIN-<sup>d</sup>Inanna. The absence of the month determinative indicates that these offerings were for specific observances. There are references to the ne-IZI-gar observance being observed in Ur during the eighth, possibly ninth, and tenth months. A tablet dated to ŠS9 x 9 indicates that the ne-IZI-gar was more than just a type of sacrifice. The text notes seven deities or statues as receiving offerings at day-break as part of the ne-IZI-gar observance: "1 grain-fed ox for the Great Offering of Nanna, and 1 grain-fed ox for Šu-Sin-The-Beloved-of-Nanna, 2 grain-fed oxen for Ninsun, 1 grain-fed ox for Šu-Sin-The-Beloved-of-Ninsun, 1 grain-fed ox for Gula, 1 grass-fed ox for Allatum and 1 grass-fed ox for Meslamtaea—the provisions for the ne-IZI-gar (ni-dab<sub>5</sub>-ne-IZI-gar) at day-break, provided by the king on the 9th day destined for Ur." This text indicates that the Great Offering was part of the ne-IZI-gar ceremonies. In the first month Ibbi-Sin ascended to the throne of Ur (<sup>iti</sup>ezem-mah), a royal ne-IZI-gar observance occurred during the evening of the 9th day of the month in Ur. This offering by Ibbi-Sin may well have been dedicated to the just deceased Šu-Sin.<sup>1</sup> Another tablet from Drehem dating to the eighth month in the second year of Ibbi-Sin records: 1 gu<sub>4</sub>-niga An-nu-ni-tum<sup>1</sup> 1 gu<sub>4</sub>-niga <sup>d</sup>U<sup>l</sup>ma-ši-tum ne-IZI-gar An-nu-ni-tum u<sub>4</sub>-7-kam "1 grain-fed ox for Annunitum and 1 grain-fed ox for Ulmašitum: the ne-IZI-gar (observance) for Annunitum on the 7th day" (Holma and Sauren, *StOr* 9 27). A Drehem tablet dated to Š32 ix mentions the observance in Ur or Uruk: "2 grain-fed sheep, the ne-IZI-gar (observance) for Belat-suġner and Belat-terraban" (AnOr 7 53).

Although only at Nippur is the term ezem "festival" employed with ne-IZI-gar, the practice of offering the ne-IZI-gar appears to have been widespread

1. Sigrist, *Studies Sjoberg*, 502.

throughout Sumer, although not in the fifth month as at Nippur. In the eighth month at Larsa there was a festival involving the ne-IZI-gar offering, as can be deduced by coordinated ne-IZI-gar offerings being made in the temples. The eighth month at Ur and Adab was also the occasion for these offerings. The reference from Ur to the ne-IZI-gar of the tenth month may note a one-time, special observance for the recently deceased king of Ur as one of his son's first acts of succession. The reference to the ne-IZI-gar offering in the ninth month may be for Uruk, rather than for Ur. The sixth month at Uruk may have been named for a combination of the ab-paternalia and the ne-IZI-gar offering: <sup>iti</sup>ab-N[E-IZI(?)]-gar. And at Old Babylonian Ešnunna the ne-IZI-gar offering was part of the u<sub>4</sub> e-lu-um of the goddesses Bēlat-terraban and Bēlat-suġner, an observance that was probably based upon a myth of the goddesses' sojourn in the netherworld.<sup>1</sup>

The ne-IZI-gar observance involved ceremonies for the dead, as suggested in the "Death of Gilgamesh"<sup>2</sup>:

Let ..., the child of the sun-god Utu,  
light up for him the netherworld, the place of darkness!  
Let him set up a threshold there (as bright) as the moon  
(for) all mankind, whatever their names be,  
(for) those whose statues were fashioned in days of yore,  
(for) the heroes, the young men, and the ...!  
From there the strong and the mighty will march out.  
Without him no light would be there during the month ne-IZI-gar, during  
the festi[val of the gh]osts. (<sup>iti</sup>ne-IZI-gar e[ze]m-gi[di]m<sup>2</sup>-ma-ke<sub>4</sub>-ne)

According to this passage the "festival of ghosts" occurred during the month ne-IZI-gar, a time when the spirits of the dead followed a special passage of light leading from the darkness of the netherworld back into the world of the living for a brief stay. The setting of fires and lighting of torches by each household would guide the spirits of the dead back to the ancestral home, where a ceremonial meal, presumably the ne-IZI-gar offering, awaited. Langdon likens this occasion to the Roman paternalia with "funeral meals ..., and families entertained the ghosts of their dead relatives."<sup>3</sup>

The texts record the ne-IZI-gar offering as being made to various deities—there is only one mention of the ne-IZI-gar being offered to the deceased (the offering to Šu-Sin at Ur). Several explanations are possible as to why deities received this offering. Evil ghosts and witches exited the netherworld along with the welcomed ghosts.<sup>4</sup> In the first millennium B.C. the *Maqlû* ceremony was performed to ward off the evil of witches. Perhaps the deities

1. See pp. 252-253 for a discussion of this observance.

2. Kramer, *BASOR* (1944), 94 2-12; van Dijk, *Studies Falkenstein*, 249; our translation differs.

3. Langdon *Menologies*, 123.

4. Cf. T. Abusch, "Mesopotamian Anti-Witchcraft Literature," *JNES* 33 (1974), 259-261.

were being asked to protect the populace from the ghosts and witches. Or, perhaps offerings were made to the gods so the gods would guide the ghosts to their families, or so that they would intercede with the gods of the netherworld in achieving the temporary release of the deceased, or they were offered in the name of the deceased who was reentering the community, a sign that the deceased recognized the authority of and his obligation to the gods of the city.

An undated Nippur tablet lists barley for the overseers for the festivals during the months of <sup>iti</sup>ne-IZI-gar and <sup>iti</sup>kin-<sup>d</sup>Innana: 1 še-gur sá-du<sub>11</sub> ugula ni-ezem-ma <sup>iti</sup>ne-IZI-gar-ra 1 gur sá-du<sub>11</sub> ugula ni-ezem-ma <sup>iti</sup>kin-<sup>d</sup>Innana "1 gur of barley, the regular provisions for the overseers, the provisions for the festival in the month ne-IZI-gar; 1 gur of barley, the regular provisions for the overseers, the provisions for the festival in the month kin-<sup>d</sup>Innana" (Owen NATN 736).

#### vi. kin-<sup>d</sup>Innana

There is an Old Babylonian text from the reign of Mananâ in which the month name is written <sup>iti</sup>DI kin-<sup>d</sup>Innana.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps this entry should be read <sup>iti</sup>ki<sup>1</sup> kin-<sup>d</sup>Innana, in which case the KI-sign might be a scribal error for the sound /kin/, thereby establishing the reading kin-<sup>d</sup>Innana. In another Mananâ tablet Rutten reads the month name as <sup>iti</sup>še-kin-<sup>d</sup>Innana, a confusion of two month names, which, if read correctly, would suggest that the KIN-sign in the month names še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub> and kin-<sup>d</sup>Innana were pronounced the same way.<sup>2</sup> However, the signs DINGIR.INANNA are very poorly preserved on the tablet and it is not inconceivable that the signs should actually be read <sup>iti</sup>še-kin-k[u<sub>5</sub>] U[D ...].

Astrolabe B interprets the month name <sup>iti</sup>kin-<sup>d</sup>Innana on the basis of kin = *šipru* "work": *šipir dIštar e-la-ma-ti* "the work of the Elamite Ištar" and Assurbanipal, Rassam III 32 and Cyl. B v 77: *arab šipir Ištarâte* "the month of the work of the goddesses." But, as Landsberger points out, these late translations are probably guesswork.<sup>3</sup> Landsberger suggests that kin in this month name might mean "oracular decision" or "search," referring to Inanna's descent to the netherworld, where she had been held captive by her sister Ereshkigal. However, note there is a similar construction in a text (BIN 9 309 [iti šu-numun 12]) recording a bag of grain for kin-<sup>d</sup>Da-gan. Based upon this reference, a meaning "work" or "service" for kin in our month name is likely.

According to the Assyrian Astrolabe B: "The month *Ulûlu*, the work of the Elamite Ištar, the goddesses are purified in the sacred river, they have their

1. Rutten, "Un Lot de Tablettes de Mananâ," RA 54 (1960), 31 no. 36.
2. RA 53 (1959), 92 no. 20.
3. LSS 6 1/2, 33.

annual cleansing." The goddess par excellence was, of course, Ištar and the first millennium B.C. tradition that the sixth month, *Ulûlu*, was the month of Ištar may have derived from the Sumerian month name used to designate *Ulûlu*: kin-<sup>d</sup>Innana.<sup>1</sup> The first millennium B.C. custom of consecrating goddesses during this month does raise the possibility of an ancient tradition wherein the activities associated with the "service?" of Inanna (kin-<sup>d</sup>Innana) may have involved her statue's consecration.

This month occurs in its Emesal-dialect form along with the following month among the collection of Sumerian proverbs: <sup>iti</sup>du<sub>6</sub>-kù-ga-ka šāḥ nu-un-šum <sup>iti</sup>kin-ga-ša-an-na-ka aga<sup>2</sup>-gibil<sup>1</sup> nu-un-mu<sub>4</sub> "In the month du<sub>6</sub>-kù he(?) did not slaughter a pig; in the month kin-<sup>d</sup>Innana he(?) did not put on a new turban(?)." E. Gordon suggests that this is "a reference to customs or taboos of the type found in later Menology literature. ... Since it is not known whether the acts referred to in the present context were considered to be 'favorable' or 'unfavorable' in the specific months mentioned, the implications of the proverb are somewhat obscure."<sup>2</sup>

An undated Ur III Nippur tablet lists barley for the overseers for the festivals during the months of <sup>iti</sup>ne-IZI-gar and <sup>iti</sup>kin-<sup>d</sup>Innana: 1 še-gur sá-du<sub>11</sub> ugula ni-ezem-ma <sup>iti</sup>ne-IZI-gar-ra 1 gur sá-du<sub>11</sub> ugula ni-ezem-ma <sup>iti</sup>kin-<sup>d</sup>Innana "1 gur of barley, the regular provisions for the overseers, the provisions for the festival in the month ne-IZI-gar; 1 gur of barley, the regular provisions for the overseers, the provisions for the festival in the month kin-<sup>d</sup>Innana" (Owen NATN 736). A Girsu text (MVN 6 427) records ghee and large and small cheeses to be sent to Nippur for the ne-IZI-gar and oil and large cheeses for kin-<sup>d</sup>Innana. The absence of the month determinative indicates that these offerings are for the specific observances. This festival is probably the festival of Inanna (ezem-<sup>d</sup>Innana-ka) recorded in an early Nippur text which lists various gold, silver and copper bowls, bracelets(?) and other implements to be used in the festival.<sup>3</sup>

The festival kin-<sup>d</sup>Innana was celebrated around the middle of the month, perhaps as early as the 11th and as late as the 14th. The main cultic activities probably occurred in the Inanna temple in Nippur, as indicated by documents unearthed in the Inanna temple which mention offerings of grain and cattle for the kin-<sup>d</sup>Innana festival.<sup>4</sup>

1. The expression kin-<sup>d</sup>Innana occurs in a hymn to Samsuiluna: še-ga<sup>d</sup>Utu-ke<sub>4</sub> kin<sup>d</sup>Innana-ke<sub>4</sub> "Obedient one of Utu, ... of Inanna" (B. Alster, "Some Sumerian Literary Texts in the British Museum," *Studies Sjöberg*, 11). Alster tentatively translates kin as "beloved(?)," interpreting kin as an orthography for ki-ág. However, Alster notes that the sign may be ur<sub>4</sub> rather than kin.

2. Gordon *Sumerian Proverbs*, 132.

3. Goetze, 6N-T 662, *Studies Speiser*, 58.

4. Zettler *Inanna Temple*, 6N-T 567 = NBC 10631, 4 N-T 197 = IM 58896, 6 N-T 618 = NBC 10627.

A Drehem tablet dated to the 11th day of the sixth month (iti<sup>a</sup>-ki-ti) in AS7 records offerings for the kin-<sup>d</sup>Inanna festival (Legrain TRU 323, listed by Landsberger, LSS 6 1/2 32):

2 grain-fed sheep and 3 grain-fed ...-sheep for Enlil,  
2 grain-fed sheep for the throne (of Enlil) and  
2 grain-fed sheep and 3 grain-fed ...-sheep for Ninlil:  
sheep for the nightly offering.

2 grain-fed sheep and 1 large grain-fed goat for An and  
2 grain-fed sheep and 1 large grain-fed goat for Inanna:  
the uzu-a-bal offering and (this amount ...) more.

3 grain-fed sheep for An and  
3 grain-fed sheep for Inanna:  
the royal offering and this amount twice more.

For the festival kin-<sup>d</sup>Inanna ... in Nippur.

A Drehem text dated to the 14th day, the sixth month in the second year of Ibbi-Sin appears to be a more detailed list of the offerings for this festival and lists the performance of the Great Offering (s<sup>i</sup>z<sup>i</sup>kur-gu-la) (MVN 8 139). Yet, if this does indeed refer to the kin-<sup>d</sup>Inanna festival, it is surprising that Inanna received no special consideration:

*Royal offerings for the Temple of Enlil:* 1 grain-fed sheep for the funerary-shrine of Ur-Nammu, [...] and 21 lambs for Enlil, 1 lamb for Enlil's throne and 1 lamb for the Hursaggalama;

*Royal offerings for the Temple of Ninlil:* 2 two year old cows and 2 lambs for Ninlil, 1 lamb for the throne of Enlil, 1 lamb for Nanna, 1 ewe and 1 lamb for Nintinugga, 1 ewe for Nisaba, 1 ewe for Ninhursag and [ ] for the harp.

*The Great Offering:* 1 lamb for Ningagia, 1 goat each for Ninhursag, Ninurta, Inanna, Šu-Sin, Lugalbanda and Enki, 1 lamb each for Suen, Šulgi, Ninsun and Nintinugga and two lambs for the Sacred Mound.

## vii. du<sub>6</sub>-kù

The seventh month of the Nippur calendar was named du<sub>6</sub>-kù "the Sacred Mound."<sup>1</sup> The Hymn to the Ekur,<sup>2</sup> the lamentations <sup>d</sup>Utu-gin<sub>7</sub> è-ta and zi-bu-um of Enlil, and the *eršemma*-hymn Dilmun nigin<sub>2</sub>-ù, when listing the various buildings in the Ekur complex, include the du<sub>6</sub>-kù ki-kù "the Sacred

1. The most recent in-depth discussion of the term du<sub>6</sub>-kù is by Tsukimoto, *Untersuchungen zur Totenpflege (kispum) im alten Mesopotamien*, AOAT Band 216 (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1985), 201ff.

2. Kramer, RSO 32 (1957), 97 line 22.

Mound, the sacred place."<sup>1</sup> In Nippur the Sacred Mound was situated in the Tummal complex of the Ekur: "4 grain-fed sheep and 1 large goat for Ninlil, 2 large grain-fed goats for the Sacred Mound, 2 grain-fed sheep for Suen, and 2 grain-fed sheep for ..., disbursed on the 19th day (for) the Tummal."<sup>2</sup>

In the Curse of Akkad line 208 the Sacred Mound in Nippur is described as the place where Enlil's ancestors dwelt: *ir-bi ir ama a-a-<sup>d</sup>En-lil-lá-ke<sub>4</sub> du<sub>6</sub>-kù su-zi gùr-ru du<sub>10</sub>-kù-<sup>d</sup>En-lil-lá-ke<sub>4</sub> i-im-gá-gá-ne* "Their laments were (like) laments which Enlil's ancestors perform in the awe-inspiring duku, the holy lap of Enlil."<sup>3</sup> The god pair <sup>d</sup>En-du<sub>6</sub>-kù-ga and <sup>d</sup>Nin-du<sub>6</sub>-kù-ga, "Lord of the Sacred Mound" and "Lady of the Sacred Mound" are listed among the ancestors of Enlil throughout the canonical lamentations and in the god-list AN = *Anum*, demonstrating the primordial nature of the Sacred Mound, even predating the great god Enlil, himself.<sup>4</sup> A tradition still echoed in the first millennium B.C. considers the seventh month as the "month of Enlil's ancestors."<sup>5</sup>

In the composition "Cattle and Grain" both cattle and grain were said to have come into being on the Sacred Mound. Van Dijk suggests that the Sacred Mound was a hill on the world-mountain on which the gods originally lived and where Sumerian culture originated. Jacobsen suggests: "Duku, 'the holy mound', was a sacred locality. Originally and basically the term designated the plastered-over pile of harvest grain, but it was extended to underground storage generally. Enlil's ancestors—powers for fertility in the earth—were located in Duku."<sup>6</sup>

The actual form of this recreated Sacred Mound in the Tummal is not specified. However, a Drehem tablet from AS7 records: "6 talents and 30 mi-

1. M.E. Cohen *Lamentations*, 98, 350; M.E. Cohen *Eršemma*, 111.

2. AUCT 1 83; cf. Fish *Catalogue* 74 and PDT 1 545 and for du<sub>6</sub>-UD.UD, see Hallo, HUCA 29 (1958), 77 no. 6:9 with copy after p. 107. For references to the du<sub>6</sub>-kù in Nippur see Sjöberg, TCS 3 50. An Old Babylonian list of offerings to Nusku begins with the statement "A tablet concerning regular offerings for the temple of Nusku which the king [Hammurapi] provided for one year." At the conclusion there is a summary: "... regular offerings for 1 year for the temple of Nusku" followed by provisions for priests and attendants, including the gate-keeper of Nusku and the gate-keeper of the door to the Sacred Mound (*i-du<sub>6</sub> ká-du<sub>6</sub>-kù-ga*) (M. Sigris, "Offrandes dan le temple de Nusku," JCS 29 [1977], 169ff.). However, in the earlier Ur III documents the Sacred Mound frequently was listed last on the tablet as receiving offerings, no matter which gods or temples were mentioned in the body of the document. Thus this reference to the gate-keeper of the Sacred Mound need not refer to a sacred Mound in the temple of Nusku, but perhaps to the Sacred Mound in the Tummal.

3. Cooper *Curse of Agade* 60.

4. For a discussion on Enlil's ancestors, see M. Civil, AFO 25 (1974/77), 66.

5. KAV 218 ii 29 and 38: *iti pa<sub>4</sub>-bíl-ga-<sup>d</sup>En-lil-lá-ke<sub>4</sub> / ITI a-bi a-bi [<sup>d</sup>En-lil]*.

6. Jacobsen *Harps*, 371 n. 27. In his earlier writings Jacobsen had suggested that the Sumerians identified the Sacred Mound "in the mountains on the eastern horizon where the sun rises. Indeed, it was probably the luxuriant vegetation, the wondrously fresh green pastures of the foothills ... that led the Sumerians to seek the origin and home of Lahar, the power manifesting itself in the thriving flocks, in the faraway green hills" (JNES 5 [1946], 141 = Jacobsen *Tammuz*, 118).

nas of scorched(?) twigs (giš-ú-bíl-la) and 1 worker for 15 days to Nippur ... as supplies for the Sacred Mound."<sup>1</sup> Perhaps these twigs were used for the construction, covering or decoration of the Sacred Mound.

The Sacred Mound was not restricted to Nippur. In the Temple Hymns, Enki's temple in Eridu is described as a Sacred Mound: é<sup>2</sup> du<sub>6</sub>-kù ú-sikil-la rig<sub>7</sub>-ga "House, holy mound, where pure food is eaten," as was the temple of Ningirsu in Lagaš: sig<sub>4</sub> du<sub>6</sub>-kù-ta nam-tar-re-da ħur-sag-gin<sub>7</sub> sa<sub>7</sub>-ga "Brick-work on (its) pure mound destiny is determined, grown (high) like a mountain."<sup>2</sup> Gudea Statue B 5 48 refers to the Sacred Mound of Ningirsu in the Eninnu-temple and economic texts from Lagaš mention a field of the Sacred Mound (a-ša-du<sub>6</sub>-kù). The seventh month of the Adab calendar, as at Nippur, was i<sup>3</sup>du<sub>6</sub>-kù. There was probably a Sacred Mound in Uruk. A text from Drehem lists the disbursement of "13 sheep for An and 12 sheep for the Sacred Mound of Inanna and for Ninġursag." A first-millennium B.C. ritual tablet from Uruk refers to the Sacred Mound in Uruk: ilāni ša apsī u ilāni ša DU<sub>6</sub>-KÙ likrubūka "May the gods of the apsū and the gods of the Sacred Mound bless you!"<sup>3</sup> A Sacred Mound in Umma is attested in a text which mentions grain from the granary of the du<sub>6</sub>-kù (MVN 13 194) and from a list of hired men to work the fields near Apisal and Umma, one field being designated as "the field of the Sacred Mound" (a-ša-du<sub>6</sub>-kù-ge) (MVN 3 224 and RA 79 [1985], 30 no. 23). The only reference to a du<sub>6</sub>-kù at Ur is from a Drehem text which lists the du<sub>6</sub>-kù among the recipients of offerings during the á-ki-ti-festival in Ur (Sigrist *Rochester* 86). A central religious location in Ur was the du<sub>6</sub>-úr, but whether this symbolized the primordial mound as did the du<sub>6</sub>-kù in the other cities is unclear. The cult of Marduk in Babylon involved a Sacred Mound as noted in the *Enūma Eliš* (99-100), wherein one of Marduk's numerous epithets is dumu-du<sub>6</sub>-kù:<sup>4</sup>

DUMUDUKU,

whose pure dwelling is renewed in holy hill,  
"son of holy hill," without whom the lord of holy hill  
makes no decision.

The Sacred Mound was a location from which the sun-god Šamaš decided the fates: "When you (Šamaš) go out from the Sacred Mound, the place where the fates are determined ..."<sup>5</sup>

1. Speelers *Recueil* 108 = Limet *Textes Sumériens* 95.

2. See TCS 3, 17 and 31.

3. BRM IV 7, quoted by Falkenstein, *Topographie von Uruk*, 46.

4. Translation Foster *Before the Muses*, 398. The Sacred Mound refers to Marduk's father, Ea/Enki, who resided in the watery apsū. For additional references to the Sacred Mound at Nippur, Eridu, Babylon, Umma and Lagaš, see Tsukimoto, *op. cit.*, 212-215.

5. Borger, JCS 21 (1969), 3 (quoted Tsukimoto, *op. cit.*, 215).

The du<sub>6</sub>-kù festival was celebrated in the Tummal on the 27th (and perhaps the 28th) day of the month, as recorded in several documents. A Drehem tablet (Legrain TRU 21) dated to the seventh month (i<sup>3</sup>á-ki-ti) records: "1 goat for the akiti-(house), ..., 2 goats for the Sacred Mound festival (ezem-du<sub>6</sub>-kù) ... (followed by other entries with the line: ša tum-ma-al [for the Tummal])." Special offerings during the seventh month for the Sacred Mound are listed in a Drehem tablet dated to the 27th of the seventh month i<sup>3</sup>á-ki-ti (AUCT 2 313): "18 lambs, 4 pregnant(?) sheep, 4 pregnant(?) goats, 140 sheep and goats, ... dead ... for the 26th day; 177 sheep for the shrine du<sub>6</sub>-kù (ēš<sup>d</sup>du<sub>6</sub>-kù); 30 sheep for the Great Offering." The festival is mentioned as occurring in Nippur in a Drehem text dated to AS1 vii 27 (i<sup>3</sup>ezem<sup>d</sup>šul-gi): "3 grain-fed ... oxen for Ninlil, 1 grain-fed ... ox and one grain-fed ox for the Sacred Mound, 1 grain-fed ox as the royal maš-da-ri-a offering and 1 grain-fed ox for Šulgi: the provisions of the Sacred Mound festival (ni-*ezem*-ma-du<sub>6</sub>-kù-ga) ... in Nippur" (MVN 13 122). Offerings for the festival (ezem-du<sub>6</sub>-kù-ga) on the 27th of the month (AS6 i<sup>3</sup>ezem<sup>d</sup>šul-gi) are recorded for Enlil, the Throne, the Ĥursaggalama, Ninlil, the Sacred Mound, Ninġursag, [Nusku, Ninurta, ...] (PDT II 1286). An unusual entry, however, at the conclusion of the list is "1 goat (and?) turnips for the Sacred Mound (1 maš lu-úbsar du<sub>6</sub>-kù-šē)."<sup>1</sup> A Drehem reference to festivities in the temple of Enlil and Ninlil, assuredly for the festival of the Sacred Mound,<sup>2</sup> occurs on CT 32 pls. 17-18 (which can be dated to the seventh month on the basis of its referring to the á-ki-ti-šu-numun in Ur): "20 grass-fed sheep for the various statues in the temple of Enlil, 15 grass-fed sheep for the various statues in the temple of Ninlil—the uzu-a-bal offering of the Great Offering (sizkur-gu-la) supplied by the king—the 27th day." The festival may have extended for two days, on both the 27th and 28th, since this same text lists offerings for the various statues in the Enlil and Ninlil temples for the uzu-a-bal of the Great Offering for the 28th of the month, as well. Another reference most probably to the festival on the 27th is from an unpublished Drehem text (YBC 16661 [ŠS4 vii 27]) which records "20 [grass-fed] sheep for the temple of Enlil and 17 grass-fed sheep for the temple of Ninlil—the uzu-a-bal offering of the Great Offering supplied by the king."<sup>3</sup>

The Sacred Mound at Nippur was the recipient of offerings throughout the year, particularly offerings of milk. The entries on each tablet are at the

1. Watson *Birmingham* I 81 probably refers to this festival: "two grain-fed sheep for the Sacred Mound on the 27th in Nippur" (AS7, no month).

2. Probably CT 32 pl. 18 vi 25-27 originally mentioned the Sacred Mound festival: [uzu]-a-bal [sizkur]-gu-la [ezem-d]u<sub>6</sub>-kù-ga.

3. UM 29-13-357+ (undated). J. Heimerdinger, *Studies Sjöberg*, 225ff., contains a listing of offerings for the entire month of i<sup>3</sup>du<sub>6</sub>-kù. This conclusion is based upon the entry for the 27th of the month (rev. vi 28'-29'): 7 udu sizkur-gu-la "seven sheep for the Great Offering."



end, after the names of the individuals responsible for the previously listed offerings of ovines to the gods. In MVN 13 128 offerings for the temples of Enlil, Ninlil, Ninurta, and the Egula are listed, followed by "in Nippur." Thereupon are entries followed by "in Puzriš-Dagan." Then occurs the one line entry "2 liters of milk for the Sacred Mound."<sup>1</sup>

In Nippur the Sacred Mound continually was allotted a conspicuously generous offering. Although receiving less than the chief deities Enlil and Ninlil, the Sacred Mound almost always received approximately twice as large an offering as did the other major gods of the temple complex: Ninḫursag, Nusku, Ninurta, Inanna, Ninsun, Lugalbanda and Nintinugga. As part of the Great Offering (*sizkur-gu-la*) of the *gusisu* and *kin-Inanna* festivals the Sacred Mound received 2 lambs, whereas the gods received but 1 each, (though in one account for the *gusisu*-festival the Sacred Mound received none on the second day). A pre-Sargonic account lists offerings(?) for the Sacred Mound and for the *gusisu*-festival (Westenholz *Jena* 160): 6 māš 5 giš-gíd-da du<sub>6</sub>-kù-[ka]m [x] šaḫ 1 x ezem-gu<sub>4</sub>-si-sù-kam "6 goats and 5 spears(?) for the 'Holy Mountain' (festival); 5 goats, [x] pigs, and 1 ..., for the 'Leading the Oxen' festival."<sup>2</sup> Since the *duku*-festival was five months after the *gusisu*-festival, it is likely that this tablet records standard monthly offerings for the Sacred Mound and not for the *duku*-festival.

Other references demonstrating this revered position of the Sacred Mound within the hierarchy of offerings include: 1 gu<sub>4</sub>-niga daḫ-ḫu lugal du<sub>6</sub>-kù-šè "1 grain-fed ox added by the king for the Sacred Mound" which is listed among oxen disbursed for Enlil in the sixth month of Š44 (Jones-Snyder SET 48); 2 lambs (IS2 ix 9, Jones-Snyder SET 57; IS2 ix 24, Jones-Snyder SET 58); 1 grain-fed sheep and grain-fed goat for the Sacred Mound in Nippur (AS3 viii 29, Kang *Drehem* 144); grain-fed sheep delivered for the Sacred Mound in the seventh month (Driver, Or 1 [1932]); an offering of a grain-fed ox for the Sacred Mound along with four grain-fed oxen for the á-ki-ti-še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub> festival in Š47, month 12 (Dhorme, RA 9: SA 47). AUCT 1 292 and 960, and BIN 3 299 again show the prestige of the du<sub>6</sub>-kù for when listing the evening offerings (*sizkur-gig*) they list 2 grain-fed sheep for the Sacred Mound, but only 1 (large) grain-fed goat each for Ninḫursag, Nusku, Ninurta, Inanna, Ninsun, Lugalbanda and Nintinugga; 2 lambs for the Sacred Mound, but just one lamb for the other gods (Tanret, *Akkadica* 13 [1979]). In AUCT 1 441 again the Sacred Mound received 2 grain-fed sheep for the evening offering while the same gods as just mentioned received but 1 grain-fed sheep each. (In each of the preceding 3 tablets, however, Enlil and Nin-

lil, received much larger portions than did the Sacred Mound.) In BIN 3 571 the Sacred Mound received offerings of 2 quality grain-fed sheep, 2 regular grain-fed sheep and 2 large, grain-fed goats. None of the deities, with the exception of Enlil and Ninlil, received such large offerings. In a list of offerings for the é-u<sub>4</sub>-7, the festival of the first phase of the moon, the Sacred Mound received a larger offering (2 grain-fed sheep, 1 grain-fed gu<sub>4</sub>-e-ús-sa sheep and 2 regular sheep) than any of the gods but Enlil and Ninlil (MVN 13 139). MVN 13 104 mentions 1 grain-fed sheep and 1 large grain-fed goat for the Sacred Mound as an evening offering and but 1 large grain-fed goat for all the gods but Enlil and Ninlil, who received the largest portion.<sup>1</sup> A *nidaba*-offering of fish is recorded for the Sacred Mound and for the first-offering (Š39, MVN 3 173). Offerings for the Sacred Mound in Nippur were provided by other cities, as noted in a Girsu text which refers to "provisions for the Sacred Mound of Nippur" (TLB 3 146).

The Sacred Mound was the object of special devotion throughout year. And, as noted in the above discussion, there was a special milk-offering associated with its cult. This may have been part of a ritual for the fecundity of the herds, for, as noted in the composition Cattle and Grain, the Sacred Mound was the source for the power of the flocks. But during the seventh month, it received still further attention with its own festival. Perhaps a key to better understanding the nature of this special festival for the Sacred Mound, (aside from the normal attention the Sacred Mound at Nippur received throughout the year), was the occurrence of the festival on the 27th and perhaps 28th of the month. These last days of a month were the time for observances involving the spirits of the dead.<sup>2</sup>

The Sacred Mound, as did the *ab/pu*, covered a conduit to the world below the surface.<sup>3</sup> However, the Sacred Mound was more positive in nature—erected perhaps over Enki's home, the subterranean waters of the *apsû*, from which culture and civilization sprang. Thus the Sacred Mound was a logical place through which to communicate with gods of the netherworld, in particular Enlil's ancestors who dwelt there. The somber nature of this festival may, perhaps, be noted in the above quoted passage (see p. 107) from the Curse of Akkad: "Their laments were (like) laments which Enlil's ancestors perform in the awe-inspiring duku, ..." Thus the festival of the Sacred Mound may have focused less on the site's positive aspect (i.e., the place from which civilization came to mankind—which was more likely the theme of the cult practiced at the Mound throughout the year), and more as an ap-

1. Some of the many tablets with this entry regarding the Sacred Mound are AUCT 2 97, Langdon *Archives of Drehem* 7 and MVN 13 124.

2. Translation Westenholz *Jena* no. 160.

1. Note also MVN 10 169, CT 32 pl. 12, PDT 1 559 and 565 for the Sacred Mound receiving larger offerings than the major deities.

2. For festivals and rituals for the dead during the last days of the month, see pp. 454-455.

3. For a discussion of the significance of the *ab/pu*, see pp. 259-261.



appropriate site from which to communicate with Enlil's ancestors, who resided in some level of the netherworld. Whether the need to communicate with Enlil's ancestors was simply to honor Enlil, himself, or rather to seek their assistance in dealing with the spirits below, cannot be ascertained from existing references.

For the months *iti-du<sub>6</sub>-kù* and *iti-kin-dInanna* being mentioned in a collection of Sumerian proverbs, see p. 105.

A Drehem tablet (ArOr 27 [1959], 365 no. 14) records two grain-fed sheep for Nininsina on the 15th of the seventh month for *ezem-dùr-ru-na*, an expression that is otherwise unknown to us. It is also possible that Ur (or even Uruk), not Nippur, may have been the destination of these sheep.

### viii. *giš<sup>3</sup>apin-dug-a*

In pre-Sargonic texts the month is written *iti giš<sup>3</sup>apin-dug-a* (Westenholz OSP 1 57; Pohl TuM 5 nos. 38 and 100) and *itiapin-dug-a* (Westenholz OSP 1 71; Westenholz OSP 2 136). In the Ur III period the forms *iti giš<sup>3</sup>apin-dug* (MVN 3 262), *iti giš<sup>3</sup>apin* (Owen NATN 539) and *iti giš<sup>3</sup>apin-a* (Fish, *Iraq* 5, no. 17) are attested.<sup>1</sup>

Landsberger had suggested translating this month as "Monat des Öffnens der Bewässerungsröhren" partially on the basis of *dug = petû*. However, it is preferable to translate on the basis of *dug = pa<sub>7</sub>āru*, since this was the month when the plow was taken out of use and stored until the following *itiš<sub>3</sub>-nu-mun*, thus "the month the plow is let go." Note MSL 5 65: *apin-dug = pa<sub>7</sub>tru* and the late etymology in Astrolabe B ii 43: *pa-īar giš<sup>3</sup>APIN<sup>1</sup>(MA<sub>8</sub>)*. For additional support for our interpretation of this month name note the composition "Lipit-Ištar and the Plow." Towards the beginning of the composition the plow is taken hold of by Nusku (and then other gods): *dNusku engar-gin<sub>7</sub> giš<sup>3</sup>apin šu bi-in-d[ug]* "Nusku, like a farmer, lay hold of the plow." Later in the composition the gods have completed their work, praises are uttered and *dNin-gal x-dEn-lil-lá-ke<sub>4</sub> giš<sup>3</sup>apin-kù mu-un-dug giš<sup>3</sup>šudul-zi im-ta-an-gar* "Ningal, the ... of Enlil, let go of the plow and removed the good yoke." Thus *šu dug* is to "lay hold (of a plow)" and *dug* to "let go (of a plow)."<sup>2</sup>

In Ur III Girsu there is a reference to an offering of oil and dates in month five as *nì-sizkur-ra-apin-dù-a-a-ša-gir-nun* (CT 7 BM 17765). However, the Nippur month name never occurs with *-dù-* and thus there appears to be no connection between this Girsu reference and the Nippur month name.

1. The reference YOS 4 23 contains the phrase: *itiapin-dug-a-ta itiapin-dug-a-min-še* which may refer to an intercalary month or simply to the same month the following year, "from one *apin-dug-a* to the next *apin-dug-a*."

2. Oh'e, "An Agricultural Festival in Tummal in the Ur III Period," *Acta Sum* 8 (1986), 131 n. 14 translates this month name in the same manner, "the month the plow is unyoked."

There are no references to a festival *\*ezem-giš<sup>3</sup>apin-dug-a* in this month.<sup>1</sup> However, one Drehem text (BIN 3 391) records a transfer of animals which were provisions for the plow-festival (*nì-dab<sub>5</sub>-ezem-apin*). This document, however, dates to the third month (*ŠS8 itizah<sub>x</sub>-da-gu<sub>7</sub>*) and thus does not refer to a festival in Nippur in the eighth month. Landsberger notes several Drehem tablets dated from the 19th to the 21st of this month, which he suggested might refer to a festival. To these add another Drehem tablet which includes a long list of offerings dated to the 18th of the month (PDT I 92 603). The references to *lugal-ku<sub>4</sub>-ra* in the texts Landsberger quotes are not a definite indication that a festival was occurring. The king may have provided these offerings either as a part of his visit, as a personal offering, or as his royal responsibility for the upkeep of the religious functioning of the land. The gods had to be fed everyday and it was to be expected that the king personally defrayed some of the expense.

An ambiguous reference from Drehem to *apin-dug-a* dated to *iti<sub>2</sub>ezem-dŠul-gi* records oxen for the Sacred Mound for the first lunar quarter, for the full moon for the (month?/festival?) *apin-dug-a* (*é-u<sub>4</sub>-15 apin-dug-a*) and for those things placed at the temple, for the "Place of Adad," for the betrothal gift of Baba, for the new moon and for the "Place of Suen" (Or 47-49 16).

### ix. *gan-gan-è / gan-gan-mu-è*

The ninth month is usually written beginning in the pre-Sargonic period as *iti<sub>2</sub>gan-gan-è*. However, this is a shortened form for *gan-gan-mu-è*, which, as a month name, is attested in one pre-Sargonic text: *maš-da-ri-a-iti<sub>2</sub>gan-gan-mu-è-kam*.<sup>2</sup> That this longer form is correct, not a scribal error, can be noted in two occurrences of the festival name *gan-gan-mu-è* for which the month is named.<sup>3</sup> The reading of the component *gan-gan* is established on the basis of Ur III references: *iti<sub>2</sub>ga-ga-è* (TuM NF 1/2 27); *iti<sub>2</sub>ga<sub>6</sub>-ga<sub>6</sub>-è* (TuM NF 1/2 50)<sup>4</sup>; and *iti<sub>2</sub>gan-gan-ni* (Steinkeller *Sale Documents* no. 45; YBC 9827 [unpublished]). In Çig-Kizilyay NRVN 1 71 a shortened orthography occurs: *iti<sub>2</sub>gan-gan-ka*. At Mari a semitized(?) form of the month name is attested: *ITI ga-an-ga-na*.<sup>5</sup>

Whereas the eighth month (*giš<sup>3</sup>apin-dug-a*) is written with and without a *giš*-determinative, this ninth month is never attested with a *giš*-determinative

1. M 3522 (Touzalin *Ur* 4, [Š46 viii 26]) from Drehem mentions the Great Offering (*sizkur-gu-la*) for the temples of Enlil and Ninlil on the 26th of the month. We are unaware of any festival in Nippur at this time. Perhaps this was part of the festival of Šulgi.

2. Pohl, TuM 5 163, which Westenholz *Jena* 163 (without any possible knowledge of the two unpublished Oriental Institute tablets) suggested emending to *iti-gan-gan-<mu>-è-kam*.

3. A2978 and A4583.

4. Collated Waetzoldt, OA 17 (1978), 60.

5. See p. 226.

(= \*i<sup>ti</sup> giš-gan-gan-è) and so it is unlikely that the term giš-gan is related to the term in our month. An occurrence of gan-gan which quite aptly suits this wintry month is unfortunately from late sources and thus the reliability of the tradition is quite questionable. In the god lists the storm-god Iškur is identified with dGan = MIN (= dAdad) šá ú-pe-e "Adad of the cloud" / dGan-gan = MIN (= dAdad) šá ur-pi-i "Adad of the clouds."<sup>1</sup> A meaning "the month when the clouds come out" is quite appropriate for this time of year.<sup>2</sup>

The term gan-gan is equated with Akkadian šagāšu, "to slaughter" (CAD Š 66): [g]an-gan = šá-ga-[a-šu(?)] (followed by habālu). Interpretations "(the month) murderers come out," referring to the appearance of marauders along the roads during this wintry time of year 'when kings do not go forth' or "(the month) murderers are expelled," (whose implication would not be clear), are rather unlikely, since to our knowledge the term \*lū-gan(-gan) ("murderer") is unattested, nor are we aware of such a meaning for gan(-gan) aside from the above-referenced lexical text. The term gan also is equated to Akkadian riksu as in rikis šamē, "belt of heaven,"<sup>3</sup> and note Šurpu IX 38: u<sub>4</sub>-zal-le-dē an-ūr gan-an-na, "spends the day (at) the horizon, (at) the (very) belt of heaven."<sup>4</sup> This meaning seems to be related to the term giš-hē (= GAN) šupuk šamē, "firmament."<sup>5</sup> Once more this meaning of gan does not seem to fit the name i<sup>ti</sup>gan-gan-è, particularly in light of the doubling of the term gan.

Landsberger dismissed as false the late etymology from Astrolabe B: hegallu (= HĒ.GÁL) u nuššu (= HĒ.NUN) uktammaru and suggested "In Wahrheit dürfte sich dieser Monatsname auf die Erzeugung von Lagerbier (im kultischen Haushalt) beziehen wegen qanqannu (gangannu) als typischem Gerät der Bierbereitung. ... Die gleiche Bedeutung haben wahrscheinlich die Monatsnamen sēbūtu in Susa."<sup>6</sup> However, the Akkadian references to gangannu as a potstand used in beer production and then as a storeroom for beer are all Neo-Babylonian or later.<sup>7</sup> The bilingual lexical entries for gangannu cite giš-gan-nu, yet this month name is never written with the giš-determinative. Thus we cannot support Landsberger's suggestion.

1. CT 24 40 39-40; dGan also occurs in another late god list (CT 29 46 11).

2. Langdon *Menologies*, 30 suggests a translation "bringing forth of braziers."

3. See Heimpel, *Studies Sjöberg*, 249.

4. Quoted van Dijk *Götterlieder*, 86 n. 17.

5. See Sjöberg, *TCS* 3, 115.

6. JNES 8 (1949), 274 n. 72.

7. Oppenheim *Beer*, 45; CAD G 40-41. For the possible cultic significance of these jars, note M. Astour, "The Nether World and Its Denizens at Ugarit," *Death in Mesopotamia*, *Mesopotamia* 8, B. Alster, ed. (Copenhagen, 1980), 229: "In another passage, the entrance to the Nether World is said to be 'inside Mount Kinkny.' This name can hardly be separated from Ugaritic knkn, Akkadian kankannu (which became qanqannā in Aramaic), which denotes a large clay jar (for wine or oil) fixed in the ground of the cellar. Such jars could also be used as coffins ..."

The eighth month at Ur III Uruk was named for a festival which occurred on the 28th of the month: ezem-ga-ma-am-mu-è, which, as a month name, was shortened in the one lexical attestation (5R pl. 43) to ezem-[ga-ma-a]-m-è.<sup>1</sup> Noting that the names of these two Uruk and Nippur festivals are somewhat similar, both month names were shortened by dropping the element -mu, both festivals occurred at the end of the month, and both festivals occurred around the same time of the year (month 8 at Uruk and month 9 at Nippur), it is conceivable that these two festivals derived from the same original festival. However, even if this supposition is true, it is still unclear as to which of these two names was the original name or whether both names derived from a third, unpreserved form of the festival name.<sup>2</sup>

A reference to the "festival of gan-gan-è" occurs in an Ur III tablet from Nippur (BE 3 129 [ŠS7]): 40 še 30 zíz nì-ezem-ma-gan-gan-è "40 ban of barley and 30 ban of wheat, provisions for the gan-gan-è festival." Several unpublished Drehem tablets record offerings for the festival and indicate that the festival occurred at the end of the month. YBC 16875 (Š43 ix) records oxen for the (festival of) gan-gan-è, the festival's position in the order of observances indicating that the festival occurred after the 15th of the month:

11 gu<sub>4</sub>-niga é-u<sub>4</sub>-7 ù kur-kur ku<sub>4</sub><sup>3</sup>

4 gu<sub>4</sub>-niga é-u<sub>4</sub>-15

4 gu<sub>4</sub>-niga gan-gan-è

A 4583 records various animals brought as offerings for the ezem-gan-gan-mu-è on the 27th of the month. And A 2978 records cattle offerings for the ezem-gan-gan-mu-è on the 25th. Another possible reference to this festival is a Drehem tablet dated to the 27th day (PDT II 922 [AS6 ix]) which records the Great Offering (sīzkur-gu-la) for various shrines. The placement of this festival at the end of the month raises the possibility of its being connected with a netherworld motif.

In a pre-Sargonic text the new moon festival of the month is mentioned: 1 gukkal sag-ITI.SAR-gan-gan-è "one fat-tailed sheep for the New Moon festival of gan-gan-è" (Westenholz *Jena* 161), but this reference is to the monthly festival of the new moon, not a celebration specific to i<sup>ti</sup>gan-gan-è.

1. For this festival and month at Uruk, see pp. 213-214.

2. Note the somewhat similar sounding reference to the cult of Enlil (Jones-Snyder SET 160, ŠS2 xi): 3 udu gū-gū-me-è dEn-lil. An unpublished Umma tablet (Rosen 313 [AS6 xii], courtesy Jonathan Rosen) records an entry: 2 udu 1 mās gū-gū-mu-è dEn-lil. These terms may refer to ritual dressing ceremonies for Enlil (gū è = *halāpu*). Perhaps our month name, with pre-Sargonic variant gan-gan-mu-è cited above, might be related to these terms.

3. For kur-kur ku<sub>4</sub> cf. Genouillac, *TCL* 2 AO 5513 r. 18 (Š43 viii) which refers to the cult in Nippur: sīzkur-kur-ku<sub>4</sub>.

x<sup>1</sup>. kù-su<sub>x</sub>(ŠIM)

The Nippur month *itikù-su<sub>x</sub>* is attested from the reign of Enšakušanna (Westenholz OSP 1 101) as well as in other Sargonic and pre-Sargonic texts from Nippur (Westenholz *Jena* 129).

For ŠIM having a reading su<sub>x</sub> and for the reading kù-su<sub>x</sub>(ŠIM) as a variant orthography for kù-su<sub>13</sub> and kù-sù, see J. Bauer, "ŠIM = su<sub>x</sub>," ZA 79 (1989), 8-9. Presumably the month is named after the deity *d<sub>1</sub>kù-sù/su<sub>13</sub>/su<sub>x</sub>(ŠIM)*. Prosopography from Nippur supports the existence of a deity written *d<sub>1</sub>Kù-su<sub>x</sub>(ŠIM)*: Ur-*d<sub>1</sub>Kù-su<sub>x</sub>* (BE 3 1 41; Owen NATN 288, 910 and 911) and *d<sub>1</sub>Kù-su<sub>x</sub>-an-dùl(?)* (Owen NATN 821).<sup>1</sup> However, the month name is never written with the theophoric determinative \**iti d<sub>1</sub>Kù-su<sub>x</sub>*. (Compare Umma where both *itipa<sub>4</sub>-kùš-e* and *iti d<sub>1</sub>Pa<sub>4</sub>-kùš-e* occur.) According to Michalowski, Kusu was a goddess who made her appearance primarily in magical and religious texts. However, Michalowski notes, the epithet kù-su<sub>13</sub> was frequently applied also to the grain-goddess.<sup>2</sup> Thus, perhaps, the absence of the theophoric element in our month name may indicate that the month was named for Ašnan, the grain-goddess.

A tablet dated to the Umma month *itiri* in Š32 has a reference to a month *it<sub>1</sub>ŠIM*: 2.0.0 še-lugal šà-gal gu<sub>4</sub> niga-šè a-ka *it<sub>1</sub>ŠIM* "Let him give him 2 royal gur barley (as) fodder for the grain-fed oxen, on the account (for) the month ŠIM."<sup>3</sup> Sollberger cites an unpublished bulla dated to AS6 or IS2 with the month *it<sub>1</sub>ŠIM* ḫal-la (TCS 1 138). However, even were this hypocoristic for our month, we hardly expect a Nippur month and an Umma month on the same tablet.<sup>4</sup>

The Nippur months comprised the most stable calendar in ancient Sumer, there being no changes to the months from the earliest recorded documents down through the end of the Ur III period, with but one exception. The month *itikù-su<sub>x</sub>* was replaced by *it<sub>1</sub>ab-è*, this latter month eventually being used from the Old Babylonian period onward as a logogram for the tenth month in the Southern-Mesopotamian Sumerian calendar and in the Standard Mesopotamian calendar.

The latest attestation of *itikù-su<sub>x</sub>* dates to Ibbi-Sin 3. We are 'unaware of any festival associated with the month *itikù-su<sub>x</sub>*.

1. Note Bernhardt and Kramer, "Die Tempel und Götterschreine von Nippur," *Orientalia* 44 (1975), 98 rev. 23 for a restoration [*é-d<sub>1</sub>Kù*]-sù for one of the chapels of the Ekur complex.

2. For discussion of the goddess Kusu, see P. Michalowski, "The Torch and the Censer," *Studies in Assyriology*, 160-161.

3. Sollberger, TCS 1 358.

4. Such practice tends to occur to avoid confusion when a new month name has been introduced into the calendar.

x<sup>2</sup>. ab-è

The names of the months in Nippur remained constant from the earliest recorded documents, with the exception of this change from *itikù-su<sub>x</sub>* to *it<sub>1</sub>ab-è*, which had occurred at least by AS4 (Fish *Catalogue* 35). In one Nippur text the orthography *it<sub>1</sub>ab-pa-è* is attested (Cig-Kizilyay NRVN 1 90 [IS1]). Two tablets found in Ur contain the month names *it<sub>1</sub>a-bi* (UET 3 20 [AS1]) and *it<sub>1</sub>ab-bi* (UET 3 722 [no year]). Sollberger suggested that these may be orthographies for our Nippur month name.<sup>1</sup> However, this month (or a variant thereof) was probably quite common, as for example at Ishān Mizyad.<sup>2</sup> A festival and month *it<sub>1</sub>ab-è* had existed in pre-Sargonic and Sargonic Lagaš (for which see our discussion of the Lagaš calendar) and as the fifth month at Adab. At Mari a possibly semitized(?) form of the month name is attested: *ITI ab-bi-in*.<sup>3</sup>

The Nippur calendar was so venerated that it was the only city calendar able to withstand political pressure to rename a month in honor of Šulgi's 30th jubilee. To make a change from *itikù-su<sub>x</sub>* to *it<sub>1</sub>ab-è* after so many years could not have been a trivial matter. Unfortunately, an examination of the scribal names and contents of the tablets from Nippur dated to the tenth months in the reigns of Amar-Suen and Šu-Sin provides no pattern as to the adoption of the new month name.

No festivals are recorded on any Nippur tablets dated to the tenth month *itikù-su<sub>x</sub>*. However, there are several Drehem documents dated to the tenth month which refer to the ab-è festival in Nippur, the earliest dating to AS1 x 26-27 (Sigrist *Rochester*): *nì-ezem-ma-ab-è d<sub>1</sub>Šul-gi-ra ... šà Nibru<sup>ki</sup>* "(sheep, lambs and goats as) festival provisions for the ab-è festival of Šulgi ... for Nippur." This tablet may refer to the very first observance of the ab-è festival in Nippur. Later attestations are from AS4 (AASF B 92 417, *it<sub>1</sub>ezem-maḫ-min*): 2 udu-niga 2 sila<sub>4</sub>-niga *gi<sup>8</sup>gu-za d<sub>1</sub>Šul-gi-ra* 1 udu-niga 1 sila<sub>4</sub>-niga 1 udu ki-a-nag Ur-*d<sub>1</sub>Nammu it<sub>1</sub> ezem-ma-ab-è d<sub>1</sub>Šul-gi-ra ù Ur-*d<sub>1</sub>Nammu ... šà Nibru<sup>ki</sup>* "2 grain-fed sheep and two grain-fed lambs for the seat of Šulgi; 1 grain-fed sheep, 1 grain-fed lamb and 1 (regular) sheep for the funerary shrine of Ur-Nammu for the month of the ab-è festival for Šulgi and Ur-Nammu ... for Nippur"; AS6 x (Nies UDT 177): *nì-ezem-ma-ab<sup>1</sup>-[è] d<sub>1</sub>Šul-gi-ra* "(offerings for the throne of Šulgi); supplies for the ab-è festival of Šulgi ... for Nippur" and from ŠS4 x 13 (Owen NATN 914): 1 šāḫ-zé-da ki-a-nag-*d<sub>1</sub>Amar-d<sub>1</sub>Suen-ka-šè ezem-ab-è ... zi-ga ... šà-Nibru<sup>ki</sup>* "1 pig disbursed for the funerary shrine of Amar-Suen (for) the ab-è festival in Nippur." Another possible occurrence*

1. AFO 17 (1954/56), 19.

2. See p. 132.

3. See p. 226.

of the ab-è festival in Nippur on the 13th or 14th of the month is on a Dre-  
hem tablet dated the 13th day, (ŠS9 x [the coronation month of Ib-bi-Sin],  
BIN 3 587). Sigrist chronicles Ib-bi-Sin's activities in Ur, Uruk and Nippur  
during the month, and on the 13th of the month in Nippur the uzu-a-bal of-  
fering and the Great Offering (sík-ur-gu-la) were performed. The presence  
of both these offerings (as well as the possible significance of Nippur on the  
13th) suggests that this was the occasion of the ab-è festival, an important  
event for an Ur III king, particularly one whose father had just died. During  
the 23rd and 28th of this same month also the uzu-a-bal offering, the Great  
Offering (sík-ur-gu-la), and royal offerings were recorded in Nippur (CT 32  
17), which, when considered with the earliest reference quoted above which  
dates to the 26th and 27th, suggests that ab-è activities may have lasted for a  
minimum of half a month and perhaps as long as the entire month.

Noting that there are no other references from Nippur to offerings to the  
funerary shrines of the Ur III kings during festivals, the ab-è festival in Nip-  
pur may have centered solely about the deceased Ur III kings, and was not a  
paternalia for the general populace.

The adoption of a month named for an Ur III king throughout the Sum-  
erian calendars always occurred during the life of the monarch; it was never  
intended to memorialize a deceased ruler. Thus there may have been great  
pressure applied upon the Nippur religious community by Amar-Suen and  
the Ur political/religious establishment to perpetuate the greatness and  
memory of the divine Šulgi, especially since Nippur had never named a  
month for Šulgi. This may have been the basis for the adoption of a foreign  
observance, perhaps originating in Lagaš, during a month devoid of festivals,  
in honor of the deceased monarch. The festival, which became the unique  
religious event of the month, caused the replacement of the month name  
it<sup>i</sup>kù-su<sub>x</sub> by it<sup>i</sup>ab-è. Upon the death of Amar-Suen, the festival in Nippur was  
already firmly established, and thus the now dead Amar-Suen was also me-  
morialized in the ceremonies.

During the fifth month, it<sup>i</sup>ne-IZI-gar, ceremonies for the deceased were  
observed, probably by most of the populace of Nippur for their dead rela-  
tives. The major distinction between that observance and the newly adopted  
ab-è practice may well have been that the ab-è observance was political in na-  
ture, devotion probably restricted to just the deceased Ur III kings, and ob-  
servance relegated to the religious and political elite of Nippur.

#### xi. úd-duru<sub>5</sub>

In the pre-Sargonic documents the eleventh month of the Nippur calen-  
dar was written consistently it<sup>i</sup>ZIZ.A. Two other orthographies are attested

from later periods: a shortened form it<sup>i</sup>ZIZ in the Ur III period (Owen NATN  
918) and it<sup>i</sup>ZIZ.A.AN (5R no. 29 and lexical lists) in the first millennium B.C.

Nippur months names are not genitival formations in which ITI, "month"  
is the first part of the construct, "the month of ..." Thus ZIZ.A is not a geni-  
tival formation "of emmer." A type of emmer(?) ZIZ.A.KA.DU<sub>8</sub> is attested in a  
pre-Sargonic document from Nippur (Westenholz *Jena* 168). The later bilin-  
gual lexical series HAR-ra = *hubullu* contains the entry ziz<sup>zi</sup>-iz-a = MIN (=sal-  
tum)<sup>1</sup>; however, the Nippur and Old Babylonian forerunners do not contain  
this entry.<sup>2</sup> The most commonly attested pre-Sargonic terms for emmer are  
ziz and ZIZ.AN. Note CAD K 536 sub *kunāšu* for ZIZ.ud-ra.AN = *kunāšu* and  
ud-ra ZIZ.A.AN = *ud-ru-ú*<sup>3</sup> and even more significantly MSL 15 OB Diri  
(DN9:37, reference courtesy M. Civil): ud-du-ru ZIZ.A = *ud-du-ru-ú*. The term  
úd-duru<sub>5</sub> occurs also in an Old Babylonian list of offerings to Nusku: a-na  
tu7-úd-duru<sub>5</sub> "for emmer-porridge."<sup>4</sup>

On the basis of a pronunciation /udra/ or /udduru/, the month name  
should be read it<sup>i</sup>úd-duru<sub>5</sub>. For the sign ZIZ having a reading úd note CT 35  
7 34: ZIZ = ud = *ti-ik-tum* (a type of flour). Our assertion is strongly supported  
by two Nippur tablets, one containing a syllabic orthography: it<sup>i</sup>ud-du-ru-u  
(Owen NATN 311) and another: it<sup>i</sup>ZIZ.A-u (Çig-Kizilyay NRVN 1 98). Further  
supporting evidence for this reading is the orthography: it<sup>i</sup>ú-ZIZ (AUCT 2  
28) for the shortened form of the month name. Lastly a Nippur document  
(BE 3 117 iii 44) contains the orthography it<sup>i</sup>ud-rà, a playful rendering of our  
month name.<sup>5</sup> And at Old Babylonian Mari this Sumerian month name is re-  
flected in the semitized month name ITI *ú-ud-ri-im*.<sup>6</sup>

Aside from the standard celebration of the new moon (Westenholz *Jena*  
82), no festival is attested during this month.

#### xii. še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>

The month it<sup>i</sup>še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub> is the most common month name among the cal-  
endars of the Sumerian cities, due to the importance of the barley harvest.  
In the pre-Sargonic period this month is attested as the twelfth month in  
Nippur and as the first month in Ur and in one of the Lagaš/Girsu calendars.  
In the Sargonic period it<sup>i</sup>še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub> was the twelfth month in Adab. And by

1. CAD S 106 sub *salu* A; MSL 11 82 132 reads *raq-tum*.

2. MSL 11 122 and 157.

3. AHW 835 has incorrectly listed the Akkadian term sub *parrú* II. For an in-depth discussion of  
the terms ZIZ, ZIZ.AN, *zizu*, and *kunāšu*, see M. Powell, *Bulletin on Sumerian Agriculture* 1 (1984), 51-52.

4. M. Sigrist, "Offrandes dans le temple de Nusku," JCS 29 (1977), 170.

5. We thank A. Cavigneaux for his collation and suggested reading of this reference.

6. ARMT 26/1 248: *ú-ud-ri-im* and ARM IX 97:26: *i-nu-ma ú-[u]d'-ri-im*. We thank A. Cavigneaux  
for his suggested readings for both these texts. A collation of ARMT 26/1 248 by Durand has  
confirmed the reading *ú-ud-ri-im*, rather than *ú-wu-ri-im* (see AHW 1447; NABU 1989/4, 66).

the Ur III period it had become the first month in Umma, the twelfth (and later first) month in Drehem and the eleventh month in Lagaš/Girsu. At Mari during the Ur III period a month *iti*KIN is attested.<sup>1</sup>

In pre-Sargonic Nippur and Lagaš the month is written *itiše-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>*, while at Lagaš an elongated form *itiše-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>-rā* also is attested. At Sargonic Adab, besides the expected orthographies *itiše-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>* and *itiše-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>-rā*, several texts contain the form *itiše-kin<sub>x</sub>*(ŠE/ŠE+KIN)-a and in Sargonic and Gutian Lagaš the month is written *itiše-kin<sub>x</sub>*(ŠE+KIN)-a. During the Ur III period the form *itiše-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>* (as well as a native month *itiše-sag-ku<sub>5</sub>*) is attested at Umma, at Drehem the forms *itiše-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>* and *iti<sub>2</sub>kin-ku<sub>5</sub>* (MVN 8 191 and MVN 5 38), and at Ur, Nippur and Lagaš/Girsu an orthography *itiše-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>*. From this pattern it can be discerned that the month names employing the signs *kin<sub>x</sub>*(ŠE+KIN) and *kin<sub>x</sub>*(ŠE/ŠE+KIN) are always followed by -a, never by -ku<sub>5</sub>, and that these two signs never occur in the month name in the pre-Sargonic or Ur III periods.

Although not occurring in the pre-Sargonic month name at Lagaš, the sign ŠE+KIN is attested in pre-Sargonic Lagaš in the terms *še-ŠE+KIN.ŠE+KIN* and *ŠE+KIN.ŠE+KIN* where, from context, the term denotes a process in the harvesting of grain.<sup>2</sup> In the Ur III period both the duplicated verbal form *ŠE+KIN.ŠE+KIN*<sup>3</sup> and the form *ŠE+KIN* occur.<sup>4</sup>

Various readings of this month name appear in current publications: *še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>*, *še-gur<sub>10</sub>-ku<sub>5</sub>*, *gur<sub>x</sub>-ku<sub>5</sub>*, and *še-sag<sub>18</sub>-ku<sub>5</sub>*. In the following analysis we suggest that the month name is to be read *še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>*. The element *kin* (or *kin<sub>x</sub>*(ŠE+KIN) and *kin<sub>x</sub>*(ŠE/ŠE+KIN) in the month names *še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>* and *še-kin<sub>x</sub>-a*) is related to the term *kin-ak* "to perform work" and not to *KIN/gur<sub>10</sub>* "to harvest."

Noting glosses in the first millennium B.C. recension of *ḪAR-ra=ḫubullu* xxiv 173<sup>5</sup> indicating that *KIN.KIN* in the term *še-KIN.KIN* is to be read *gurgur: še.gur-gurKIN.KIN*, Oppenheim suggested that since the compound verbal form *še KIN.KIN* was to be read *še gur<sub>10</sub>-gur<sub>10</sub>*, the verbal form *še ŠE+KIN.ŠE+KIN* (which he viewed as just a variant of *še KIN.KIN*) should therefore also be read as *gur<sub>x</sub>-gur<sub>x</sub>*.<sup>6</sup> Based upon this assumption, he further postulated that the orthographies *TÚK.KIN* and *TÚK.ŠE.KIN* were interchangeable in meaning, identifying a type of plow, and based upon this *KIN/ŠE.KIN* interchange of the unreplicated form, he suggested that they be read *gur<sub>10</sub>* and

1. See p. 280.

2. See Selz *Wirtschaftsurkunden*, 210-211 for references.

3. E.g. Gomi, BJRL 64 (1981) no. 42: *še-ŠE+KIN.ŠE+KIN* and Sigrist *Rochester* 229.

4. E.g. AUCT 3 492: *nu-ù-ŠE+KIN*; *Acta Sum* 4 (1982), 13: *še ŠE+KIN-a*.

5. MSL 11 82.

6. *Eames Coll.* 51 and 143.

*gur<sub>x</sub>* respectively. And thus having postulated a reading *gur<sub>x</sub>* for the expression *ŠE.KIN*, he finally suggested that the Nippur month name was to be read *iti<sub>2</sub>gur<sub>x</sub>-ku<sub>5</sub>*.

We concur with Oppenheim's observation that *še KIN.KIN* is to be read *še gur<sub>10</sub>-gur<sub>10</sub>*, not only on the basis of the gloss, but on the basis of literary passages from the Farmer's Almanac<sup>1</sup> in which an -r *Auslaut* for *KIN.KIN* occurs (note the sound play in line 74 between *še gur<sub>10</sub>*, *še ur<sub>5</sub>* and *gūr*):

74. *še KIN.KIN-ru-da-zu-dè še ur<sub>5</sub> nam-ba-gūr-e-en*

75. *u<sub>4</sub> á-ba-ka KIN.KIN-ra-ab*

78. *3-ám ḫu-mu-ra-ab-KIN.KIN-re*

The implications of these literary passages, coupled with the gloss cited by Oppenheim, is that as a compound verb *še KIN.KIN* is to be read *še gur<sub>10</sub>-gur<sub>10</sub>* (as is *še ŠE+KIN.ŠE+KIN*) when meaning "to harvest." However, the reading of *KIN* as /gur/ in the verbal form *še-gur<sub>10</sub>* is not germane to the pronunciation of our month name, since *KIN* in the month name is never a verbal form, thus *\*iti<sub>2</sub>še-KIN* or *\*iti<sub>2</sub>še-KIN-ra*. Rather the month is always written either *iti<sub>2</sub>še-KIN-a* or *iti<sub>2</sub>še-KIN-ku<sub>5</sub>*. The actual verb in these forms is -a or -ku<sub>5</sub>.

As previously noted, in the Sargonic period when the month was written with the signs *ŠE+KIN* or *ŠE/ŠE+KIN* the form was always followed by -a (never by an -r *Auslaut*!). The same holds true in the Ur III period. In the Umma *guruš-worker* texts, the workers are frequently assigned the chore *še-KIN-a*. Although this expression occurs hundreds of times, there is never an *Auslaut* after the *KIN*-sign, always -a. Thus the verb in these references is not *še gur<sub>10</sub>* (*KIN*), but rather an auxiliary form *še-KIN a*, similar in construct to *še-KIN ak* "to work with barley."<sup>2</sup> (The term is, in reality, synonymous with *še gur<sub>10</sub>* (*KIN*) "to harvest.")

This verbal auxiliary form -a is peculiar to compounds utilizing *KIN*. Other instances of this form *KIN-a* in which -a serves as an auxiliary verb may be: *še é-KIN-a* (Sauren *Wirtschaftsurkunden*, 45); *lú-al-KIN-a* (CAD Z 63 sub *zaqtu*); *me-ri-KIN-a* (M.E. Cohen *Lamentations*, 582); *gír-KIN-a* and [*KA×BAD*]-*KIN-a*

1. Manuscript courtesy M. Civil.

2. A tantalizing passage for discerning the pronunciation of the expression *KIN-a* is a partially syllabic passage from the Old Babylonian recension of the *eršemma* en-zu sá-mar-mar:

5) *bulùg-gá-dim-me-er-maḫ-a mè-še ti-na gub-bu*

*bulùg-gá-dingir-maḫ me-e še'-na gub-bu-ú*

6) *kur zi-gin<sub>7</sub> peš-pe-še še-gi<sub>4</sub>-in KIN-a su-ub-bu*

*kur zi-gi<sub>4</sub>-in peš-pe-še še-gi<sub>4</sub>-in sub<sub>x</sub>(SIPA)-ús-bu-ú'*

We are indebted to A. Cavigneaux for his suggested transliteration of this difficult line. We had previously suggested a transliteration *šip<sub>x</sub>(SIPA)-ri su<sub>13</sub>-pa* (M.E. Cohen *Eršemma*, 122 lines 5-6). However, the thought of an Akkadian derivative *šip-ri* (*KIN* = *šipru*) is hardly appealing. Unfortunately, the syllabic line is somewhat obscure and does not present a clear correspondence with *KIN-a* in the non-syllabic version.

(CAD S 228 sub *sêru*); and lú-zag-KIN-a (CAD S 81 sub *sakpu* A). Evidence of this -a as an auxiliary is the lexical passage Nabnitu E 268-271 in which -a is an auxiliary comparable to -du<sub>11</sub>, -ak, and -di.<sup>1</sup>

|      |                              |
|------|------------------------------|
| 268. | gír-KIN-a                    |
| 269. | gír-KIN-du <sub>11</sub> -ga |
| 270. | gír-KIN-ak-a                 |
| 271. | gír-KIN-di                   |

Since (1) kin-a (as noted above in Nabnitu E) can be a construction parallel to kin-ak; and (2) the Ur III texts always write kin-a (never \*KIN-ra) in še-kin-a, it is likely that the terms KIN, ŠE+KIN, and ŠE/ŠE+KIN in the context of the month names <sup>iti</sup>še-KIN-ku<sub>5</sub>, <sup>iti</sup>še-ŠE+KIN-a, and <sup>iti</sup>še-ŠE/ŠE+KIN-a are to be read /kin/, since KIN is not the actual verb; rather, the verb is -a or -ku<sub>5</sub>. kin in these month names is used in a construction similar to its usage in kin-ak, "to work." Thus the month names <sup>iti</sup>še-KIN-ku<sub>5</sub>, <sup>iti</sup>še-ŠE+KIN-a, and <sup>iti</sup>še-ŠE/ŠE+KIN-a are not directly related to the verbal form še-gur<sub>10</sub>(KIN) "to harvest."

Another argument for reading /kin/ in our month name is the name of the twelfth month (and its festival) at Ešnunna and in other Amorite calendars: *kinkum* (written *ki-in-kum*, *ki-in-ku-um* and, in particular, <sup>iti</sup>kin-ku<sub>5</sub>-u[m] at Ishān Mizyad).<sup>2</sup> It is highly likely that this Amorite month, the twelfth month, in the same position as the Nippur month še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub> used throughout Mesopotamia to designate the twelfth month, is merely a semitized form of Sumerian (še-)kin-ku<sub>5</sub>. It is not surprising to have a semitized form of a Nippur calendar month. In the Mari texts the Nippur months úd-duru<sub>5</sub> (ITI *ú-ud-ri-im*), gan-gan-è (ITI *ga-an-ga-na*), and ab-è (ITI *ab-bi-in*) occur.<sup>3</sup> And the second Sippar month name is ITI *Gusisi*, a semitized form of the second Nippur month, ITI gu<sub>4</sub>-si-su.

Lastly, it is necessary to refute the argument that the month name should be read <sup>iti</sup>še-sag<sub>11</sub>(KIN)-ku<sub>5</sub> on the basis of the Umma month name še-sag-ku<sub>5</sub>. At Umma both month names <sup>iti</sup>še-sag-ku<sub>5</sub> and <sup>iti</sup>še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub> are plentifully attested as the name of the first month of the year. Since, the KIN-sign in other contexts has a value /sag/, and since both names <sup>iti</sup>še-sag-ku<sub>5</sub> and <sup>iti</sup>še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub> occur at Umma, the month name <sup>iti</sup>še-sag-ku<sub>5</sub> has been interpreted as being simply a variant for <sup>iti</sup>še-sag<sub>11</sub>(KIN)-ku<sub>5</sub>. However, this hypothesis is unacceptable since the variant <sup>iti</sup>še-sag-ku<sub>5</sub> occurs very frequently at Umma, but never at Ur III Nippur, Ur, and Lagaš, and never in the thousands of references to this month name during the 2000 year span beginning in the Old

1. MSL 16 112 268-271 reads KIN in this context as sig<sub>18</sub>.

2. See pp. 206-207 for the calendar at Ishān Mizyad.

3. J.-M. Durand, ARMT 26/1 248 and ARM 9 97:26; D. Charpin, NABU 1989/4, 66.

Babylonian period! Statistically this should not be the case were the common sign -sag- but a variant for the less common value -sag<sub>11</sub>.

The name of the third month in the Adab calendar <sup>iti</sup>še-sag-sig<sub>6</sub>-ga indicates that še-sag is a valid term in its own right and is not a variant for še-KIN.<sup>1</sup> The Adab month name <sup>iti</sup>še-sag-sig<sub>6</sub>-ga means the month "(when) the early barley prospers." Note the similar expression ŠE.GIŠ.Ī *har-pu* sig<sub>5</sub> "the early sesame will prosper."<sup>2</sup> Thus -sag- in the Umma month name means "early," thus "(the month) when the early grain is cut." The form še-sag-ku<sub>5</sub> is quite possibly the original Umma name for the first month, and še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>, because of its similar form and wide-usage, was eventually used at Umma as well. (At Umma the earlier attested of the two orthographies is <sup>iti</sup>še-sag-ku<sub>5</sub>, which occurs on two Umma tablets bearing the earlier year formulae mu-2-kam-ús-sa-bi and mu-4-kam-ús [MVN 4 134 and 135].)<sup>3</sup>

For the reading of the sign KUD in our month name as ku<sub>5</sub>, see Oppenheim *Eames Coll.* 143 wherein he cites the Neo-Babylonian text Strassmeier Nbn 130: <sup>iti</sup>še-ku<sub>5</sub>-ud-da and note also CAD E 338 (A III/5:37): ku-u KUD = šā ŠE.KIN.KUD *e-še-du* "ku is the pronunciation of KUD in ŠE.KIN.KUD (meaning) *ešēdu*." Also note the Old Babylonian variant: <sup>iti</sup>[š]e-k[in]-kū (CT 8 pl. 14 a). For še ku<sub>5</sub> "to process grain" note Curse of Akkad 125-126: ká-še-nu-ku<sub>5</sub>-da še i-ni-in-ku<sub>5</sub> šu-kalam-ma-ta še ba-da-an-ku<sub>5</sub> "He has grain processed at the door where it is forbidden. With the labor of his country he has grain processed."

1. Landsberger interpreted še-sag as "early barley." Sumerian sag is equated lexically with *pānū*, "early," but although Landsberger hypothesized an Akkadian term \*še'um *panūm*, "early barley," no such Akkadian term is actually attested. A term for early barley is še-nim, *še'um harpum*, which Landsberger hypothesized as one of the two types of še-sag, \*še'um *panūm* (Landsberger, JNES 8 [1949], 263, 284 n. 118). For še-nim, "early grain," and še-sig, "late grain," note Kramer, "Inanna and Šulgi: A Sumerian Fertility Song," še-nim ... a-šu-nim-[bi d]u<sub>11</sub>-[ga]-mu-še še-sig-bi a-sig-bi du<sub>11</sub>-ga-mu-še "To my 'early' grain irrigated with its 'early' water, to my 'late' grain irrigated with its 'late' water"; AJSL 28 239:38 for še-nim and še-si-ga; MSL 11 82 še-sig *uppulu* še-nim *harpu*; for še-sig *uppulu* note M. Powell, *Bulletin on Sumerian Agriculture* 1 (1984), 67: "The meaning 'late' is well established for both the Sumerian and Akkadian words, but whether this refers to a specific type of grain or any late grain is unclear." še-sag is attested in the Nippur forerunner to Hh.XXIV (MSL 11 124 45) as well as in another Old Babylonian forerunner (MSL 11 159 18). In the later bilingual recension of Hh.XXIV a type of barley, *jarahhu*, translated by CAD as "a fine quality of barley," is equated to še-sag and še-sag<sub>4</sub>(LUGAL). CAD I/J 325 notes: "This kind of barley is not mentioned in econ., but note še.SAG-gu<sub>4</sub> Nikolski 2 76 i 1 and *ibid.* 77 i 1 (Oakk.)." It is indeed quite surprising that a barley type or barley description which occurs in the month names in Umma and Adab should never occur in any economic documents. Note also lú-še-sag-gar-ak, a profession involved in the processing of barley (CAD S 313 sub *šamišu* B). Landsberger's general interpretation of the term še-sag as "early barley" appears correct. sag may simply convey its standard meaning "first," thus the "first barley (of the year)," rather than denoting a particular species of barley.

2. CAD D 62 sub *damāqu* mng. 1.

3. A Sargonic document from Adab (A 835+840, Zhi Adab 337) contains the term še-sag-ku<sub>5</sub> in a context other than as a month name: zíz nī-še-sag-ku<sub>5</sub>-rā. However, remembering that Adab is the city whose calendar contains the month <sup>iti</sup>še-sag-sig<sub>6</sub>-ga, this cannot be viewed as proof for the reading <sup>iti</sup>še-sag<sub>11</sub>-ku<sub>5</sub>. In this Adab text še-sag probably means "early barley."

The only clear reference to the *ezem-še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>* festival at Nippur is in a Drehem text (Boson *Tavolette* 24 [AS7]): "2 grain-fed oxen as a royal *mašdar-ia*-offering for the *še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>* festival (*ezem-še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>*) in Nippur." Two other texts ('*Atiqot* 4 no. 77 and Forde *Dakota* no. 47) mention *ezem-še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>*, but no city is recorded. As already observed by Falkenstein,<sup>1</sup> a Drehem tablet dated to the 13th day, the 12th month (*itiše-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>*) of Š47 records the disbursement of grain-fed oxen for the Sacred Mound for the *á-ki-ti-še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>* and for Nintinugga (SA 47, RA 9 [1912], pl. ii SA 47) and another (Fish *Catalogue* 337) records offerings for Enlil and Ninlil ... šà á-ki-ti ... šà Nibru<sup>ki</sup> for AS5 xii 10. Thus the festival seems to have been celebrated around the full moon. There are several literary references to the harvest (*buru<sub>14</sub>*) festival of Enlil, which may well be the *ezem-še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>* at Nippur: "Ašnan, like a beautiful maiden, appears; she lets the crop for the great festival of Enlil come up heavenward" (Winter and Summer 59-60; PSD B 217) and "the harvest (is) the great festival of Enlil" (Nisaba and Enki; PSD B 219).

### xiii. *diri-še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>*

The common name for the intercalary month in Nippur is *iti-diri-še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>*. However, in one text dating to Š33 the month *itiše-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>-min* is attested (Owen NATN 827).

There are festivals mentioned in months twelve and thirteen for carnelian statues. One text dated to IS2 xii (*itezem-dme-ki-gál*) lists offerings for the first half of the month. For day 6 the tablet includes a royal offering of 10 ewes, 3 male-goats, and 2 goats for Ninlil and 2 sheep for Nanna for the temple of Ninlil for the Festival of the Carnelian Statue of Enlil (*ezem-n<sup>a</sup>4gug-alam-dEn-lil-lá*). See p. 155 for the Festival of the Carnelian Statue of Šu-Sin for days 6 and 7 of the twelfth month at either Ur or Nippur.

1. Friedrich *Festschrift*, 175.

Tablets from pre-Sargonic Ur contain nine month names as well as references to several festivals.<sup>1</sup> The following months are attested, although the order of the months cannot be determined:

*itiše-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>*<sup>1</sup>  
*itezem-maḥ-dNin-a-zu<sub>5</sub>-ka*  
*itiab-gir-gu<sub>7</sub>-dEn-ki-ka*  
*itine-gir<sub>x</sub>*  
*itezem-maḥ-dNanna*  
*itamar-sag-gu<sub>7</sub>-dNanna*  
*itiá-ki-ti*  
*itišu-eš-dNanna*  
*itezem-maḥ-dNin-é-gal*

### a) *še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>*<sup>1</sup>

The pre-Sargonic Ur tablet U.4385 is dated to *itiše-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>*<sup>1</sup>. Its surface is damaged after the sign KIN, with the traces possibly of the bottom of a KU<sub>5</sub>-sign. Another pre-Sargonic Ur text (UET 2 *Supplement* no. 13) records: "2 goats (as an offering) for the new moon of ITI KU<sub>5</sub>" (*u<sub>4</sub>-sakar-ITI-KU<sub>5</sub>-ka*). This latter tablet is dated to the month *itišu-eš-dNanna*. If this orthography does indeed refer to the proper name of a month, this may be a hypocoristic form of *itiše-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>*, and this month then would have followed *šu-eš-dNanna* in the calendar. However, it is also possible that the term ITI-KU<sub>5</sub> may not denote the proper name of a month, but rather KU<sub>5</sub> modifies ITI.

### b) *ezem-maḥ-dNin-a-zu<sub>5</sub>-ka*

The pre-Sargonic Ur tablet U.4388 is dated to the month *itezem-maḥ-dNin-a-zu<sub>5</sub>-ka*, which evolved into *itezem-dNin-a-zu* in the Neo-Sumerian period.

1. These texts are published in UET 2 *Supplement* and edited in Alberti-Pomponio *Ur* and by M. Civil, *Aula Orientalis* 6 (1988), 106.



c) ab-gir-gu<sup>7</sup>-dEn-ki-ka

Alberti-Pomponio *Ur* 54 suggests that either the text (UET 2 *Supplement* no. 15) be emended to ab-GIR<ba> or be read ab<sub>ba</sub>x(=GIR). it<sub>ab</sub>-gir-gu<sup>7</sup>-dEn-ki-ka quite likely means "the month of Enki's eating of the male gir(-fish)." For ab-ĤA, ab-gir and gir-Ĥa as fish in early Sumerian texts, see Salonen *Fischerei* 128-130. For the gir-ab(-ba) fish, as well as a discussion of our month name, see Bauer, *Altorientalistische Notizen* no. 25 (Höchberg, 1985) 16, wherein Bauer translates "Meeres-gir-Fische." For another month name referring to the eating of fish, note the Fara school text entry: it<sub>a</sub>-DU-gir<sub>5</sub>ku<sub>6</sub>.<sup>1</sup>

d) ne-gir<sub>x</sub>(UM)

The possible relationship between the three pre-Sargonic month names it<sub>NE</sub>.UM at Ur, it<sub>ne</sub>-IZI-gar at Nippur, and it<sub>gu</sub><sup>4</sup>-rā-IZI-mú-mú at Lagaš has been discussed by Selz, NABU 1989, 25-26. One of the Ur texts (UET 2 *Supplement* no. 39) contains the term NE.UM-IZI-gar, suggestive of a relationship between the Ur month it<sub>NE</sub>.UM and the Nippur month it<sub>ne</sub>-IZI-gar, an observation already made by Langdon.<sup>2</sup>

In one Ur text dated to the month it<sub>NE</sub>.UM, the term NE.UM occurs three times, the tablet recording sheep and oxen used for cultic purposes (UET 2 *Supplement* no. 46). The term NE.UM does not connote a type of offering, as discerned in two entries: 10 u<sub>8</sub> maš-da-ri-a NE.UM-še ba-gíd "10 ewes were supplied as a mašdaria-offering for the NE.UM" and UET 2 *Supplement* no. 39: "2 fat-tailed sheep, 2 rams, 1 she-goat, and 2 suckling lambs were supplied as a mašdaria-offering for the NE.UM-IZI-gar." Other occurrences of the term within this text are: gu<sub>4</sub> udu NE.UM giš e-tag 2 gukkal udu NE.UM-še ba-gíd "an ox and sheep ... NE.UM were sacrificed and 2 fat-tailed sheep were supplied for the NE.UM"; 1 gu<sub>4</sub> 3 gukkal NE.UM-ka kisal-maḥ dInanna-še ba-gíd "1 ox and 3 fat-tailed sheep were supplied ... the NE.UM for the great courtyard of Inanna."

Selz suggests that all three terms (NE.UM, ne [in ne-IZI-gar], and GUD.DU) may have a relationship with the Old Babylonian Semitic calendar month name *kinūnu* ("brazier").<sup>3</sup>

Selz does not offer a meaning or reading for /UM/ in this and in other pre-Sargonic occurrences; however, he does cite two references which indicate an *Auslaut*-r: sanga-a-ḥuš UM-ra e-me-a (DP 169 4:4-5); u<sub>4</sub>-26 ensi UM-ra e-me-a-a (Fö 84 4:2-4); and a third possible reference: UM ki ra (RGTC 1, 165).

1. Salonen *Fischerei*, 204.

2. Langdon *Menologies*, 157.

3. G. Selz, NABU 1989, 26: "Ich schlage also vor, in (itu)-NE-UM(a)-izi-gar und itu-GUD.DU-izi-mú(-mú(-a)) die sumerischen Äquivalente des semitischen Monatsnamen *kinūnu*(m) zu sehen."

NE.UM is to be read ne-gir<sub>x</sub> and both terms ne and gir<sub>x</sub> probably denote a "brazier." Thus the month name might be a hendiadys meaning "(month of) all the braziers" or "(the month of) torches and braziers." Both terms probably derive from one original word denoting objects which were set afire to provide heat and light, thus braziers, torches, etc., which developed into the variants /ne(r)/, /gir/, and possibly /gur/. This may be further noted in gir<sub>4</sub> = *kīru*, "oven," and the existence of the term *kūru*, "oven" (although the two lexical references indicates a value /dinig/ for K<sub>1</sub>NE in this latter instance [CAD K 571]).<sup>1</sup> The NE-sign has a value /gi(r)/, having the readings gir<sub>9</sub> and gir<sub>10</sub>, thereby showing a relationship between the Sumerian morphemes /ne/ and /gir/. The lexical lists clearly indicate a reading /ne/ for NE when meaning "brazier" (S<sup>b</sup> II 10 [quoted CAD K 393 sub *kinūnu*]): ni-e NE = *ki-nu-nu*. The term K<sub>1</sub>NE, "brazier," can be pronounced as /ne/ or /gune/ (CAD *ibidem*).<sup>2</sup> And the *Auslaut*-r for /gu)ne/ when meaning "brazier" is attested in Kagal I 370 (CAD *ibidem*): gú-K<sub>1</sub>NE-ra. Thus the NE-sign should be read /ne(r)/ when meaning "brazier" or, perhaps, "torch."

The value /gir(i)/ for the UM-sign can be discerned from analyzing several references:

- > The UM-sign has an *Auslaut*-r, as noted by Selz (see above);
- > The god name d<sub>UM</sub>-dagal-la (CT 25 pl. 27 i 1) is a variant for d<sub>Kili</sub>-dagal-la (3R 69 no.5 76: d<sub>Kili</sub>-ki-li-da-gal-dagal). These two texts are duplicates of the same god list and the entry preceding d<sub>Kili</sub>-dagal-la in 3R is d<sub>Gir</sub>-gal, the juxtaposition of these two entries obviously based upon the similarity of the sounds /gir(i)gal/ and /kilidagal/. Thus UM and kili are variants, which can easily be understood if a value /gir(i)/ for the UM-sign is acknowledged;
- > Pre-Sargonic and Old Babylonian lexical lists of bird names utilizing the UM-sign provide possible variants and orthographies supporting the reading gir<sub>x</sub> for UM. An Old Babylonian forerunner to H<sub>h</sub> XVIII contains an entry which perhaps should be read gir<sub>x</sub>(UM)-gir<sub>10</sub>-ri-ga<sup>mušen</sup> (CT 6 14 iii 4). Note G. Pettinato, "Liste presargoniche di uccelli," OA 17 (1978), 167:

iii 4 námušen  
5 giri<sub>x</sub>(UM)mušen<sup>3</sup>  
6 giri<sub>x</sub>-ḥurmušen

1. Selz, *op. cit.*, notes the possible relevance of these two Akkadian terms in this context.

2. For the term K<sub>1</sub>NE and other terms for "oven," as well as a discussion of the use and construction of Mesopotamian ovens, see A. Salonen, "Die Öfen der alten Mesopotamier," *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 3 (1964), 108ff.

3. However, note MEE 3 113 for UN<sup>mušen</sup>.



7 giri<sub>x</sub>-nun<sup>mušen</sup>

Line 5 - The entry directly after nā<sup>mušen</sup> in Hh XVIII is giriš(BIR)-mušen whereas the entry after nā<sup>mušen</sup> above we read giri<sub>x</sub><sup>mušen</sup>.

Line 6 - Cf. MSL 8/2 139 255b: kir<sub>4</sub>-hur<sup>mušen</sup>.

Line 7 - See the following bullet for the gods <sup>d</sup>Gir-nun and <sup>d</sup>Giri<sub>x</sub>(UM)-nun in the Fara texts.

- In the Fara school texts there is a reference to a god <sup>d</sup>UM-nun (Deimel *Pantheon* 4) and another to a god <sup>d</sup>Gir-nun (ŠL 337).<sup>1</sup>
- The expression giri<sub>x</sub>(UM) ki-ra-ra occurs in a hymn to Ninsina: gišig-nigin-gar-ra-ke<sub>4</sub> šu ús-ù-dè giri<sub>x</sub>(UM) ki ra-ra-dè, "who pushes open the door to the storehouse, who ... the oven(?)." <sup>2</sup> And the similar expression gi-ru ki-ra-ra occurs in a hymn to Ningišzida: en <sup>d</sup>Nin-giš-zi-da ki-r[a ki-ra-ra] with variants gi-ra gi-ra-ra and gi-ru ki-ra-ra, "Lord Ningišzida ... the oven(?)." <sup>3</sup> This expression is obviously a wordplay based upon the repetition of the sound /gira/; however, the meaning of ki-ra-ra is unclear. <sup>4</sup> The reference UM ki ra (RGTC 1, 165) may be related to this usage.
- Note WDOG 43 no. 77 (VAT 9128; M. Lambert, RA 47 [1953], 85) iii 10-11: giri<sub>x</sub>(UM)-nagar giri<sub>14</sub>-nagar<sup>na-gar</sup>. This list of pre-Sargonic names (and terms?) contains, as Lambert points out, several variant entries one right after the other (e.g. iv 8-9: bün-ni-ti bu-ni-ti).

Thus the evidence strongly indicates a reading /gir(i)/ for the UM-sign and thus a reading /negir/ for NE.UM.

Possibly the eighth Ebla month, <sup>iti</sup>NE.GAR, was named for the observance of a festival similar in nature to the Brazier Festival—this Ebla month perhaps being pronounced *Kinūnu*. Quite likely the Ebla orthography NE.GAR should be read ne-gar, thereby being parallel to the Ur month <sup>iti</sup>ne-gir<sub>x</sub>(UM), meaning "brazier," rather than reading izi-gar, "to light a fire." Note the entry: 2 gišpèš NE-gar lugal "2 fig trees for the *brazier*(?) of the king" on a pre-Sargonic tablet from Mari dating to the sixth month.<sup>5</sup>

1. See R. Biggs, OIP 99 47 for the zà-mí hymn to <sup>d</sup>Nin-UM (= <sup>d</sup>Nin-giri<sub>x</sub>(?)) who seems to be a form of Inanna. The first millennium god-list AN = *Anum* IV 101 has an entry <sup>d</sup>Nin-giri<sub>10</sub>-ra. However, this latter reference is an epithet of Nergal, not Inanna.

2. SRT 6 iii 3 (cf. W. Ph. Römer, AOAT 1, 295).

3. Ningišzida Hymn A line 8 (Å.W. Sjöberg, StOr 46 [1975], 301ff.).

4. The term ki ra-ra(-ra) occurs in the composition Lugalbanda and the Thunderbird line 46 wherein Jacobsen translates "the land reverberates" (Jacobsen *Harps*, 324), whereas Wilcke *Lugalbandaepos*, 95 leaves the line untranslated: kur(-ra) LUL.LUL-bi-a ki mu-un-ra-ra-ra. Perhaps kur-ra ki ra-ra-ra in this text is a wordplay based upon the homonyms kur "mountain" and /gura/ "oven," both terms being used with the expression ki-ra-ra.

5. D. Charpin, "Tablettes présargoniques de Mari," MARI 5 (1987), 79 no. 19.

In summary, the UM-sign has a reading /gir(i)/. This reading giri<sub>x</sub> is appropriate in the Ur month name <sup>iti</sup>ne-gir<sub>x</sub>(UM), since the element NE in this context probably refers to a "brazier" and /gir/ as in the sign GIR<sub>4</sub> also denotes a brazier. These month names may mean: <sup>iti</sup>ne-gir<sub>x</sub>(UM) "(the month of) the braziers"; <sup>iti</sup>ne-IZI-gar: "(the month) the lamps/braziers are lit"; and <sup>iti</sup>gu<sub>4</sub>-rá-IZI-mú-mú: "(the month) the braziers(?) are lit." The Nippur month ne-IZI-gar was the fifth month, thus not a festival akin to the *kinūnu* festival which occurred in the winter. More likely the Nippur month name referred to the fires which were kindled during the paternalia to aid the netherworld spirits when leaving the dark netherworld for their ancestral homes. In the pre-Sargonic period the term ezem ("festival") is unattested in the Girsu month name, although one Neo-Sumerian text does contain the element ezem in the month name: <sup>iti</sup>ezem-gu<sub>4</sub>-rá-IZI-mú-mú (MVN 6 105). The Ur III Girsu month gu<sub>4</sub>-rá-IZI-mú-mú was the second month of the year. Thus it too was probably not related to the *kinūnu* festival.

e) ezem-maḥ-<sup>d</sup>Nanna

The "great festival of Nanna" (UET 2 *Supplement* nos. 40 and 45 and U.4385) involved offerings to Inanna, as well as to Nanna, as noted in a text which records 3 cows and sheep for Inanna and Nanna which were consumed at the "great festival of Nanna" (UET 2 *Supplement* no. 45): ezem-maḥ-<sup>d</sup>Nanna-ke<sub>4</sub> i-gu<sub>7</sub>. This month is presumably the full form of the later Ur III month <sup>iti</sup>ezem-maḥ, named for the "great festival" which centered about the cult of Nanna.

f) amar-sag-gu<sub>7</sub>-<sup>d</sup>Nanna

The complete month name occurs on the Ur tablet, U.4390. The form <sup>iti</sup>amar-sag-gu<sub>7</sub> occurs on UET 2 *Supplement* no. 43 and a still shorter form <sup>iti</sup>amar-sag in UET 2 *Supplement* no. 42. Alberti and Pomponio suggest that this month refers to an offering of the amar-sag-bird, a type of duck.<sup>1</sup> Since the fourth month of the Ur III calendar refers to the offering of the u<sub>5</sub>-bí-bird, perhaps this pre-Sargonic Ur month may also have been the fourth month of the year, the u<sub>5</sub>-bí-bird eventually replacing the amar-sag-bird in the cult ritual for the month.<sup>2</sup>

1. See Salonen *Vögel*, 116-118; add the reference MVN 13 740 = Owen, ZA 71 (1981), 29-47.

2. For a discussion of this month name, see J. Bauer, *Altorientalistische Notizen* no. 25 (Höckberg, 1985), 16.

g) á-ki-ti

This month should, of course, correspond to the seventh month in the Ur III Ur calendar. Another early attestation of the month <sup>iti</sup>á-ki-ti, provenience unknown, concerns the hiring of workers (MVN 3 12). The earliest occurrence of the term á-ki-ti is in a list of barley rations from Šuruppak (Jestin TSS 881 obv. ii 1'-3'): [...] á-ki-ti é-kur é-zi.

h) šu-eš-<sup>d</sup>Nanna

The only occurrence of the term šu-eš aside from the month name is from a pre-Sargonic document from Ur recording the delivery of cattle and sheep for cultic purposes (UET 2 *Supplement* no. 46 iii 3): 1 udu-nita 1 uš udu x x (x)-a šu-eš-<sup>d</sup>Inanna e-ta-è ba-gíd "1 ram, 1 ewe and ... sheep were delivered ... for the šu-eš of Inanna." Unfortunately, it is unclear from this one reference whether šu-eš connotes a type of offering, a shrine/building, or a festival/ritual.<sup>1</sup>

i) ezem-maḥ-<sup>d</sup>Nin-é-gal

Although the cult of Ninegal was continued into the Ur III period at Ur, there is no mention of a great festival in her honor during the Ur III period. Discussing a hymn apparently written during the reign of Iddin-Dagan of Isin, Jacobsen notes the relationship between the epithet Ninegal and the goddess Inanna: "the king took on the identity of the god Ama-ushumgal-anna and as such married Inanna, who was almost certainly incarnated in the reigning queen, as shown by the epithet Ninegala(k), 'queen of the palace,' ..." <sup>2</sup>

In addition to these nine month names from pre-Sargonic Ur, there is a reference to the great festival of Ningublaga: "1 ox was supplied for the great festival of Ningublaga" (UET 2 *Supplement* no. 38). Ningublaga, the son of Nanna, whose main cult was in Kiabrig, maintained a cult at Ur down through the Ur III period.<sup>3</sup> The eighteenth year of Ur-Nammu was named "The year the foundation of the temple of Ningublaga was laid." In the Nanše Hymn, Ningublaga, "son of the warrior, the gallant Suen" assists Hendersagga in administering justice in Nanše's temple in Nina.<sup>4</sup>

UET 2 *Supplement* no. 37 contains the entry <sup>[iti]i</sup> <sup>d</sup>Nin-[ḥur]-sag-ka. If this is, indeed, a month name, it may be a shortened form for <sup>iti</sup>ezem(-maḥ)-

1. For the term šu-eš-gi in early texts, see Biggs, OIP 99 55.

2. Jacobsen *Harps*, 112.

3. UET 3 II p. 39 with references.

4. Jacobsen *Harps*, 132.

<sup>d</sup>Nin-ḥur-sag. The goddess Ninḥursag is attested in a few Ur III texts as having a cult at Ur (UET 3 267, 736 and 1126).

Lastly, the term "festival" occurs in an unclear context: 16 udu-ḥá ezem sag IGI.GANA2 é-ki-ša<sub>6</sub>-e i-gu7 (UET 2 *Supplement* no. 17).

*Ur III Period*

Five of the nine preserved pre-Sargonic month names at Ur evolved into month names in the Neo-Sumerian Ur calendar: (1) še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>, (6) <sup>iti</sup>ezem-<sup>d</sup>Nin-a-zu from <sup>iti</sup>ezem-maḥ-<sup>d</sup>Nin-a-zu<sub>5</sub>, (7) <sup>iti</sup>á-ki-ti, (9) <sup>iti</sup>šu-eš-ša from <sup>iti</sup>šu-eš-<sup>d</sup>Nanna, and (10) <sup>iti</sup>ezem-maḥ from <sup>iti</sup>ezem-maḥ-<sup>d</sup>Nanna. And the fourth month, <sup>iti</sup>u<sub>5</sub>-bī<sup>mušen</sup>-gu<sub>7</sub>, may possibly have evolved from <sup>iti</sup>amar-sag-gu<sub>7</sub>-<sup>d</sup>Nanna. Three of the month names from pre-Sargonic Ur are as yet unattested and it is not unreasonable to surmise that one of these months may have been <sup>iti</sup>ezem-maḥ-<sup>d</sup>Me-ki-gál, since the cult of this deity is totally absent from Ur III Ur, despite the twelfth month being named <sup>iti</sup>ezem-<sup>d</sup>Me-ki-gál.

Sollberger has suggested a distinct break in the evolution of the Ur calendar, positing that with the rise of Lagaš/Girsu after the Akkadian Empire and with its hegemony over Ur, the Girsu calendar was used at Ur until Šulgi, in his thirtieth year, reintroduced the native Ur calendar.<sup>1</sup> Over a dozen tablets with Girsu month names dated before Š30 have been found at Ur. This, coupled with the total lack of native Ur months on any tablets from Ur proper before the thirtieth year of Šulgi, prompted Sollberger to reach this conclusion. However, Sollberger's arguments are not convincing for several reasons:

➤ As Sollberger notes, a tablet with Girsu month names <sup>iti</sup>buru<sub>x</sub>-maš and <sup>iti</sup>ezem-<sup>d</sup>Lig-si<sub>4</sub> (UET 3 343) dates to ŠS4. Sollberger suggests that the parties involved were from Lagaš and thus used the Lagaš calendar. Yet, this same rationalization could hold true for the Lagaš tablets at Ur before the year Š30, i.e., they were from a small cache involving individuals with economic or native ties to Lagaš/Girsu. The existence of the Girsu-dated tablets after the imposition of the Ur calendar negates Sollberger's assertion that the existence of Girsu-dated tablets before Š30 indicates that a native Ur calendar was not in use.

➤ As demonstrated by T. Gomi<sup>2</sup> a calendar was used at Drehem with the Ur month names before Šulgi 30: <sup>iti</sup>maš-kù-[gu<sub>7</sub>] in Š25 (TLB 3 94); <sup>iti</sup>ki-sig-<sup>d</sup>Nin-a-zu in Š28 (MVN 9 105); <sup>iti</sup>ezem-<sup>d</sup>Nin-a-zu in Š28 (PDT I

1. AfO 17 (1954/56), 18-20.

2. "The Calendars of Ur and Puzriš-Dagān in the Early U-III Period," ZA 77 (1987), 1-11.

516); <sup>iti</sup>ezem-<sup>d</sup>Nin-a-zu in Š29 (Goetze, *Iraq* 22 [1960] Smith College 555). Since this calendar at Drehem was, at least partially, related to the pre-Sargonic Ur calendar, it is difficult to rationalize how under its great king Šulgi Ur would have maintained a foreign calendar, while insignificant Drehem used an Ur calendar. Tablets utilizing the Ur calendar during the Ur III period have also been found at Ešnunna. This is clearly an introduction during the Ur III period, since the Sargonic texts from Ešnunna utilized a Semitic calendar. This indicates that during the Ur III period the calendar from Ur was deliberately installed in another city as the official calendar, this adding weight to our assertion that the same policy occurred in regard to Drehem (instead of *vice versa*).

- There have been only a handful of tablets dated before Š30 found at Ur. This minute quantity of tablets, regardless of the calendar used, indicates that almost all the economic documents from the period before Š30 are missing. This group of tablets is far too small to be a significant sampling and cannot serve as the basis for reaching conclusions as to the official calendar of the period.
- In many Ur III cities there are small quantities of tablets dated using foreign calendars. Thus it is not unusual to find a handful of Lagaš-dated tablets in Ur. Moreover, as Sollberger notes, the tablets from Ur include one text using the Nippur calendar and two others of unknown provenience (<sup>iti</sup>a-bi, <sup>iti</sup>ab-bi).

Once the existence of a relationship between the pre-Sargonic calendar at Ur and the later Ur III calendar at Ur is accepted, the likelihood increases that the Drehem calendar was brought to Drehem from Ur, not *vice versa* as both Sollberger and Gomi suggest.<sup>1</sup> This could have occurred no later than Š25 (based on the earliest dated Drehem tablet), further negating the argument for a Girsu calendar at Ur until Š30. Drehem is located close to Nippur, where the month <sup>iti</sup>še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub> was the twelfth month. The religious veneration of Nippur clearly overshadowed the rituals of small Drehem. It is not unreasonable that the Ur calendar at Drehem was shifted one month so that these two neighbors both celebrated the festival of the month <sup>iti</sup>še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub> during the same month. Without further evidence to the contrary, it is highly likely that the pre-Sargonic Ur calendar evolved into the Ur III calendar without interruption. And until the lacuna of dated Ur III texts before Š30 can be reasonably filled in, we cannot concur with Sollberger's hypothesis that the Girsu calendar was the official Ur calendar before Š30.

1. Gomi, *op. cit.*, 7: "When Šulgi wanted to create a new calendar for the capital city of his kingdom, he found an existing calendar which had been used in the Early Drehem(?) texts and whose months were named after various festivals or others intimately connected with Ur."

The twelve months comprising the Ur calendar during the Ur III period are listed in order, beginning with <sup>iti</sup>še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>, on two undated Ur III tablets (Loding *Ur* 50 and 1178). The year-end summation: <sup>iti</sup>še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>-ta <sup>iti</sup>ezem-<sup>d</sup>Me-ki-gál-še indicates that <sup>iti</sup>še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub> was considered the first month of the year as early as Š38.<sup>1</sup> The order of the Drehem months was first established by Thureau-Dangin, who quotes AO 5524 (Š42), which begins with the month maš-dà-gu<sub>7</sub>.<sup>2</sup> A later listing of the Drehem months in EAH 134 begins with še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub> and lists the *ensi* assignments for each month.<sup>3</sup> Another Drehem tablet (Fish, MCS 1 [1951] 45 BM 103400) lists the span of months between various pairs of months for the last twelve years of Šulgi's reign.

The Ur calendar was employed at Puzriš-Dagan (Drehem) and much further north at Ešnunna (though not exclusively). At Drehem, before the year ŠS4, the calendar began with maš-dà-gu<sub>7</sub> and concluded with še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>, whereas at Ur še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub> was the first month. Whiting proposed that a calendrical reform at Drehem occurred during the third year of Šu-Sin, this reform achieving two purposes: (1) synchronization of the beginning of the Drehem calendrical year with that of Ur; (2) honoring king Šu-Sin with the naming of the ninth month for him.<sup>4</sup> To achieve the first objective of the reform the year ŠS3 ended with diri-ezem-<sup>d</sup>Me-ki-gál (=month 12) in order to push <sup>iti</sup>še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub> to the beginning of ŠS4:

|       | ŠS2                                  | ŠS3                                      | ŠS4                                      |
|-------|--------------------------------------|--|--|
| i.    | māš-da-gu <sub>7</sub>               | māš-da-gu <sub>7</sub>                   | še-kin-ku <sub>5</sub>                   |
| ii.   | zaḫ <sub>x</sub> -da-gu <sub>7</sub> | zaḫ <sub>x</sub> -da-gu <sub>7</sub>     | māš-da-gu <sub>7</sub>                   |
| iii.  | u <sub>5</sub> -bī-gu <sub>7</sub>   | u <sub>5</sub> -bī-gu <sub>7</sub>       | zaḫ <sub>x</sub> -da-gu <sub>7</sub>     |
| iv.   | ki-sīg- <sup>d</sup> Nin-a-zu        | ki-sīg- <sup>d</sup> Nin-a-zu            | u <sub>5</sub> -bī-gu <sub>7</sub>       |
| v.    | ezem- <sup>d</sup> Nin-a-zu          | ezem- <sup>d</sup> Nin-a-zu              | ki-sīg- <sup>d</sup> Nin-a-zu            |
| vi.   | á-ki-ti                              | á-ki-ti                                  | ezem- <sup>d</sup> Nin-a-zu              |
| vii.  | ezem- <sup>d</sup> Šul-gi            | ezem- <sup>d</sup> Šul-gi                | á-ki-ti                                  |
| viii. | šu-eš-ša                             | ezem- <sup>d</sup> Šu- <sup>d</sup> Suen | ezem- <sup>d</sup> Šul-gi                |
| ix.   | ezem-maḫ                             | ezem-maḫ                                 | ezem- <sup>d</sup> Šu- <sup>d</sup> Suen |
| x.    | ezem-an-na                           | ezem-an-na                               | ezem-maḫ                                 |
| xi.   | ezem- <sup>d</sup> Me-ki-gál         | ezem- <sup>d</sup> Me-ki-gál             | ezem-an-na                               |
| xii.  | še-kin-ku <sub>5</sub>               | diri ezem- <sup>d</sup> Me-ki-gál        | ezem- <sup>d</sup> Me-ki-gál             |
| xiii. | diri-še-kin-ku <sub>5</sub>          |  |  |

Whiting's conclusions seem to be correct, although, as he points out, there are some references which contradict his hypothesis. Additional sup-

1. UET 3 1320; UET 3 1018 for Š39; UET 3 1019 for Š44.

2. RA 8 (1911), 84ff.

3. EBH 299, MVN 9 124; no date, but clearly no earlier than ŠS4.

4. "Some Observations on the Drehem Calendar," ZA 69 (1979), 13ff.

port for Whiting's reconstruction stems from YBC 12565 (Michalowski, OA 16 [1977]), dated to ŠS3 <sup>iti</sup>zab<sub>x</sub>-da-gu<sub>7</sub> (the second Drehem month as proposed by Whiting), which records offerings for the *gusisu*-festival in the second month at Nippur.

Whiting notes two texts (PDT I 269 and 278) which contain a month in ŠS3 <sup>iti</sup>še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub> which would contradict his assumption that this month began ŠS4 and did not exist in ŠS3. He attributes this to the scribe "not getting the word" on the change. However, after eleven months everyone should have "gotten the word." Since his publication, two more problematic texts have surfaced. AUCT 3 184 and PDT II 1286, both dated to <sup>iti</sup>še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub> in ŠS3, use the mu-ús-sa year formula with Šu-Sin's second year, indicating that še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub> came at the *beginning* of the year ŠS3.

The decision to reform the calendar probably was made near the very end of the year ŠS2. There may well have been two reform plans put forward. The first approach may have been to have two months še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub> in a row, the last month of ŠS2 and the first month of ŠS3. The aforementioned references to še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub> of ŠS3 at the beginning of the year may reflect those scribes who attempted to institute the reform in this manner. However, this plan did not take into consideration the need to intercalate ŠS2 and thus, faced with three possible months in a row named še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub> (še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub> [ŠS2 xii], diri-še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub> [ŠS2 xiii], še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub> [ŠS3 i]), this approach was rejected—although some scribes had begun to follow this plan, having not yet received the official calendrical decision from Ur. The generally accepted plan was the one described by Whiting.<sup>1</sup> The month diri-še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub> in ŠS2 apparently was the same month as še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub> of ŠS3. This assertion is supported by the unusually small number of references (four) to an intercalary month in ŠS2. If, however, these four references to še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub> in ŠS3 are added, the number of references to this month begins to approach the number of references to intercalary months in other years. The rejected calendrical reform schema was probably the following:

|      | ŠS2                                  | ŠS3                                  |
|------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| i.   | máš-da-gu <sub>7</sub>               | še-kin-ku <sub>5</sub>               |
| ii.  | zab <sub>x</sub> -da-gu <sub>7</sub> | máš-da-gu <sub>7</sub>               |
| iii. | u <sub>5</sub> -bí-gu <sub>7</sub>   | zab <sub>x</sub> -da-gu <sub>7</sub> |
| iv.  | ki-sig <sup>d</sup> Nin-a-zu         | u <sub>5</sub> -bí-gu <sub>7</sub>   |
| v.   | ezem <sup>d</sup> Nin-a-zu           | ki-sig <sup>d</sup> Nin-a-zu         |
| vi.  | á-ki-ti                              | ezem <sup>d</sup> Nin-a-zu           |

1. Whiting's reconstruction does not take into account the existence of an intercalary month in ŠS2, which we believe was a decisive factor in rejecting one of the approaches. For references to the intercalary months in ŠS2 see Sigrist and Gomi *The Comprehensive Catalogue of Published Ur III Tablets* (Bethesda, 1991), 311.

|       |                             |  |
|-------|-----------------------------|--|
| vii.  | ezem <sup>d</sup> Šul-gi    | á-ki-ti                                |
| viii. | šu-eš-ša                    | ezem <sup>d</sup> Šul-gi               |
| ix.   | ezem-maḥ                    | ezem <sup>d</sup> Šu <sup>d</sup> Suen |
| x.    | ezem-an-na                  | ezem-maḥ                               |
| xi.   | ezem <sup>d</sup> Me-ki-gál | ezem-an-na                             |
| xii.  | še-kin-ku <sub>5</sub>      | ezem <sup>d</sup> Me-ki-gál            |

As demonstrated by M. Cooper, during the reign of Šulgi several versions of the Ur calendar were used simultaneously at Drehem:<sup>1</sup>

... Drehem texts used a number of different calendars prior to the reign of Amar-Sin. Each of these calendars employed the Ur month names but differed as to the starting point of the year and the system of intercalation. When the administrative system which was later centered in Drehem was first organized late in the third decade of Šulgi's reign, the administrators employed the Ur month names but intercalated according to the local calendar. The queen's administrators used the same month names but did not intercalate at all. Shortly after the E-Puzriš-Dagan complex began to operate, its administrators chose to begin the year with the á-ki-ti month, perhaps because the cult statue of Nanna passed Drehem on its way to Nippur at that time of year. Only with the passing of Šulgi and Šulgi-simti was this system finally reorganized so that one calendar was used for all Drehem operations.

The earliest dated tablets from Ešnunna utilizing the Ur calendar date to the year Š30. However, two of the month names attested from Ešnunna during Š30 are not found in the Ur calendar: <sup>iti</sup>šu-numun-na (TA 1931-354) (which occurs in calendars from Nippur, Umma, and Lagaš) and <sup>iti</sup>KA.si or ITI Ka-si (TA 1931-330). This may indicate that up through Šulgi 30 the city of Ešnunna employed a Sumerian calendar from another site or a native calendar. There is one Ur III Ešnunna tablet (TA 1930-760 [Š39]) which utilizes a month from the Amorite calendars, <sup>iti</sup>na-ab-ri-um, the calendar which completely replaced the Ur calendar at Ešnunna by the reign of Išbi-Erra of Isin. Thus a Sumerian calendar (possibly as well as an Amorite calendar) may have been in use at Ešnunna before the imposition of the Ur calendar sometime around Š30. The Ur month <sup>iti</sup>ezem<sup>d</sup>Šu<sup>d</sup>Suen (which was adopted at Ur in ŠS3) is attested at Ešnunna in the year IS3, although, of course, this does not preclude its adoption at Ešnunna also in ŠS3.

A tablet from Ešnunna dated to ŠS6 states: <sup>iti</sup>še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>-ta iti diri ezem-me-ki-gál-šè iti-bi 13-àm, "from še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub> to the intercalary Ezem-mekigal is thirteen."

1. "The Drehem Calendars During the Reign of Šulgi," ZA 77 (1987), 174ff. Cooper discusses the use of the months with the designation MIN and refers to references gathered by Whiting, ZA 69 (1979), 28. However, there is another extremely important reference, Watson *Birmingham I* 75, which dates most probably to Š45, though AS2 is possible. This text lists two consecutive MIN-months, stating that the duration between these months was two months: <sup>iti</sup>ki-sig<sup>d</sup>Nin-a-zu-min-kam <sup>iti</sup>ezem<sup>d</sup>Nin-a-zu-min-kam iti-2-kam. (Whiting lists TRU 144 which records <sup>iti</sup>ki-sig<sup>d</sup>Nin-a-zu-min for Š45/AS2.) Watson *Birmingham I* 75 confirms Cooper's reconstruction of MIN-months as being consecutive, but may indicate that this naming convention continued through Š45.

teen months."<sup>1</sup> However, by ŠS6 the Drehem calendar had become synchronized with the Ur calendar. Thus it is unclear whether the Ešnunna calendar before ŠS3 began with maš-dà-gu<sub>7</sub> as at Drehem or with še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub> as at Ur.

There are references in one Ešnunna tablet to sheep and goats for the Great Festival (ezem-maḥ) (TA 1930-449). This may refer to provisions to be transported to Ur for its Great Festival.

Pomponio suggests, on the basis of Umma officials names and seals occurring on tablets dated by the Ur III calendar, the Ur calendar was in use also at Umma beginning in the reign of Amar-Suen, where it functioned as a *Reichskalender* alongside the native Umma calendar.<sup>2</sup> Pomponio suggests that closer scrutiny of tablets which have heretofore been classified as Puzriš-Dagan texts should establish that a number of these tablets may actually have come from other sites.<sup>3</sup>

We are rather uncomfortable applying the term *Reichskalender* to the Ur calendar. Beginning with the reign of Išbi-Erra of Isin a true *Reichskalender*, the Southern-Mesopotamian Sumerian calendar (which was based on the Nippur calendar), is clearly in evidence throughout southern Mesopotamia. However, in the Ur III period, aside from Ur itself, only at Puzriš-Dagan is the Ur calendar used exclusively. From Nippur there are tablets dated according to the Lagaš, Drehem/Ur, and Umma calendars. At Ešnunna there is one tablet dated to an Amorite calendar. In Ur itself tablets with Lagaš and Nippur month names occur. The use of foreign month names may be attributed to merchants or officials conducting business at multiple sites, to scribal training, to foreigners conducting business, or to business being conducted between individuals of different towns. These same reasons may be the basis for the use of the Ur calendar at Umma, even though Umma officials sealed the tablets. It is not unexpected that tablets bearing the calendar of the imperial center have been found at other sites. But this does not warrant the term *Reichskalender* being applied to the Ur calendar.

In Ur and Uruk there were similar cultic events associated with the goddesses Inanna, Nanā, Bēlat-terraban, Bēlat-šuhner, Annunītum, and Ulmašītum.<sup>4</sup> In the Ur III period Inanna, Bēlat-terraban, and Bēlat-šuhner had cult

1. 1931-T399, quoted by R. Whiting, "Some Observations on the Drehem Calendar," ZA 69 (1979), 28ff.

2. Pomponio, "The Reichskalender of Ur III in the Umma Texts," ZA 79 (1989), 10ff. M. Cooper, *op. cit.*, 190, notes that the existence of multiple versions of the Ur calendar at Drehem during the last years of Šulgi's reign indicates that a *Reichskalender* could not have existed prior to Amar-Suen.

3. An Ur III text using the Ur calendar was found at Kish (PRAK D 49), dating to the month it<sub>1</sub> ezem-me-ki-gāl in Š40. Since, to our knowledge, this is the only published Ur III tablet from Kish, it is also possible that this tablet may not actually have been found at Kish.

4. For the reading of the name Bēlat-terraban note <sup>d</sup>Be-la-at-da-ra-ba-an (AUCT 2 366:19), <sup>d</sup>NIN-ter-ba-an (TA 1931-325), and <sup>d</sup>Be-la-at-te(-ēr)-ra-ba-an (MAD 5 90); for the name Bēlat-šuhner note <sup>d</sup>NIN-šuk-ner (TA 1931-325), <sup>d</sup>Be-la-at-šu-ner (AUCT 2 366), <sup>d</sup>Be-la-at-šuh-ne-er (Kang *Drehem* 180).

centers at both Ur and Uruk.<sup>1</sup> Nanā, on the other hand, had her cult at Uruk. There are a few Ur III references to statues of Nanā at Ur (possibly reflecting personal followings)<sup>2</sup>; however none of the Ur III Ur tablets mentions offerings to her or a chapel for her. The goddesses Annunītum and Ulmašītum were worshipped both at Ur and Uruk. There is a reference to regular offerings for Annunītum at Uruk (AUCT 2 89) and to the banquet of these two goddesses at Uruk (Legrain TRU 273).

The Ur texts refer either to Annunītum and Ulmašītum together or only to Annunītum, never to Ulmašītum by herself, indicating a preference for the form Annunītum in Ur. W.G. Lambert suggests that Annunītum was probably Ištar of Babylon, who resided in the Eturkalama, while Ulmašītum was Ištar of Akkad.<sup>3</sup> These two goddesses are mentioned frequently in tandem as receiving offerings in Ur, e.g.: 1 grain-fed sheep for Annunītum, 1 grain-fed sheep for Ulmašītum and 2 grain-fed sheep for the *abzu* of Nanna ... in Ur" (Jones-Snyder SET 74). Annunītum by herself is mentioned in Ur texts: beams to repair the "Gate of Annunītum"; rations for workmen doing work by the wall of the "Gate of Annunītum"; stored implements for Annunītum; attendants (gir-se-ga) (with <sup>d</sup>Šu-a-la and <sup>d</sup>Al-la-tum in Loding *Ur* 111 and UET 3 1418); a bed for the house of Annunītum; a grain-fed ox for the banquet of Annunītum; and regular offerings of barley (UET 3 II p. 36 for references). Drehem tablets mentioning Annunītum include: regular offerings (AUCT 2 315; BIN 3 571) and the *šabra* of Annunītum (AUCT 2 317; BIN 3 65). A tablet dated mu-2-kam-ús-sa-bi records a pair of silver rings for Annunītum in Ur (Sigrist PTS 562). Annunītum is mentioned in two Umma tablets after offerings for the temple of Inanna (Kang *Umma* 257 and 258).

The goddesses Bēlat-terraban and Bēlat-šuhner also were usually mentioned in tandem; in fact, they shared the same temple at Uruk.<sup>4</sup> Their Semitic names indicate that these goddesses were not originally Sumerian deities, but adopted from a Semitic pantheon.<sup>5</sup> (It is surprising that only at Ešnunna do forms using the Sumerian sign-NIN occur: <sup>d</sup>NIN-ter-ba-an and <sup>d</sup>NIN-šuk-nir [TA 1931-325].) There may well have been an association of the goddesses Bēlat-terraban and Bēlat-šuhner with the goddesses Ulmašītum and Annunītum, as can be noted in several tablets which mention offerings for all four

1. For the cult of Bēlat-terraban and Bēlat-šuhner at Ešnunna, see pp. 252-253.

2. See UET 3/2, 38 for references.

3. W.G. Lambert, "A Babylonian Prayer to Anūna," *Studies Sjöberg*, 324: "The Ur III Drehem texts commonly record offerings for *an-nu-ni-tum*, and the rare occurrences of *an-nu-ni-tum u<sub>3</sub>* *ul-ma-ši<sub>2</sub>-tum* ... could be argued as proof that the former was Ištar of Babylon, the latter Ištar of Akkad."

4. Note Legrain TRU 273: <sup>d</sup>Be-la-at-šuh-ner ù <sup>d</sup>Be-la-at-ter-ra-ba-an.

5. Th. Jacobsen, OIP 43 143: "The elements *šuh<sub>1</sub>nir* (var. *šuk<sub>1</sub>nir*) and *terraban* (var. *dirraban*) of these names are undoubtedly city names." Jacobsen suggests that these two goddesses were introduced from the Kirkuk region into the official Ur III cult around Š33, perhaps reflecting a political event.

goddesses: "3 she-goats, 1 ewe, 1 male-goat, and 1 male lamb for the regular offerings for Bēlat-šuhner, Bēlat-terraban, Annunītum, and Ulmašītum" (Kang *Drehem* 180).<sup>1</sup> The possible relationship between these two pairs of goddesses may be discerned in the observance of the *nabrū* festival of Annunītum and Ulmašītum at Ur during the eighth month and the observance of the *nabrū* festival of Bēlat-terraban and Bēlat-šuhner in the ninth month at Uruk.<sup>2</sup>

For the *gi-ra-nūm* observance of these goddesses, see pp. 472ff.

The cult of Bēlat-terraban and Bēlat-šuhner at Ur and Uruk included the observance of the *elūnum*-festival in the second or first month, an observance which continued to be celebrated after the Ur III period throughout much of Mesopotamia.<sup>3</sup> However, little is known about the purpose of this observance and thus whether it was in any way involved with the mythology of the netherworld.

The cult of Annunītum and Ulmašītum at Ur included observances called the Day of Entering (*u<sub>4</sub> è-ru-ba-tum*), the *DINGIRkuku* (or *kuku*) festival, or a combination of the two. The majority of the references date to months 2 to 5.

| Festival   | Related context                    | Date       | Reference                 |
|--|------------------------------------|------------|---------------------------|
| ezem-DINGIR-ku-ku  |                                    | Š34 iii    | AnOr 18 1                 |
| DINGIR-ku <sub>4</sub> -ku <sub>4</sub> -da-ni                 |                                    | Š40 vii 6  | Legrain TRU 273           |
| ezem-DINGIR-ku <sub>4</sub> -ku <sub>4</sub> -<br>An-nu-ni-tum |                                    | Š41 iii    | AnOr 7 63                 |
| u <sub>4</sub> è-ru-ba-tum-ka                                  | Annun./Ulmaši./Ur                  | Š41 vi     | AnOr 7 167                |
| ezem-DINGIR-ku <sub>4</sub>                                    | é-Annunītum and<br>Ulmašītum at Ur | Š42 ii? 30 | SET 44                    |
| ezem-DINGIR-ku <sub>4</sub> -ku <sub>4</sub> -<br>An-nu-ni-tum |                                    | Š45 ii     | PDT 1 430                 |
| ezem-DINGIR-ku-ku-<br>An-nu-ni-tum                             |                                    | AS2 iv 1   | AUCT 1 312                |
| u <sub>4</sub> e-ru-ba-tum                                     |                                    |            |                           |
| DINGIR-gu <sub>4</sub> -gu <sub>4</sub> -ka                    | Annunītum/Ulmašītum                | AS9 v      | Fish Catalogue 41         |
| ezem-DINGIR-ku-ku  |                                    | AS9 v 30   | Watson<br>Birmingham I 91 |
| ezem-ku-ku-An-nu-ni-tum  |                                    | ŠS1 iii 30 | AUCT 2 82                 |
| ezem-ku-ku   |                                    | ŠS3 iii 2  | TCL 2 AO 5552             |

1. Other groupings of the four goddesses include BIN 3 485, Legrain TRU 287, Archi-Pomponio *Drehem* I 391 = *Aegyptus* 19 no. 4.

2. See p. 215 for references; for the *nabrū* festival, see pp. 394-395.

3. Perhaps the texts dating to the first month date to the last day of the month, indicating that the *è-lu-nūm* was observed at the beginning of the second month. Note that one text, whose month is not preserved, is dated to the 30th of the month (Jones-Snyder SET 44). For discussion of the *elūnum* observance see pp. 397-399.

The DINGIR-sign in this term is not a determinative for a god as discerned in the orthography: DINGIR-ku<sub>4</sub>-ku<sub>4</sub>-da-ni (Legrain TRU 273), "(offerings) for her *DINGIRkuku* (festival)." The diversity of orthographies (-ku<sub>4</sub>-ku<sub>4</sub>-, -ku-ku-, and -gu<sub>4</sub>-gu<sub>4</sub>-) makes interpreting the term *DINGIRkuku* speculative. One possibility is to translate "to enter" on the basis of the variant ku<sub>4</sub>-ku<sub>4</sub>. This would indicate that the expressions u<sub>4</sub> e-ru-ba-tum and *DINGIRkuku* were synonymous (note that they both occur in Fish *Catalogue* 41). Another possibility, suggested by Steinkeller, is that the expression *DINGIRkuku* may be based upon ku(-ku) "to sleep."<sup>1</sup> Thus the expressions u<sub>4</sub> e-ru-ba-tum and *DINGIRkuku* would refer to the god's entrance into her temple to sleep (perhaps a period of dormancy in her cult).

The celebration occurred in Ur at the temple of Annunītum and Ulmašītum: ezem-dingir-ku<sub>4</sub> é-An-nu-ni-tum ù <sup>d</sup>Ul-ma-ši-tum šà Ur<sup>ki</sup>-ma (Jones-Snyder SET 44). The text Watson *Birmingham* I 91 records: "1 grain-fed ox for Annunītum when she enters the temple (at) the *DINGIRkuku* festival ... in Ur." PDT I 430 provides insight into the festival itinerary:

dates and oil for sprinkling(?) when the god exits the temple;  
dates and oil for the *nimgir*-official;  
beer, dates and oil for the 'pouring of oil';  
ghee for the *e-li-tum*;  
ghee, dates, cheese, dried apples, ..., ..., and apple cakes  
for Annunītum;  
dates and oil for the *nimgir*-official for Ulmašītum;  
oil for sprinkling(?) when the god reenters the temple;  
The *DINGIRkuku* festival of Annunītum.

Thus this festival entailed the goddess exiting and reentering her temple within a short span of time (perhaps within one or several days). AnOr 7 167 refers to offerings for "her (Annunītum's) *DINGIRkuku* (festival)" and to "An-n[unītum]'s banquet," a celebration that may have been the culmination of the festival, just as a banquet probably ended the *gi-ra-nūm* observance.

There was an observance of the "going out of Annunītum" in second millennium Mari which occurred around the first day of the fourth month (the same general timeframe as many of the above-listed Ur III references). At Mari on the 26th of the third month and the 2nd of the fourth month oil for anointing was disbursed for the 'going out of Annunītum': *wa-ši an-nu-ni-t[im]* and *a-na pa-ša-aš an-nu-ni-tim i-nu-ma wa-ši-ša*<sup>2</sup> and on the 17th(?) oil for the *wa-ši ša* DINGIR is recorded (though this latter reference may not refer to Annunītum).<sup>3</sup> Possibly the "Opening-of-the-Gate" ritual attested in both Old

1. Personal communication. For the expression ezem ku-ku, cf. the hymn to Ninurta TCL 15 no. 7 (Å. Sjöberg, "Hymn to Numuša," *Or Suecana* 22 [1973], 177) 14': *é-giš-eren-na ezem ku-ku-a-ni*.

2. 11476 and 12398, D. Charpin, MARI 3, 88 no. 23 and p. 91 no. 47.

3. 12396, D. Charpin, MARI 3, 88 no. 28.

Babylonian and Neo- and Late Babylonian periods may be somewhat analogous in nature, though not a festival of the goddess Annunitum. An Old Babylonian letter mentions the festival or ritual: "I shall come to you for the Opening-of-the-Gate, mention me with blessing to Anu"<sup>1</sup>; a Neo-Babylonian letter 1500 years later states: "on the fourth is the Opening-of-the-Great-Gate"<sup>2</sup>; and a late ritual text refers to the "Opening-of-the-Gates."<sup>3</sup> This "Opening-of-the-Gate" ritual may refer to the departure of the god from his temple, where he had been cloistered, for either an appearance in his city or as the onset of a trip to another god's temple or city. (It is also possible that this was a ceremony to allow artisans and other required personnel to enter the temple for specific festival preparations.) Note also the early second millennium B.C. Elamite month name *Pit bābi*.<sup>4</sup> The third millennium B.C. Eblaite calendar had a month ITI è, which may have denoted this same type of cultic event.<sup>5</sup>

#### i. še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>

For the reading and meaning of the month name še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub> see our discussion of the last month of the Nippur calendar.

During the first month at Ur the á-ki-ti festival was celebrated in at least three locations throughout metropolitan Ur: at the du<sub>6</sub>-úr-sanctuary in Ur, at the Ekišnugal-temple of Nanna in Ur, and at the Ekarzida in Gaeš, a small town on the outskirts of Ur.<sup>6</sup> The full name of this festival was ezem-á-ki-ti-še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub> (Sauren *NY Public Library* 374) "the á-ki-ti festival of the harvesting (season)." However, the á-ki-ti festival was a semi-annual event in Ur, being observed in the same ritual centers during the beginning of the seventh month, which was differentiated in documents from the festival of the first month as á-ki-ti-šu-numun, "the á-ki-ti festival of the seeding (season)." The seventh month was named for the á-ki-ti festival, since the celebration of the seventh was the more important of the two (see below).

Being a semi-annual event, the á-ki-ti festival in Ur was not a celebration of the New Year of the civil year. Rather, it was based upon an event occurring twice a year, six months apart. The most obvious event occurring around the first and seventh months of the year was the equinox. The Mesopotamians unswervingly adhered to assigning all annual festivals a fixed position in the lunar cycle, even if this meant that the observance would not

1. TCL 1 19:19, CAD B 20 sub *bābu* mng. b'.

2. ABL 496:10, CAD B 20 sub *bābu* mng. b'.

3. RAcc. 79:36.

4. See p. 363.

5. See p. 32.

6. For a discussion of the Ekarzida complex at Gaeš see pp. 407ff.

coincide exactly with the solar or seasonal event being celebrated. Thus Ur fixed the celebration of the vernal and autumnal equinoxes, the beginning of the "equinox year,"<sup>1</sup> to the months in which they usually occurred, the first and seventh months. There may have been at least two factors which determined the days of the month in which to celebrate the event. The more obvious was that since the festival marked the beginning of the "equinox year," the six month cycle between equinoxes, it seemed only proper that the new "equinox year" should begin on the new moon. However, a more mythical underpinning may have been involved. The equinoxes began a period of disharmony between the moon and the sun. During the "equinox year" between the seventh and the first month the moon was visible longer in the skies, the reverse during the other "equinox year." In Ur, the city of the moon, the á-ki-ti was a celebration of the triumph of Nanna, the moon—particularly the á-ki-ti of the seventh month, when Nanna would begin having visible superiority over the sun, Utu. This may be the reason the á-ki-ti of the seventh month at Ur appears to have been more important than that of the first month. By celebrating the á-ki-ti at the new moon, the waxing moon represented the arrival of Nanna into Ur (as the moon became larger and larger, Nanna seemed to be coming closer and closer)—an arrival which was reenacted by the triumphal entry of the statue of Nanna back into Ur from the á-ki-ti building at Gaeš. The new moon resembled a boat, the image frequently cited by the Sumerian poets to describe the moon, who was portrayed as a deified ship: "Father Nanna, when you sail (across the sky) like a ship on flood waters."<sup>2</sup> In fact, on the third day of the á-ki-ti of the first month special offerings were made to the Boat of Nanna.<sup>3</sup> An ezem-má-nu-ru festival was part of the á-ki-ti festival in the seventh month in Ur during the Old Babylonian period.<sup>4</sup> The term *elip nūri* "the boat of light" referring to the moon oc-

1. For a discussion of the term MUAN.NA and its significance, see p. 7 with note 1.

2. CT 15 17 11; for other references to Nanna as a ship and to his being identified with the deified *magur*-ship, see Å. Sjöberg *Mondgott*, 27.

3. Jones-Snyder SET 59.

4. H. Figulla, *Iraq* 15 (1953), 174 no. 58; UET 5 748, 752, and 782; D. Loding, JCS 28 (1976), 240 no. 8: u<sub>4</sub>-ezem-má-nu-ru. The use of nu-ru in our context brings to mind the term -nu-ru in *én é-nu-ru* as a classification of magical incantations, for which see A. Falkenstein, LSS NF 1, 4-7 and more recently W. Mayer, *Untersuchungen zur Formensprache der babylonischen "Gebetsbeschwörungen"* (Rome, 1976), 22 n. 52. Falkenstein already noted the possible relationship between the terms *én-nu-ru/ri* and *má-nu-ru/ri* (*Friedrich Festschrift*, 176 n. 43c). The use of the term *é*, "house," to describe the phases of the moon is quite common throughout the economic and literary texts from the Ur III period and earlier (see pp. 178ff. for our discussion of the Umma month *é-iti-ās*). Although these incantations were recited to many different gods, perhaps the term derives from their recitation being tied to particular phases of the moon, the term *én-nu-ru*, itself, then meaning "phase of the moon." The concept of the phases of the moon having a profound effect upon human behavior, particularly the demonic effect of the full-moon, extends across cultures. Thus the recitation of incantations to ward off these effects would be quite natural. For the god <sup>d</sup>Nu-ru, cf. Frankena *Takultu*, 108 no. 176.



curs in a first millennium text.<sup>1</sup> The term nu-ru in má-nu-ru during the Old Babylonian period is most probably a loanword from Akkadian *nūrum* "light," thus "the festival of the boat of light" or "the festival of the boat of the moon." From the tablets of Ur III Ur there is a reference from the seventh month in the reign of Ibbi-Sin to a sheep and a lamb for the ezem-má-<sup>d</sup>Suen "the festival of the Boat of the Moon" (UET 3 190). Thus the Old Babylonian ezem-má-nu-ru may have been an evolved name for ezem-má-<sup>d</sup>Suen of the Ur III period, both indicating a sub-festival during the á-ki-ti festival, evidence that the á-ki-ti festival was based on the moon.

The á-ki-ti celebration in the first month lasted at least from the 1st through the 5th of the month, as noted in a series of tablets all dating to IS7 and may have continued past the fifth of the month. A tablet dating to ŠS4 records 2 grain-fed oxen for the á-ki-ti, and although partially illegible, the day appears to be the 6th of the month (Dhorme, RA 9 [1912] SA 217). Indication of the 6th of the month being part of the á-ki-ti festival may be discerned on an Umma(?) tablet dated to the 6th day of the first month (AS5 i<sup>ti</sup>še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>) which records two tin standards for Nanna for the midnight ceremony at the temple of Nanna for the á-ki-ti festival of the first month (<sup>d</sup>Nanna-še 2 šu-nir-an-na ša á-ki-ti á-gi<sub>6</sub>-sag-a zi-ga èš-èš-lugal ša é-<sup>d</sup>Nanna-ka u<sub>4</sub>-6-kam) (YBC 11751 [AS5 xii 6]). A Drehem tablet (Nakahara *Sumerian Tablets* 46, ŠS9 i) most probably refers to offerings intended for the á-ki-ti celebration at Gaeš on the 7th of the month: "6 grain-fed oxen, 13 grass-fed sheep, and 1 goat as *mašdaria*-offerings for the place of the *entu*-priestess of Nanna in Gaeš; via PN; on the 7th day."

Delivery documents provide a glimpse into the ritual activities during the five days. The activities occurred at three sites: (1) the du<sub>6</sub>-úr-sanctuary in Ur, presumably similar in concept to the Sacred Mound at Nippur, a representation of that primordial mound from which the gods and civilization sprang; (2) the Ekišnugal temple of Nanna in Ur; and (3) the Ekarzida temple complex in Gaeš, outside Ur. The high point of the festival was Nanna's entry by barge into Ur from the á-ki-ti-house in Gaeš. This occurred probably on the third day, when a special offering to the Boat of Heaven (perhaps Nanna's transport from Gaeš) was offered. Moreover, there were no offerings at Gaeš on the third and fourth, indicating Nanna's absence from that complex. On the fourth day the Great Offering (síz<sub>3</sub>kur-gu-la) was conducted at both the du<sub>6</sub>-úr and the Ekišnugal, indicating Nanna's presence in Ur proper.<sup>2</sup>

A further indication that the še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub> festival was celebrated in Gaeš during the first five days of the month is from an Ur document dated to the month i<sup>ti</sup>še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub> (UET 3 1134): "barley bread and pea flour bread, food

1. Delitsch AL<sup>3</sup> 88 5 40.

2. For a detailed description of the events at the á-ki-ti of the first month at Ur, see pp. 408ff.

which went via PN on the second day as offerings for the še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub> (festival); disbursed for Gaeš.<sup>1</sup>

A hymn to the goddess Nisaba, the embodiment of grain, was recited in Lagaš (possibly during the reign of Gudea) and later in Ur during the Ur III period.<sup>2</sup> Hallo suggests that this hymn was probably sung at a festival in Lagaš and then adapted for use at subsequent festivals in other cities such as Ur, citing as supporting evidence the addition in the later Ur version of line 7: "Dragon, emerging brightly on the festival." The following excerpt is pertinent to the barley harvest (translation Hallo):

In order to make grain and vegetable grown in the furrow,  
So that the excellent corn can be marvelled at,  
That is, to provide for the seven great throne-daises  
By making vegetables shoot forth, making grain shoot forth,  
At harvest, the great festival of Enlil,  
She in her great princely role has verily cleansed (her) body,  
Has verily put the holy priestly garment on (her) torso.

This passage refers to the harvest as the occasion of a great festival of Enlil, when Nisaba cleansed her body and wrapped herself in beautiful raiment. This description of Nisaba probably alludes both to the beauty of the matured grain being harvested and to the statue of Nisaba which was prepared for the festival ceremonies. If Hallo's speculation is correct, then this might indicate that the á-ki-ti festival of the first month may have been combined with a barley harvest celebration, as probably happened at Nippur.

The term zag-mu, "New Year," does occur in documents from Ur, but does not appear to connote a special festival or New Year's celebration. At New Year's inventory was taken in the temples and royal residences and additional required supplies for the upcoming year were procured. In fact, throughout the previous eleven months, supplies were continually stocked in anticipation of the needs of the coming year. From these foodstuffs and goods, disbursement was made for yearly wages to temple personnel, special distributions at the New Year, and for supplies for the offerings for the shrines and various festivals throughout the year (UET 3 no. 21): "provisions

1. Dreheim texts recording the delivery of animals for the á-ki-ti-še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub> include: dating to the first month (<sup>ti</sup>maš-dà-gu<sub>7</sub>): YOS 4 62 (Š42/AS6); Sauren *NY Public Library* 196 (AS3); dating to the second month (<sup>ti</sup>u<sub>5</sub>-bi-gu<sub>7</sub>): Legrain TRU 27 (Š44), Jones-Snyder SET 1 (Š45), MVN 5 98 (Š44); dating to the third month (<sup>ti</sup>šeš-dà-gu<sub>7</sub>): MVN 13 396 (ŠS1); dating to the twelfth month (<sup>ti</sup>še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>): (Buccellati *Amorites* no. 18 [AS5]). Deliveries for the še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub> festival at the á-ki-ti-complex (á-ki-ti-še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>) are mentioned in a transfer document from the first month (<sup>ti</sup>maš-dà-gu<sub>7</sub>) in Dreheim (AUCT 1 307 [AS8]). An undated tablet (AUCT 1 316) records oxen, cows, sheep and ewes for both the á-ki-ti-šu-numun and the á-ki-ti-še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>; AASF B 92 597 records a delivery of ovines and bovines for á-ki-ti-še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>; a Dreheim text (MVN 3 331) dated to the first month (<sup>ti</sup>še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>) of IS5 records the disbursement of garments for kisaš-ša-á-ki-ti U<sup>ri</sup>-ki<sub>1</sub>-ma "disbursed in Ur for the courtyard of the á-ki-ti"; SA 217.

2. W.W. Hallo, "The Cultic Setting of Sumerian Poetry," *CRRA* 17 (1970), 116-134.



for the various festivals, for the New Year, and for the funerary shrines of Ur-Nammu and Nin[...].<sup>1</sup>

In the Old Babylonian period at Ur the ú-sag festival ("Festival of the Early Grass") for Ningal was celebrated during the first month.<sup>2</sup> The Festival of the Early Grass occurs in two Ur III tablets from Ur. Note UET 3 273 obv. 15-18 for dates for the ú-sag of two goddesses whose names are not fully preserved and UET 3 242 for the "wail" for the ú-sag (ér-ú-sag-gá-ke<sub>4</sub>) (UET 3 242). Unfortunately, on neither tablet is the month preserved. This festival is attested at Umma as a festival of Ninibgal, Gula, and Ningipar, for which see pp. 163-164 of our discussion of the Umma calendar.

For the possibility of a festival in honor of Šu-Sin being celebrated in the first month, see our discussion of the ninth month of the Ur calendar. For the è-lu-núm festival sometimes occurring in the first month see our discussion of the month maš-kù-gu<sub>7</sub>.

## ii. maš-kù-gu<sub>7</sub>

At Ur the month name is consistently written maš-kù-gu<sub>7</sub> as late as IS8 (UET 3 1121, 1201?, Loding *Ur* 889). Unfortunately, there are no documents to cover the three years from IS9 to IS11. But beginning in IS12 the month is consistently written maš-dà-gu<sub>7</sub>. Both maš and maš-dà are equated with Akkadian *šabitu*, "gazelle," thus "the month of eating the gazelle."

In Drehem the month name takes three forms: maš-kù-gu<sub>7</sub> (attested from Š25 [TLB 3 94] to AS2 [Owen NATN 469]), maš-dà-kù-gu<sub>7</sub> (attested from Š29 [BIN 3 175] to ŠS1), and maš-dà-gu<sub>7</sub> (attested from Š29 to IS4 [BRM 3 41]).<sup>3</sup> But whereas in Drehem, up through AS2, all three forms were used interchangeably, in Ur there was no overlap of usage between maš-kù-gu<sub>7</sub> and maš-dà-gu<sub>7</sub>. Since the orthography maš-kù-gu<sub>7</sub> disappears in Drehem after AS2 in favor of maš-dà(-kù)-gu<sub>7</sub>, perhaps the emergence of maš-dà(-kù)-gu<sub>7</sub> in Ur from IS12 on is due to an influx of Drehem scribes, forced to come to Ur during these last years of the besieged and shrinking Ur III empire.

1. According to Jacobsen (*Treasures*, 124) "Lustrations to keep the bright moon free of defilement appear indeed to have been a fairly general feature of the cult and to have taken place not only at eclipses but annually at New Year (zag-mu(.ak)), which in Ur probably fell at the beginning of the month Mashdag, and at the "Great Festival" (Ezen-maḥ) ..." As support Jacobsen refers to a passage referring to Ibbi-Sin of Ur having brought a golden jar back from a campaign in Elam: "so that at Ezen-maḥ and New Year, at the lustrations of Nanna, oil may not be wanting in the place where the (rite of) "mouth-opening" is performed on Nanna's copper bath pitcher." The reference to the New Year may be temporal, i.e., "at the time of the New Year," and thereby may refer to the á-ki-ti festival of the first month, rather than to a special New Year's celebration.

2. See p. 229 note 1 for Old Babylonian attestations of the term ú-sag at Ur.

3. Note Jones-Snyder SET 73 44: iti <maš>-kù-gu<sub>7</sub>.

From Drehem the following variants are attested: iti-māš-kù-gu<sub>7</sub> (Owen NATN 576 [ŠS1]) and iti-māš-dà-ku<sub>5</sub> (Owen NATN 2 [IS2]) and at Ur: iti-māš-kù <mušen>-gu<sub>7</sub> (UET 3 1441).

The maš-dà-gu<sub>7</sub> ceremony was dedicated to Nanna, as discerned in a Drehem text which refers to "supplies for the maš-dà-gu<sub>7</sub> of Nanna" (SA 352).

The cult of Bēlat-terraban and Bēlat-šuhner at Ur and Uruk included the observance of the è-lu-núm festival in the second or first month: grain-fed bulls for the celebration of the è-lu-núm festival (YOS 4 240); grain-fed sheep for the è-lu-núm šà Ur<sup>ki</sup>-ma (AnOr 7 67); grain-fed sheep for the é-lu-núm of Bēlat-šuhner in month 1 (iti <maš>-kù-gu<sub>7</sub>) (RA 19 [1922], 192 no. 4 [Š44]); grain-fed sheep for the è-lu-núm of the temple of Bēlat-šuhner (PTS 830 [AS8 i]); and 3 grass-fed sheep and 1 large, grain-fed goat for the è-lu-núm of the temple of Bēlat-šuhner and Bēlat-terraban (Jones-Snyder SET 44):

| Festival | Related context                   | Date      | Reference           |
|----------|-----------------------------------|-----------|---------------------|
| è-lu-núm |                                   | Š41 ii 17 | YOS 4 240           |
| è-lu-núm | Bēlat-šuhner/Bēlat-terraban<br>Ur | Š41 ii    | AnOr 7 67<br>SET 44 |
| é-lu-núm | Bēlat-šuhner/Bēlat-terraban       | Š42 30    | RA 19 192 no. 4     |
| é-lu-núm | Bēlat-šuhner                      | Š44 i?    | PTS 830             |
| è-lu-núm | Bēlat-šuhner                      | AS8 i     | RBC 2496            |
| è-lu-núm | Inanna at Uruk                    | Š47 ii    |                     |

The è-lu-núm festival of Inanna occurred during the second month in Uruk. During the Ur III period an è-lu-núm of <sup>d</sup>Geštin-an-na-SIA-tum was celebrated at Umma in the eighth month (MVN 15 162, é-iti-āš): 30 sa gi 1 gú <sup>gi</sup>ma-nu <sup>d</sup>Geštin-an-na-SIA-tum-ma. The tablet includes the note "with-drawn in Ur." In the Old Babylonian period at Ur the *elūnum* is recorded as a festival of Ningal.<sup>1</sup> The reading è/é-lu-núm is based upon the Old Babylonian orthographies è-lu-nu-um and e-lu-nu-um.<sup>2</sup> However, the meaning of the term, as well as the significance of the observance, is unclear.

## iii. zaḥ<sub>x</sub>(ŠEŠ)-da-gu<sub>7</sub>

Two variant orthographies of this month name are attested in documents from Ur: iti-zaḥ<sub>x</sub>-ta-gu<sub>7</sub> (UET 3 755) and iti-sāḥ-gu<sub>7</sub> (UET 3 914). Drehem variants include: iti-sāḥ-da-gu<sub>7</sub> (MVN 9 124) and iti-sāḥ-kù-gu<sub>7</sub> (MVN 11 202 [Š46]).<sup>3</sup>

1. See p. 229.

2. See CAD E 136 sub *elūlu* for references.

3. Some other Drehem attestations of the variant iti-sāḥ-da-gu<sub>7</sub> are in Š44 (AUCT 2 98 and Limet *Textes Sumériens* 37 [both: iti-sāḥ-da-gu<sub>7</sub>-min-kam]; Sauren *NY Public Library* 45); Š45 (MVN 11 202); Š47 (Limet *Textes Sumériens* 37); AS2 (AUCT 1 942; AUCT 2 301, JCS 10 [1956] no. 12); AS5 (AUCT 1 432).

Another variant <sup>iti</sup>sāḥ-zé-da-gu<sub>7</sub> occurs in several Drehem tablets.<sup>1</sup> For šāḥ(=sāḥ)-zé-da note Hh XIV 164 (MSL 8/2 20): šāḥ-zé-da-bar-šur-ra (var. šāḥ-zé-e-pa-šur-ra) = *burmāmu*, translated by CAD “porcupine”; for just šāḥ-zé-da note MSL 16 245 4-5: šāḥ-šāḥ = MIN(=šā-ḥu-ú) MIN, šāḥ-zé-da = MIN MIN. Note CTMMA 1 15 a, b: 1 ūz ga-bi zé-da šāḥ (case: šāḥ-zé-da) gu<sub>7</sub>-dè “1 she-goat; its milk is fed to a ...-pig” and MVN 13 550 which refers to ni-dab<sub>5</sub>-šāḥ-zé-da<sup>d</sup>Nanna. Thus the variant <sup>iti</sup>sāḥ/sāḥ-da-gu<sub>7</sub> might, at first glance, be a variant for <sup>iti</sup>sāḥ-zé-da-gu<sub>7</sub>, which would refer to an animal which may have been served as a special offering to Nanna: ni-dab<sub>5</sub>-šāḥ-zé-da<sup>d</sup>Nanna (MVN 13 550) and zaḥ<sub>x</sub>-da-gu<sub>7</sub><sup>d</sup>Nanna (Legrain TRU 321). This was noted by Landsberger and Krecher who suggested, on the basis of the variant šāḥ, that šeš-da was a type of pig.<sup>2</sup> Also note that a (šāḥ-)zé-da was among the offerings taken by Nanna aboard his *magur*-ship on his journey to Enlil.<sup>3</sup> However, there are no lexical, economic or literary references to an animal šeš-da or šāḥ-da. In addition, it is surprising that there are so few occurrences of the form <sup>iti</sup>sāḥ-zé-da-gu<sub>7</sub>, (if this were the true form), yet many more occurrences of a presumably corrupted form <sup>iti</sup>sāḥ-da-gu<sub>7</sub>. Moreover, the zaḥ<sub>x</sub>-da-gu<sub>7</sub> or sāḥ-zé-da-gu<sub>7</sub> offering was not necessarily a pig, as discerned in three Drehem texts: “1 grain-fed sheep and 1 large grain-fed goat for the zaḥ<sub>x</sub>-da-gu<sub>7</sub> of Nanna” (Legrain TRU 321); “1 good quality grain-fed sheep and 1 good quality grain-fed goat (as) provisions for the sāḥ-zé-da of Nanna” (MVN 13 550); 1 amar-mašda-zaḥ<sub>x</sub>-da-gu<sub>7</sub> (Toronto 910.209.203).

The solution to reconciling the variants ŠEŠ and sāḥ and thereby understanding the meaning of the month name is based upon noting the pre-Sargonic Lagaš references to fishermen called šu-ḥa-a-sāḥ-a and šu-ḥa-a-zaḥ<sub>x</sub>(ŠEŠ)-a. Salonen (who reads -dun- instead of -sāḥ- and reads -šeš- instead of -zaḥ<sub>x</sub>-) interprets šu-ḥa-a-sāḥ-a as “fishermen of the brackish coastal waters” (noting that these fishermen caught saltwater fish) and šu-ḥa-a-zaḥ<sub>x</sub>-a as “saltwater fishermen.”<sup>4</sup> In fact, these terms are assuredly just variants, both zaḥ<sub>x</sub> and sāḥ indicating bitter or salty conditions.<sup>5</sup> For the ŠEŠ-sign being a variant for sāḥ note also variant entries in the ED lexical list of birds (MEE 3 110): (12A) sāḥ mušen (12B) AN.zaḥ<sub>x</sub>(ŠEŠ) mušen. Thus the terms zaḥ<sub>x</sub>-da-gu<sub>7</sub> and sāḥ-da-gu<sub>7</sub> probably mean “eating with bitters/salt.”

1. Legrain TRU 81; BIN 3 403; TIM 6 40. Note that both TRU 81 and BIN 3 403 date to AS8 and both refer to transactions of Irmu. Thus the scribe of Legrain TRU 81, Lú-Girsu, may have been the scribe of BIN 3 403 as well.

2. Landsberger, JNES 8 (1949), 273; Krecher *Kultlyrik*, 38 n. 112.

3. Ferrara *Nanna's Journey* line 273.

4. Salonen *Fischerei*, 45f.; for šu-ḥa-a-šeš-a see Bauer *Wirtschaftstexte*, 653 for references.

5. For šeš, sis, “bitter,” see AHW 612 sub *marratu(m)* and *marru(m)*. The ŠEŠ-sign also can be read mun<sub>4</sub>, “salty,” as in Michalowski *Sumer and Ur* line 9: id-bi a mun<sub>4</sub>-na tùm-ù-dè, “That its watercourses carry brackish water.”

The reading of ŠEŠ as zaḥ<sub>x</sub> is based upon lexical entries. Note Kagal D Section 4 16' (MSL 13 245): [ka-ŠEŠ] qa-a-za-ah *pu-u mar-[ru]*. If this restoration is correct, then it indicates that ŠEŠ has a value /zaḥ/. Of course, one could counter that the line should be restored as [ka-sāḥ]. However, a second lexical entry supports CAD's restoration and provides further proof of the reading zaḥ<sub>x</sub>. Note Erimḫuš V 179 read in MSL 17 75 as KA <sup>i-NE</sup>ŠEŠ = *a-da-rum*. In light of Kagal D quoted above this gloss should be read differently: KA(=i<sub>5</sub>) <sup>i-zaḥ</sup>ŠEŠ(=zaḥ<sub>x</sub>) = *a-da-rum*.<sup>1</sup> Thus the restoration of ka-ŠEŠ in Kagal D seems warranted and therefore the pronunciation qa-a-za-ah in Kagal and the gloss zaḥ in Erimḫuš confirm a reading zaḥ<sub>x</sub> for ŠEŠ.<sup>2</sup>

In light of the variant sāḥ-, the month name should be read <sup>iti</sup>zaḥ<sub>x</sub>-da-gu<sub>7</sub>, the variant sāḥ-zé-da-gu<sub>7</sub> being totally unrelated to the word for “pig.” The term zé (as well as zaḥ<sub>x</sub> or sāḥ) denotes bitterness, as in zé = *martu*, “gall,”<sup>3</sup> and lú-zé-tuku = *marru*, “an embittered person.”<sup>4</sup> Thus the expression sāḥ-zé is a hendiadys meaning “bitters.” And therefore the sāḥ-zé-da<sup>d</sup>Nanna (MVN 13 550) and zaḥ<sub>x</sub>-da-gu<sub>7</sub><sup>d</sup>Nanna (Legrain TRU 321) may refer to an observance wherein an offering was consumed with quantities of bitter herbs or salt.

The variant <sup>iti</sup>sāḥ-kù-gu<sub>7</sub> may be based upon a false etymology, assuming that the name meant “pig,” thus “the eating of the holy pig.” This variant may have arisen through parallelism with the variant for the first month, maš-kù-gu<sub>7</sub>.

Two Drehem texts dated to the third month of Š37 and Š40 refer to offerings for the Festival of Chains (ezem-še-er-še-er-ru-um) of Bēlat-šuhner and Bēlat-terraban.<sup>5</sup>

#### iv. u<sub>5</sub>-bīmušen-gu<sub>7</sub>

Several orthographies for this month are attested in Ur: <sup>iti</sup>u<sub>5</sub>-bī-gu<sub>7</sub> (Loding *Ur* 4), <sup>iti</sup>ub-bīmušen-gu<sub>7</sub> (Loding *Ur* 225), ubmušen-bī-gu<sub>7</sub> (UET 3 342), and u<sub>5</sub>-bīmušen-gu<sub>7</sub> (UET 3 39). In Drehem additional orthographies occur: <sup>iti</sup>u<sub>5</sub>-bī-gu<sub>7</sub>mušen (MVN 2 307), <sup>iti</sup><u<sub>5</sub>>mušen-bī-gu<sub>7</sub> (YOS 4 228), <sup>iti</sup>ezem-u<sub>5</sub>-bī-gu<sub>7</sub> (AASF B 92) and possibly <sup>iti</sup>NE-bī-gu<sub>7</sub> (JCS 7 [1953] 105 no. 61).<sup>6</sup> The literary letter from Aradmu to Šulgi line 31 contains the orthographies <sup>iti</sup>u<sub>5</sub>-gu<sub>7</sub>mušen and <sup>iti</sup>u<sub>5</sub>mušen-gu<sub>7</sub>.

1. zaḥ(NE) with variant sāḥ occurs in the ED fish list (MEE 3 98 14-15): zaḥ(NE)-ku<sub>6</sub> sāḥ-ku<sub>6</sub>.

2. Note the unusual orthography in JCS 7 (1953), 105 no. 61 which could be transliterated <sup>iti</sup>zaḥ(NE)-dè-gu<sub>7</sub>. If this interpretation of this variant is correct, it would support our reading zaḥ<sub>x</sub>(ŠEŠ). However, we cannot exclude the possibility that this is a variant for the fourth month and should be transliterated: <sup>iti</sup>u<sub>5</sub><sup>1</sup>-bī-gu<sub>7</sub>.

3. AHW 614 sub *martu(m)*; CAD M/1 297 sub *martu A*.

4. AHW 612 sub *marru(m)*; CAD M/1 286 sub *marru*.

5. For references to this festival, see p. 475.

6. See note 2 above.

For the u<sub>5</sub>-bī<sup>mušen</sup> bird note Hb XVIII 148 with a footnote in which Landsberger states: "... the identity of u<sub>5</sub>-bī M[ušen] with u<sub>5</sub>-bi M[ušen] has not been proved (against JNES 8 [1949] 273 note 68)."<sup>1</sup> The ub-bī<sup>mušen</sup> is attested in a pre-Sargonic economic document in a list of fish and birds<sup>2</sup> and the u<sub>5</sub>-bī bird is cited in a Dhehem economic document listing birds.<sup>3</sup> In literary texts this fowl occurs in Nanše and the Birds (PBS 5 14:8'): u<sub>5</sub>-bī<sup>mušen</sup> u<sub>5</sub>-dar<sup>mušen</sup>-e kišig [... "the ...-bird and the dar-bird ..."; TuM NF 7 ii 81, 82: in-nin u<sub>5</sub>-bī<sup>mušen</sup>-ra ni-ú-[rum ...]; and Ferrara *Nanna's Journey* 172=280: u<sub>5</sub>-bī<sup>mušen</sup>-tur (var: u<sub>5</sub>-bī<sup>mušen</sup>, u<sub>5</sub>-bī-tur<sup>mušen</sup>) pū-ta ba-ra-an-tūm-mu.

#### v. ki-sig<sup>d</sup>Nin-a-zu

One Ur variant for this month is attested: it<sup>i</sup>sig<sup>d</sup>Nin-a-zu (UET 3 991); Dhehem variants are: it<sup>i</sup>ki-sig<sup>d</sup>Nin-a-zu (MVN 6 454) and it<sup>i</sup>ki<sup>d</sup>Nin-a-zu (BIN 3 359).<sup>4</sup>

The cult of Ninazu was observed in Ur, Enegi, Ešnunna, Lagaš/Girsu and to some extent at Nippur.<sup>5</sup> At Ur he was venerated as a netherworld figure.

Landsberger was the first to suggest that ki-sig in this month name was an early form of ki-si-ga, *kišpu*, *kišikkū*, "funerary offering."<sup>6</sup> Landsberger suggested that the mythology surrounding Ninazu was probably similar to that of Dumuzi and that this month and the next involved a cycle of mourning for the dead Ninazu followed by a festival upon his return (ezem<sup>d</sup>Nin-a-zu).<sup>7</sup> However, there is no evidence to support the suggested relationship between the terms ki-sig and ki-si-ga. There is not one variant ki-sig for ki-si-ga in lexical or literary texts. Moreover, were ki-sig synonymous with ki-si-ga, most certainly a variant month name \*it<sup>i</sup>ki-si-ga should occur. But such is not the case. Thus there is no substantiation for an interpretation "the month of the funerary offerings for Ninazu." All references to ki-sig or ki-siki refer to "wool workers."<sup>8</sup> For wool workers associated with the cult of a deity note MVN 11 106 (AS4): ki-sig-túg<sup>d</sup>Nin-gír-su, "the wool workers (weavers) of the clothes of Ningirsu."<sup>9</sup>

1. MSL 8/2 122; for u<sub>5</sub>-bī<sup>mušen</sup> = *šāt kapru* see MSL 8/2 155.

2. *Babylonica* 8 HG 12 obv. v 5.

3. MVN 13 740 = D. Owen, ZA 71 (1981), 29-47.

4. Note 5R pl. 43 (collated), containing a Neo-Assyrian listing of the months of the Ur calendar, which erroneously lists the month as ki-sikil<sup>d</sup>Nin-a-zu instead of ki-sig<sup>d</sup>Nin-a-zu.

5. See pp. 465ff. for a discussion of the god Ninazu in his various cult cities.

6. Landsberger, LSS 6 1/2, 5 n 5; Falkenstein *Gerichtsurkunden* II, 142 n. 5; Sollberger, TCS 1 143; Krecher *Kultlyrik*, 41. For other meanings of ki-si-ga, see v. Dijk, *Studies Falkenstein*, 242.

7. LSS 6 1/2, 70.

8. Selz *Wirtschaftsurkunden*, 60.

9. Note also the proper name Ur-ki-sig on two Ur III Girsu tablets (MVN 6 266 and MVN 7 254). Mackawa states: "As an occupational term [(gemé)-ki-sig], however, it was replaced by gim-uš-bar in the Sargonic period, though the personal name Gim-ki-sig still survived in the Ur III period."

In Lagaš, the goddess Baba may have been associated with the netherworld, as was Ninazu at Ur.<sup>1</sup> It may be more than coincidence that at Ur the months ki-sig<sup>d</sup>Nin-a-zu and ezem<sup>d</sup>Nin-a-zu occur, while at Lagaš the months sig<sup>d</sup>Ba-ba<sub>6</sub>-e-ta-gar-ra (with hypocoristic sig-ba and in one instance ki-sig-ba as at Ur!) and ezem<sup>d</sup>Ba-ba<sub>6</sub> are attested.<sup>2</sup> The term ki-sig means "wool-workers" (of Ninazu), not "funerary offerings." The weaver wove a type of crown which signified kingship, as mentioned in the "Dispute of Cattle and Grain" (line 17): "The godly Weaver had not been born, so no royal cap was worn" and (line 96): "All yarns of the divine Weaver, the splendors of royalty, I possess."<sup>3</sup> Perhaps the wool-workers were needed to produce special clothing or the crown for the statues of Ninazu and Baba, cult objects for this ritual period.

There is a reference to u<sub>4</sub> é-gar IZI-gu<sub>7</sub>-a ša Ur<sup>i</sup>ki<sup>i</sup>-ma, "the day the wall was consumed by fire in Ur" in a tablet dating to the fifth month of Š38 (Jones-Snyder SET 42). However, this alludes to a historical event, rather than to a ritual occasion.

#### vi. ezem<sup>d</sup>Nin-a-zu

The month name evolved from the pre-Sargonic Ur month it<sup>i</sup>ezem-ma<sub>h</sub><sup>d</sup>Nin-a-zu<sub>5</sub>.

An important reference from Ur for understanding the nature of this festival of Ninazu is in a text detailing an allotment of oxen for ceremonies comprising the funerary offerings to the deceased Ur-Nammu (UET 3 244): "2 oxen: provisions for the *abum* (observance); 1 ox: provisions for the Festival of Ninazu; 1 ox: provisions for the Festival of AN.ĜÚL; (all these are) the provisions for the funerary offerings (ki-a-nag) for Ur-Nammu." This text from the reign of Ibbi-Sin (no month is recorded) thus links all three observances to the cult of the dead.

The first of these three, the *abum* (or *apum*) observance, was practiced throughout much of Mesopotamia, providing a month name for many of the calendars.<sup>4</sup> Another undated Ur text refers to beer, various grains, and sweet-smelling fragrances for the *abum* ceremony of the ki-a-nag on the 5th of the month (UET 3 1015). An Ur III reference to the *abum* festival (MVN 11 p. 38 [Š35]) includes 8 sheep as provisions for the *abum* (ni-dab<sub>5</sub>-a-bu-um-ma) and 3 sheep as additional (supplies) (da<sub>h</sub>-hu-a-bu-um-ma).

Concerning the second of these three observances, a god dĜÚL is attested in the late god list AN = *Anum* VI 279 as *bibrû* (CAD B 222: a bird or rhyton);

1. See pp. 465ff.

2. See pp. 52-53.

3. Alster and Vanstiphout, *Acta Sum* 9 (1987), 15.

4. See pp. 259-261 for a discussion of the month name *Ab/pum*.

AN.ĤÚL in na<sub>4</sub>-AN.ĤÚL-za-gin as *bibrû*, "rhyton." Note also <sup>d</sup>Udug = *bibrû* (quoted CAD B 222). (The signs UDUG and ĤÚL are somewhat similar in form, possibly explaining both being equated with *bibrû*.) In the "Contest of Summer and Winter" the *bibrû*-bird is listed among the winter fowl,<sup>1</sup> yet the month <sup>iti</sup>ezem-<sup>d</sup>Nin-a-zu is a summer month. Thus, it is unclear as to what the term AN.ĤÚL in ezem-AN.ĤÚL refers.

The Festival of Ninazu was the third of the observances performed for the cult of the deceased Ur-Nammu. A Drehem text also connects the ezem-<sup>d</sup>Nin-a-zu with the ki-a-nag ritual for another deceased Ur III king, Šulgi (AUCT 1 35 [AS6 vi]): "1 grain-fed sheep for each of the first 5 days of the month: provisions for the ki-a-nag of Šulgi, the ezem-<sup>d</sup>Nin-a-zu."

Landsberger suggested that the ezem-<sup>d</sup>Nin-a-zu was a joyous occasion: "M[onat] des (Freuden)festes des N[inazu]" celebrating the return of Ninazu from the netherworld.<sup>2</sup> Although Landsberger may be correct in assuming that the basic motif was the return of Ninazu (and the deceased kings who were identified with him) from the netherworld, the ceremony probably did not involve the public and likely was somber in nature.

In Old Babylonian Ur, just as at Ur III Ur, the festival of Ninazu was marked by offerings to funerary shrines, as noted by offerings to the shrines of the deceased *entu*-priestesses, Enmegallanna and Enanatumma.<sup>3</sup>

#### vii. á-ki-ti

At Ur the festival of the seventh month was called á-ki-ti-šu-numun, "the á-ki-ti festival of the seeding (season)," to distinguish it from the á-ki-ti of the first month (á-ki-ti-še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub> "the á-ki-ti festival of the harvesting [season]").<sup>4</sup>

The á-ki-ti festival of the seventh month lasted for at least the first eleven days of the month, compared to perhaps only five to seven days for the á-ki-ti festival of the first month. (The first millennium *akitu*-festivals at Uruk and Babylon were also eleven days in duration.) As with the á-ki-ti-festival of the first month at Ur, the three central ritual sites were the du<sub>6</sub>-úr-sanctuary, the Ekišnugal temple of Nanna, and the Ekarzida in Gaeš.<sup>5</sup>

The Great Offering, a major event of any festival celebration, was performed on several occasions at the Ekarzida in Gaeš, being attested on the 1st, 8th, 9th, and 11th days of the month. At the onset of night the Great Of-

1. Civil, quoted CAD B 222.

2. LSS 6 1/2, 70.

3. For further information on this Old Babylonian observance at Ur, see pp. 230-231.

4. Hussey, JAOS 33 (1931) no. 8 (SS3): mās-da-ri-a á-ki-ti-šu-numun ša Ga-eš<sup>ki</sup>. For the term šu-numun, see pp. 95ff. For a thorough treatment of the á-ki-ti festival, see the chapter on this subject.

5. For a discussion of the Ekarzida at Gaeš and its role in the á-ki-ti festival, see pp. 407ff.

fering was performed in Gaeš for Nanna at the á-ki-ti-complex. A Drehem tablet dated to IS2 (Holma-Salonen *Cuneiform Tablets* 27) detailing the offerings for the beginning of the seventh month (<sup>iti</sup>á-ki-ti) has the entry: 1 gu<sub>4</sub>-niga <sup>d</sup>Nanna sízkur-gu-la ša Uri<sup>ki</sup>-ma u<sub>4</sub>-8-kam "The 8th day: 1 grain-fed ox (for) Nanna, the Great Offering in Ur." Another occurrence of the Great Offering as part of the celebration is from the 30th day in the sixth month (<sup>iti</sup>á-ki-ti) of AS1 (Or 47-49 no. 8): 4 gu<sub>4</sub>-niga <sup>d</sup>Nanna igi-šu-nir sízkur-gu-la ša á-ki-ti "4 grain-fed oxen for Nanna, before (his) emblem; the Great Offering in the á-ki-ti complex." Midnight offerings (á-gi<sub>6</sub>-sag-a) occurred in Ur at the du<sub>6</sub>-úr-mound and at the Ekišnugal, followed by the daybreak offering to Nanna (probably at the Ekišnugal) (UET 3 193): "2 lambs for the du<sub>6</sub>-úr-mound and 1 ox, 2 lambs and 1 goat for the temple of Nanna ... in Ur. 1 sheep and 1 lamb as the midnight offering to Nanna; 2 lambs as the daybreak offering to Nanna; 1 two-year old cow, 1 sheep and 1 lamb from the ... building(?) and 1 reed-fed pig from the preserve as the nightly Great Offering for Nanna at the á-ki-ti. Disbursed on the 11th of the month á-ki-ti as royal offerings." Another Drehem text records ovine offerings destined for Ur, Gaeš and the á-ki-ti in Gaeš through at least the first nine days of the seventh month (Jones-Snyder SET 98). An undated Ur tablet (UET 3 283) containing offerings for the 9th probably of <sup>iti</sup>á-ki-ti (rather than <sup>iti</sup>še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>) records midnight offerings: good quality black beer and farina for the du<sub>6</sub>-úr, quality beer and black beer poured into bowls, pea flour and farina for the temple of Nanna (in Ur), and cheese, ghee, [...] and farina for Nanna at the á-ki-ti in Gaeš; daybreak offerings for Nanna at the á-ki-ti in Gaeš consisting of black beer, pea flour and farina; and quality black beer for the Great Offering of Nanna at the á-ki-ti complex in Gaeš.

During the day Bēlat-šuhner and other deities travelled by barge from Ur to Nanna in Gaeš at the á-ki-ti, where there probably was a ritual lustration of Nanna's statue, followed by ceremonies wherein the visiting gods paid homage to Nanna (Sauren *NY Public Library* 48 = *Eames Coll.* E3) (Š46/AS3 vi):

1 ewe and 1 goat for the temple of Bēlat-šuhner (at the occasion) of her going on Nanna's boat for the á-ki-ti; 1 grain-fed sheep as an offering to Nanna in the á-ki-ti; 2 grain-fed sheep, 1 duck, 2 ...-birds, 5 turtle-doves, 1 small reed-(fed) hog bred for roasting for the "place of the king" at Karzida; 2 lambs for the offering for the Place of Disappearance; [...].

A Drehem tablet records offerings for Inanna and Nanā for the á-ki-ti (Watson *Birmingham* I 68 [Š47 vii 5]). But more interestingly the document lists one grain-fed sheep each for the procession-way(?) (ša kaskal-la) for Enlil, Ninlil, Nanna, Inanna, Ninsun, and Lugalbanda on the 5th day. This may refer to Nanna's reentry into Ur from the á-ki-ti house at Gaeš, the event which was the essence of the festival.

The king probably participated in some of the ceremonies, staying at his royal residence there, the "Place of the King" (ki-lugal) at Karzida (UET 3 186 and Sauren *NY Public Library* 48). During the festival the king held a banquet, although the site (Gaeš or Ur) is unspecified (YBC 16828 [AS8]): "3 grain-fed oxen for the royal banquet (kaš-dé-a-lugal) of the á-ki-ti-šu-numun (festival)." The presence of the king is attested in another Drehem text dated to the 5th day of the seventh month of AS9 (MVN 8 221) according to which ovines were disbursed and loaded onto a barge for when "the king goes to Gaeš" (lugal Ga-eš<sup>ki-še</sup> gín-né má-a ba-na-a-gá-ar). UET 3 1641 mentions clothing for young girl singers, who also participated in the festivities. This use of special oxen for the á-ki-ti festival is recorded in two Ur texts, one listing rope for cowherds, cattle, and for the á-ki-ti oxen (gu<sub>4</sub>-á-ki-ti) (UET 3 1504) and another listing garments for the drivers of the á-ki-ti oxen and sheep (UET 3 1641). Another text records a royal máš-da-ri-a offering of silver ox-nose-rings for the á-ki-ti-šu-numun festival (UET 3 380).

Many tablets record *mašdaria* and other offerings for the á-ki-ti-festival in Gaeš. One text records *mašdaria*-offerings of clothing, dates, and fish for the "place of the king" (ki-lugal) for the á-ki-ti-šu-numun festival (UET 3 186); *mašdaria*-offerings of sheep, goats and oxen for the á-ki-ti-šu-numun for both Ur and Gaeš are recorded on an undated Drehem tablet (AUCT 1 637). Other tablets list *mašdaria*-offerings of dates (Reisner *Telloh* 276 [IS5] and Virolleaud *Lagaš* 73 [ŠS5 x]); animals (CTMMA 1 17 [AS4 vii]); and flour and beer (MVN 13 118 [Š41 vi]: for the ni-GIŠ-rum-še ša á-ki-ti).<sup>1</sup> Hallo, *Acta Sum* 3 (1981) YBC 16652 refers to the á-ki-ti-šu-numun-na; AASF B 92 298 and 510 also mention supplies for the á-ki-ti; MVN 12 414 mentions dates for maš-da-ri-á-ki-ti; a delivery of animals for the á-ki-ti-complex (unclear which festival since no month) (MVN 13 517); AUCT 2 239 (ŠS7 viii 10) records disbursements of sheep and goats originally intended as provisions for the á-ki-ti-šu-numun festival for the *entu*-priestess of Inanna-of-Uruk; MVN 13 477 (AS9 vii) records a disbursements of goats for the á-ki-ti-šu-numun festival; an undated tablet (AUCT 1 316) records oxen, cows, sheep and ewes for both the á-ki-ti-šu-numun and the á-ki-ti-še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>. A broken reference (Durand *Catalogue EPHE* 419) mentions supplies for the á-ki-ti which were delivered to the palace. A fragment of an unpublished Drehem tablet (YBC 16652) lists provisions for various months. The only preserved entry for it<sub>1</sub>-á-ki-ti is for the 26th and records barley for "the boat laden with *dabin*-paste for the brewers of the temples for the á-ki-ti-šu-numun festival" (má-dabin lú-bappir<sub>2</sub> é-n[e?] ...] á-ki-ti-šu-numun). The year name is not preserved, but presumably the

1. The term ni-GIŠ-rum occurs also in a broken context in Sauren *NY Public Library* 373 i 10. The copies preclude a reading ni-ú<sub>1</sub>-rum in these two passages.

tablet dates before ŠS4, thus to the sixth month of the year. This would explain the date of the 26th, i.e., four days before the á-ki-ti-festival in Ur.

There are references from Girsu to *mašdaria*-offerings for the á-ki-ti festival at Ur (ITT 6167; ITT 6922; ITT 6959). A contract from Girsu dated to the fifth month of AS7 concerns the delivery of oxen to Ur by the beginning of the month for the á-ki-ti (RA 73 [1979] no. 2): ... Uri<sup>ki</sup>-ma á-ki-ti-a sag-u<sub>4</sub>-sakar<sub>x</sub>-še. Two Girsu texts refer to the á-ki-ti of Ur in Nippur (á-ki-ti Uri<sup>ki</sup>-ma ša Nibru<sup>ki</sup>).<sup>1</sup> Lafont *Tello* 29 is dated to the third month, thus the á-ki-ti festival referred to must be the upcoming á-ki-ti in Nippur during the fourth month. Yet the scribes use the expression "the á-ki-ti of Ur in Nippur." These two references are acknowledgments that the á-ki-ti festivals in Nippur (albeit in different months) were believed to have originated at Ur.

In this month one Ur text (UET 3 190) refers to an offering of "1 grain-fed sheep and 1 lamb for the festival of the boat of Suen" (ezem-má-dSuen), for which see our discussion of the á-ki-ti festival of the first month of the Ur calendar.

#### viii. ezem-dŠul-gi

The eighth month of the Ur calendar was renamed it<sub>1</sub>ezem-dŠul-gi "the Festival of Šulgi" to commemorate Šulgi's thirtieth jubilee, as had occurred with the tenth month in Umma. However, due to the lack of Ur tablets dated before Šulgi 30, the name of the eighth month before it<sub>1</sub>ezem-dŠul-gi is not known. In Umma the month it<sub>1</sub>ur was replaced, yet there is no proof that it<sub>1</sub>ur was the old Ur month name.

Several Ur texts record supplies for the Festival of Šulgi: "dates as provisions for the festival of [...] and the festival of Šulgi ..." (UET 3 273 [no date]: ni-ezem-ma ezem-d[...] ù ezem-dŠul-gi ša AB [...]); "containers of food prepared for the festival of Šulgi" (UET 3 80: ... dug-ninda ... ezem-dŠul-gi ba-ak); "10 minas of fourth quality wool cloth for the festival of Šulgi (UET 3 1504 [IS1]); clothing for the festival of Šulgi (Loding *Ur* 251 [IS7 ii]); eight types of grain, peas, beer, reeds, edible plants, and two five-liter containers of food for the festival of Šulgi, disbursed in Ur (Jones-Snyder SET 1 181 [AS2]).

Although these sparse texts provide little information about the festival, based upon the munificent quantities in Umma, the festival probably had even grander proportions in Šulgi's own city. During his lifetime this festival may have been the occasion for which many of his hymns were composed.

1. Lafont *Tello* 29 and ITT 6756: maš-da-ri-a á-ki-ti Uri<sup>ki</sup>-ma ša Nibru<sup>ki</sup>.

The na-ab-rí-um festival of Annunītum occurred during the eighth month in Ur. The na-ab-rí-um of Bēlat-šuhner and Bēlat-terraban was celebrated the following month, most probably at Uruk:

| Festival                   | Related context             | Date       | Reference  |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------|------------|------------|
| na-bí-rí-um                | é-Bēlat-šuhner              | Š34 ix     | TRU 272    |
| ezem-na-ab-r[i-(um)]       | Annunītum/Ur                | Š42 viii   | PDT II 973 |
| na-ab-rí-um                | Bēlat-šuhner/Bēlat-terraban | Š46 ix     | TRU 282    |
| u <sub>4</sub> na-ab-rí-um | Annunītum/Ulmašitum         | AS2 viii25 | PDT I 162  |
| na-ab-rí-um                |                             | AS8        | BRM 3 47   |

The *nabrūm* observance provided the name for a month in the Amorite calendars at Ešnunna, Šaduppum and Nērebtum in the Old Babylonian period. Only one of the Ur III texts refers to this occasion as a festival in Ur (PDT II 973). Three of the five references are undated, but the other two date the observance to the eighth month. One text (Legrain TRU 272) states clearly that the observance occurred in the temple of Bēlat-šuhner, while the other texts mention either Bēlat-šuhner (and Bēlat-terraban) or Annunītum (and Ulmašitum) as the subject of the observance. The *nabrū* ritual may have been a rite involving the interpretation of omens in order to foretell the success of the coming agricultural year.<sup>1</sup>

During the Ur III period there was an è-lu-núm of <sup>d</sup>Geštin-an-na-SI.A-tum recorded on an Umma tablet (MVN 15 162) dated to the eighth month (é-iti-āš): 30 sa gi 1 gú gīš-ma-nu <sup>d</sup>Geštin-an-na-SI.A-tum-ma. The tablet includes the note "withdrawn in Ur."

#### ix. šu-eš<sub>5</sub>-ša / ezem-<sup>d</sup>Šu-<sup>d</sup>Suen

During the Ur III period in Ur the orthography <sup>iti</sup>šu-eš<sub>5</sub>-ša predominated, with the writing <sup>iti</sup>šu-eš<sub>3</sub>-ša much less common (UET 3 315). However in Drehem both orthographies were quite common. Several variants are attested: <sup>iti</sup>šu-eš (MVN 10 120; MVN 13 234 [AS5]); <sup>iti</sup>šu-ša-eš (BE 3 46); <sup>iti</sup>šu-ša (Speelers *Recueil* 116 = Limet *Textes Sumériens* 33); <sup>iti</sup>eš<sub>3</sub>-ša (Scheil, RA 24 [1927] 45 [AS9]).

This month name derives from an original pre-Sargonic Ur month name <sup>iti</sup>šu-eš<sup>d</sup>Nanna (UET 2 *Supplement* no. 13). The only occurrence of the term šu-eš aside from the month name is from a pre-Sargonic document from Ur recording the delivery of cattle and sheep for cultic purposes (Alberti-Pomponio *Ur* 46 iii 3): 1 udu-nita 1 uš udu x x (x)-a šu-eš<sup>d</sup>Inanna e-ta-è ba-gíd "1 ram, 1 ewe and ... sheep were delivered ... for the šu-eš of Inanna." Unfortunately, it is unclear from this one reference whether the šu-eš connotes a

1. See pp. 394-395 for the *nabrūm* festival.

type of offering, a shrine/building, or a festival/ritual. This month name, therefore, derives from the early cult of Nanna. However, as seen in the above quoted early reference, the cult of Inanna was also involved. Adding to the mystery of the term is the elongated form šu-eš<sub>3</sub>-ša which is used throughout the Ur III period. Were the final -a indicating the genitive or locative, we would expect a variant <sup>iti</sup>šu-eš-a, since Sumerian orthography tends not to write one sign combining a final -š with a postpositional element.<sup>1</sup>

There are no Ur III references to a šu-eš<sub>3</sub>-ša festival, yet references do occur during the reign of Sumuel in Old Babylonian Ur.<sup>2</sup> These texts record the withdrawal of ghee, cheese and dates from the storehouse of Ningal for the festival. It seems more likely that this festival continued uninterrupted from the pre-Sargonic period through the Ur III period, down into Old Babylonian times, than its being suddenly reintroduced into Ur after a hiatus of at least a hundred years.

The earliest reference to the festival of Šu-Sin is from a Drehem tablet dating to the twelfth month of the second year of Šu-Sin's reign: ni-dab<sub>5</sub>-ezem-<sup>d</sup>Šu-<sup>d</sup>Suen (AUCT 2 18). The following year (ŠS3) another tablet mentions this festival in the twelfth month. CT 32 pl. 12 [ŠS3] lists 1 calf for Enlil and 1 calf for Ninlil for the Festival of the Carnelian Statue of Šu-Sin for days 6 and 7 and oxen for this festival on day 29. This tablet is dated to ezem-[<sup>d</sup>Me-ki-gál] of ŠS3, which, if we follow Whiting's suggestion for the format of the Drehem calendar in ŠS3,<sup>3</sup> was the twelfth month of the year. Another text (BIN 3 244 [ŠS5]) records 2 oxen and 1 cow for the Festival of the Carnelian Statue. If this tablet refers to the cult at Ur (rather than Nippur), then this likely refers to preparations for the Festival of Šu-Sin at Ur in the twelfth month, before it was repositioned to the ninth month. After listing offerings for Nippur, this tablet records provisions of oxen for the 30th day for the festival of Šu-Sin in the royal preserve (ni-dab<sub>5</sub>-ezem-<sup>d</sup>Šu-<sup>d</sup>Suen ša na-da-tum). These two references to a festival occurring in the twelfth month (or the first month, since CT 32 pl. 12 records provisions withdrawn on the 29th, possibly for use the next few days) refer to a celebration at Ur, not Drehem. At Drehem the festival was in the ninth month, as the renaming of the ninth month at Drehem indicates. Later, under Ibbi-Sin, when the month <sup>iti</sup>ezem-<sup>d</sup>Šu-<sup>d</sup>Suen was employed also at Ur, the Ur observance may have been moved to the ninth month from the twelfth or first month. The latest Drehem tablet with the ninth month named <sup>iti</sup>šu-eš<sub>3</sub>-ša is from Šu-Sin year 3.<sup>4</sup> This occur-

1. A reading šu-eš-na<sub>5</sub> as a shortened form for šu-eš<sup>d</sup>Nanna is highly unlikely due to the lack of an Ur III variant <sup>iti</sup>šu-eš-na or <sup>iti</sup>šu-eš<sup>d</sup>Nanna.

2. H. Figulla, *Iraq* 15 (1953), 117ff. no. 45 = UR V 785 (no month), no. 46 = UR V 757 (month 9), no. 47 = UR V 745 (month 9).

3. "Some Observations on the Drehem Calendar," ZA 69 (1979), 13.

4. MVN 1 171; MVN 3 315 dated to IS6 also contains the month <sup>iti</sup>šu-eš<sub>3</sub>-ša<sup>1</sup>.

rence in the third year of Šu-Sin may simply be due to habit, the scribe forgetting that the ninth month had been renamed.

In Ur, as in Drehem, the month *itišū-eš-ša* was eventually replaced by *itiēzem-dŠu-dSuen*. However, there is no list of months which clearly proves the replacement. Rather, it is the almost total disappearance of the month name *itišū-eš-ša* after the year Ibbi-Sin 8 (UET 3 1010 [IS15] is the latest occurrence) and the emergence of *itiēzem-dŠu-dSuen*, which, along with the earlier reform at Drehem, leads us to this conclusion. The only occurrence of the month *itiēzem-dŠu-dSuen* before IS8 is one document from ŠS5 (UET 3 1541). The appearance of the month name "Festival of Šu-Sin" in the Ur calendar under Ibbi-Sin may be due to an influx of Drehem scribes, retrenching in the capital of a besieged empire, rather than as a result of a royally decreed calendrical reform.

#### x. ezem-mah

The month is named after the great festival of Nanna, as discerned in pre-Sargonic texts from Ur: *itiēzem-mah-dNanna* (UET 2 *Supplement* nos. 40 and 45). One of these texts mentions the festival: "1 fat-tailed sheep was consumed at the great festival of Nanna." The term "great festival" was also applied to the cults of Ninegal: *itiēzem-mah-dNin-ē-gal-ka* (UET 2 *Supplement* no. 47) and Ningublaga: "1 ox was supplied for the great festival of Ningublaga" (UET 2 *Supplement* no. 38).

The Great Festival of Nanna involved offerings to Inanna, as well. The festival occurred during the middle of the month, when the moon was full, as noted on a text probably dated to the 18th, which records 10 sheep as offerings for the various statues in the temple of Innana, along with the *uzu-a-bal* offering and the Great Offering (Or 7 104 [ŠS7 x 18?]). The Great Festival was a large scale affair, necessitating months to gather the provisions and offerings: honey, ghee, beer, dates, dried pears(?), *liparu*-fruit, strings of figs and juniper as the regular supplies for the lustration of Nanna and the lesser gods(?) (*dingir-tur-tur*) and the ... (*ni-gù-dé*) of the Great Festival (UET 3 209); fish as the *nesag*-offerings for the Great Festival for the palace of the king (UET 3 76); jars of yellow-milk, 2 kinds of fishes, goat hair and onions brought into the palace for the Great Festival (Sigrist PTS 285 [AS5 vii]); several type of cereals, different beers, roasted barley, salt, *manu*-wood, young reeds, and 70 food containers (Jones-Snyder SET 181 [AS2]); barley (Lau *OB Temple Records* 83 [AS4], Fish *Catalogue* 534 [ŠS9 viii]); and metals (YOS 4 290). The ritual included a lustration of Nanna's statue, as well as plentiful offerings: oxen, bison, boar, gazelles and goats from the royal preserve, as well as various types of sheep, cows and lambs (MVN 3 198 [Š42 x]).

*Mašdaria*-offerings were provided for the Great Festival: silver (Sigrist PTS 565); oxen and sheep (Fish *Catalogue* 434 [ŠS5], Hallo, HUCA 29 [1958] no. 3); silver, oxen, sheep, a goat and a lamb (AUCT 2 185 [AS5 x]); silver and gold (MVN 3 197 [Š42 vii]); oxen, sheep, goats and lambs (Lambert, RA 49 [1955] no. 5 [ŠS4]). Girsu texts record *mašdaria*-offerings of fish (MVN 11 106 [AS4], ITT 3410 [AS7], MVN 13 734 [ŠS2], MVN 2 174 [ŠS1 ix], Sauren *Wirtschaftsurkunden* 174 [ŠS1 viii], Virolleaud *Lagaš* 270 [ŠS1]); dates (MVN 12 414 [AS5]); and silver (ITT 3483, Virolleaud *Lagaš* 5 [ŠS2 x]). These references indicate that throughout Sumer cities were responsible for supplying offerings at Ur for this major festival, as seen in one Girsu text which records "30 gur of cooked fish for the á-ki-ti-complex and 30 gur of cooked fish for the Great Festival as *mašdaria*-offerings of the grand vizier (*sukkal-mah*) destined for Ur" (ITT 3410).<sup>1</sup> An Umma text dated to AS8 contains the entry: 8 udu-niga-sig<sub>5</sub> 12 udu-niga-nita<sub>2</sub> 28 udu-ú 2 sila<sub>4</sub> máš-da-rá-a ezem-šunumun ù ezem-mah 24 udu-niga-sig<sub>5</sub> 1 sila<sub>4</sub> máš-da-rá-a ezem-še-kin-k[u<sub>5</sub>] [š]à-a-ur<sub>4</sub><sup>2</sup>-min<sup>2</sup> ezem-šunumun ba-an-x "8 grain-fed quality sheep, 12 grain-fed rams, 28 grass-fed sheep, and 2 lambs for the *mašdaria*-offering for the *šunumun*-festival and the Great Festival; 25 grain-fed quality sheep and 1 lamb for the *mašdaria*-offering for the *šekinku*-festival; ... for the *šunumun*-festival." There is another Umma reference to the Great Festival (Arnold *Temple Records* 4): máš-da-ri-a ezem-mah-še é-gal-la ba-an-ku<sub>4</sub> "a *mašdaria*-offering for the Great Festival was brought to the palace." The phrase "brought to the palace" indicates that the Great Festival was a reference to the festival in Ur, not a festival at Umma.

Sigrist has reconstructed the royal trips of Ibbi-Sin during the month of his ascension to the throne, *itiēzem-mah*.<sup>2</sup> It might be expected that Ibbi-Sin would have been in Ur to participate in the Great Festival of Nanna. During that month Ibbi-Sin was in Ur on days 3-4, 7-11, 15 and 30. However, aside from the Great Offering to Nanna on the 3rd as part of his coronation, there is no mention of his participation in the *ezem-mah* festival of Nanna.

According to an inscription, Ibbi-Sin dedicated a gold jar from a campaign in Elam to Nanna: "so that at Ezen-mah and New Year, at the lustrations of Nanna, oil may not be wanting in the place where the (rite of) "mouth-opening" is performed on Nanna's copper bath pitcher."<sup>3</sup> Jacobsen notes that according to other sources this pitcher "stood in Nanna's bedroom on the top of the ziggurat of his temple Ekishnugal in Ur and was too sacred to be seen by profane eyes."

1. Genouillac *Trouvaille* 11 (AS5 x) records "1 grain-fed sheep for Usan for the banquet (*kaš-dé-a*) of the Dublamah in Ur" during this month. But we do not know whether this was an annual or monthly celebration.

2. *Studies Sjöberg*, 499ff.

3. Jacobsen *Treasures*, 124.



xi. ezem-an-na

A variant <sup>iti</sup>ezem-maḥ-an-na is attested from Drehem (Alster, *Acta Sum* 11 [AS1]). This may reflect an older form of the month name or simply have resulted from confusion with the preceding month, <sup>iti</sup>ezem-maḥ.<sup>1</sup> The tenth month at Uruk was the similar sounding <sup>iti</sup>ezem-má-an-na and perhaps there was a relationship between the two, one city originally borrowing the festival and month name from the other.

A possible reference to this festival of An is in an Ur text (UET 3 1422 [IS7 xi]) which lists "3 female mill-hands for the holy festival" (ezem-kù-ga).

According to Gudea Cylinder A a monthly festival called ezem-an-na was celebrated in the Tiraš-temple in Girsu for Ningirsu. We are unaware of any connection between these two festivals bearing the same name.<sup>2</sup>

xii. ezem-<sup>d</sup>Me-ki-gál

In Ur and Drehem the month name is written <sup>iti</sup>ezem-<sup>d</sup>Me-ki-gál (UET 3 272) or <sup>iti</sup>me-ki-gál (Loding *Ur* 171) with variants <sup>iti</sup>ezem-<sup>d</sup>Me<sup>1</sup>(šes)-ki-gál (Loding *Ur* 176); <sup>iti</sup>ezem-<sup>d</sup>ki-gál (Speelers *Recueil* 117); <sup>iti</sup>ezem-me-<sup>d</sup>ki-gál (AASF B 92 626); and <sup>iti</sup>ezem-me-šī-gál (TIM 6 27).

A deity <sup>d</sup>Me-ki-gál is not attested in any Ur III texts. This month name probably reflects an older Ur tradition which had disappeared by the Ur III period.

There is a Drehem reference to a festival of Enki occurring in the twelfth month, although the city is not specified (Eridu?). The text (PDT I 270), dated to the 10th day of the twelfth month (<sup>iti</sup>ezem-<sup>d</sup>Me-ki-gál) of ŠS9, records "1 grain-fed ox for Balala, the singer, for the day the Festival of Enki is observed" (u<sub>4</sub> ezem-<sup>d</sup>En-ki-ka in-na-ak).<sup>3</sup> A Sumerian *emesal* literary text contains several passages which refer to the celebration of a festival of Enki.<sup>4</sup> Since there was a cult of Enki in pre-Sargonic Ur (see above), these passages could refer to a festival at Ur, as well as at Eridu, the main site of Enki's cult.

From the Ur III period there is one attestation of the "The Wailing at the Mourning-site(?)" (ér-ki-gu-la, MVN 15 193), which was performed at a funerary libation site (ki-a-nag) of Amar-Suen in the first year of his brother,

1. BIN 3 494 is dated to <sup>iti</sup>ki-an-na, which perhaps is to be emended to <sup>iti</sup>ezem-an-na.

2. Jacobsen *Harps*, 401; see p. 77.

3. The first millennium B.C. Assyrian Astrolabe B refers to the twelfth month as the month of Ea and of Enki's(?) 'happiness': "The month *Addaru*, in the vast fields of Ningirsu the sickle is not left behind, the month of Enki's(?) happiness, the month of Ea."

4. BM 86535 (reference courtesy of the PSD): ezem-<sup>d</sup>Am-an-ki-ga me-da àm-tuku-àm and ezem-<sup>d</sup>Am-an-ki-ga á il-la ezem-ù-mu-un-kù-ga á il-la.

king Šu-Sin.<sup>1</sup> The ritual lasted two days—the 27th and 28th of the twelfth month—and included offerings of sheep each day.<sup>2</sup>

For the possibility of the festival of Šu-Sin being celebrated in the twelfth month, see our discussion of the ninth month of the Ur calendar.

xiii. iti-diri ezem-<sup>d</sup>Me-ki-gál

The intercalary month in Ur was named after the twelfth month, <sup>iti</sup>ezem-<sup>d</sup>Me-ki-gál.<sup>3</sup> There are no festivals during this month. An intercalary month iti-diri-ezem-an-na is attested in IS1 (Toronto 910.209.274).

*Other Festivals*

An undated Ur tablet refers to supplies for the festival of Gula and the festival of Ninkununna (ni-dab<sub>5</sub>-ezem-ma-<sup>d</sup>Gu-la ... ni-dab<sub>5</sub>-ezem-ma-<sup>d</sup>Nin-kù-nun-na [UET 3 1126]). According to this document returned supplies from these and other provisions were redistributed, some redistribution occurring in the month <sup>iti</sup>še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>. These goddesses are juxtaposed also in an offering list from Ur (UET 3 278). These two deities had a cult in the temple é-AN-gu-la in Uruk according to lists of offerings in which the names of these goddesses are again juxtaposed (TCL 2 AO 5482, AUCT 2 97).<sup>4</sup> The goddess Gula, worshipped throughout much of Sumer, had a cult in Ur, located in the temple of Ningubлага (UET 3 261).

According to the god-list AN = *Anum* Ninkununna was an attendant (dingir-gub-ba) of the moon-god Suen (AN = *Anum* III 44). At Ur Ninkununna was identified with Inanna, as discerned in two inscriptions of Ur-Baba of Girsu, in which one records his having built the temple of Inanna, nin-kù-nun-na, in Ur<sup>5</sup> and the other his having built the temple of <sup>d</sup>Nin-kù-nun-na in Ur.<sup>6</sup> And in an inscription of Ur-Nammu (UET 2 39) Inanna has the epithet nun-kù-nun-na. The temple of Ninkununa in Ur is mentioned as one of the

1. Perhaps the term ki-gu-la is similar in meaning to ki-gul-la = *kigullu*, "place of destruction(?)" (CAD K 350) or ki-ḫul = *kihullū*, "place used or fit for mourning rites" (CAD K 350).

2. For the ér-gu-la in the Old Babylonian period at Ur, see p. 230.

3. For a listing of the intercalary months see Sigrist and Gomi, *The Comprehensive Catalogue of Published Ur III Tablets* (Bethesda, 1991), 306ff. and note the unpublished reference A 1742 which is further evidence that the years AS1 and AS2 were not intercalated: <sup>iti</sup>ezem-me-ki-gál-še mu Ḫa-ar-šī<sup>ki</sup> à Ki-mas<sup>ki</sup> ba-ḫul-ta <sup>iti</sup>ezem-<sup>d</sup>Sul-gi mu <sup>d</sup>gu-za <sup>d</sup>En-líl-lá ba-dím-še iti-33-kam.

4. For the identification of the é-AN-gu-la as a temple in Uruk, cf. AUCT 3 489 and note line 50: [ša Unug]<sup>ki</sup>-ga.

5. SAKI 60 a.

6. SAKI 62 f.



temples from which golden objects were taken in the year IS13 to pay Isin, which was threatening Ibī-Sin's collapsing empire (UET 3 702). Another Ur text refers to repair work being performed at the temple of Ninkununna (UET 3 1502). A garden of Ninkununna was probably located in the Ekišnu-gal complex as noted in a partially preserved ritual for the king (UET 3 57):

Nanna ... flowing water.  
The king enters the temple/house ...  
That is the third day.  
A second(?) time(?) the king having entered the temple of Nanna, he then  
bathes during the middle of the night in the garden of Ninkununna.  
Until the fifth day ... house ... of Nanna.

The *šabra* of Ninkununna is mentioned in a Drehem text of offerings destined for Ur (Jones-Snyder SET 116).

In Ur there were offerings for the Boat of An. However, there is no indication that this was an annual festival in Ur as it was at Uruk.<sup>1</sup>

A tablet (Sauren *Wirtschaftsurkunden* 144 [IS2]), provenience unknown, mentions the festival of Ningišzida: "32 gur and 76 liters of barley for the festival of Ningišzida (ezem-<sup>d</sup>Nin-giš-zi-da)." Since there was a cult of Ningišzida at several sites, including Ur and Lagaš, the location of this festival is unknown.

1. For the festival of the Boat of An in Uruk, as well as for references to the offerings at Ur, see pp. 215-216.

## Umma

Sargonic tablets from Umma have been labeled *mu-iti* tablets after the convention of dating each tablet by year and month numbers in the form: mu-# iti-#. <sup>1</sup> Foster discerned that these tablets spanned three time periods, the earliest tablets dating to the reign of Lugalzagesi (ca. 2340 B.C.) and the latest to the close of the Akkad dynasty under Šar-kali-šarri (2217-2193 B.C.). <sup>2</sup> The use of the *mu-iti* convention in the Umma documents does not preclude the likelihood that the Umma months had names as did the other calendars of Sumer. (There is one Sargonic tablet presumably from Umma with the month <sup>iti</sup>*Ha-li-da*, which is possibly to be identified with the Sargonic period month *Ha-li-ri/tu*. <sup>3</sup>) This situation is somewhat analogous to that of its closest neighbor, Lagaš/Girsu, in the pre-Sargonic period, when, as a result of the proliferation and confusion of month names, an administrative technique of numbering each month and year at the bottom of the tablet was imposed (although the actual month name might still appear on the tablet). <sup>4</sup> Just as the numeric notation was a solution to a calendrical problem at Lagaš/Girsu, so too was the *mu-iti* system a response to a problem with the calendar at Umma. In fact, it is quite probable, as Foster observes, that the *mu-iti* system was a direct adaptation of the earlier and near-by Lagaš/Girsu solution. <sup>5</sup>

What then was this problem confronting the administrative personnel regarding the Umma calendar? The Umma calendar year may have begun around the summer solstice, not around the vernal equinox as elsewhere throughout Sumer. Evidence is a recently published Ur III tablet (SNSAT 409, discussed in detail below) from the eighth year of Amar-Suen which provides very detailed information on the festival for the fourth month (nisag)

1. M. Powell ("Evidence for Local Cults at Presargonic Zabala," OrNS 45 [1976], 100-104) suggests that many pre-Sargonic texts said to come from Umma actually derive from Zabalam.

2. Foster *Umma*, 2-7, wherein Foster presents the varying opinions of other scholars regarding the dating of these tablets.

3. For this month see p. 26. MCS 9 (1964) no. 233 contains the month name in the body of the text, with only the year notation (mu-8) at the bottom, thus deviating from the mu-# iti-# (u<sub>4</sub>-#) formulaic ending.

4. See pp. 37ff.

5. Foster *Umma*, 7: "The origins of the mu-iti dating system may be seen in the numerical dating systems used at Pre-Sargonic Lagaš and Umma."

and sums the entries as "standard New Year offerings for Šara" (ša-du<sub>11</sub>-zag-mu-<sup>d</sup>Šara). It is very unlikely that this long detailed list was intended for a festival nine months later, particularly since there is a parallel Umma tablet (YBC 16663, discussed below) dated again to the month nisag, but this time in Amar-Suen's fifth year. It is therefore likely that the original Umma calendar began in the first month of the summer. This would have created dating problems for the short-lived kingdom of Lugalzagesi and for the Sargonic kings when a standard year-name may have been in use throughout the empire—the three spring months at Umma would have been considered part of the previous year and used the previous year's year-name, whereas the rest of the empire changed to the new year-name during these months. To resolve this problem the *mu-iti* system may have been introduced to harmonize Umma dating and accounting with the rest of the empire. This shift of the civil (but not cultic) calendar at Umma became permanent, as noted in the many Ur III economic documents which clearly calculated the year's accounts beginning in the first month of spring. However, vestiges of the old calendar remained with the old cultic New Year in the summer being celebrated at Umma during the Ur III period in the (now) fourth month.

The only two festivals mentioned in the Sargonic Umma tablets are the festival of Dumuzi, (one reference dated to the first month in year 8 of the *mu-iti* system),<sup>1</sup> and the *nisag*-festival on several tablets dating to *mu-iti* months 4, 5 and 6. In the Ur III period these festivals occurred in the 12th and 4th months respectively and provided the names for their months. The variance in the month numbering may have been the result of intercalary differences between the native Umma calendar and the administrative *mu-iti* system.

Umma tablets dated with actual month names are attested in the Ur III period. During this span of approximately seventy years, with but the replacement of *iti<sub>ur</sub>* with *iti<sub>ezem</sub>*-<sup>d</sup>Sul-gi beginning in Šulgi's thirtieth year and *iti<sub>min</sub>*-<sup>d</sup>Š with *iti<sub>ezem</sub>*-<sup>d</sup>Amar-Suen by a handful of scribes from the years Amar-Suen 6 to Šu-Sin 2, the calendar remained intact, beginning with *iti<sub>še</sub>*-sag-ku<sub>5</sub>, concluding with *iti<sub>d</sub>* Dumu-zi, and adding an intercalary month *iti<sub>diri</sub>*.

The ordering of the Ur III months in Umma can be established by economic texts which list all the months in order<sup>2</sup> and by those texts which list just a beginning and end month, calculating on the tablet the number of elapsed months.

The major annual festivals, which shared their names with the months in which they occurred, consisted of the *šesagku*, *nisag*, *šunumun*, *eitiaš*, and *pa-*

*kuše*-festivals.<sup>1</sup> The *šekarragalla*, *ri* and *Dumuzi* festivals are not mentioned as frequently as the aforementioned and thus, perhaps, were of relative minor importance. Two additional festivals were introduced to honor the kings of Ur, a festival for Šulgi to commemorate his thirty-year jubilee and a festival for his successor Amar-Suen, beginning in his sixth regnal year. Oddly, although Drehem and Ur record a month named for a similar festival to honor Šu-Sin, no mention of such a month or festival has been found in the Umma tablets.

Around the beginning of spring the Festival of the Early Grass was celebrated at Umma, an observance associated with the goddesses Ninibgal, Gula, and Ningipar. This festival, which was observed in Ur and Larsa as well, was not assigned to one particular month at Umma, but timed to coincide with the appearance of the early grass—sometime at the end of winter or very beginning of spring, when spring pasturing could begin. That the observance was seasonal and not fixed to a particular date can be noted in its observance in AS6 in the intercalary month *iti<sub>diri</sub>* (YBC 1266): "1 sheep for the (going out) to the early grass; an extra festival provision" (1 udu ú-sag-še *ni<sub>diri</sub>* ezem-ma) and at the bottom of the tablet where the entries are summed: "1 sheep for Ninibgal's going out to the early grass" (1 udu ú-sag-še è *dNinibgal*), whereas in Yildiz and Gomi *Umma* no. 1885 the observance is held in the first month (AS8 i). This latter text records:

- [1] sheep as the *satukku*-offering,
- [1] sheep for when she goes to Zabalam,
- [1] sheep for when the goddess goes out to the Early Grass,
- Gula of Umma;
- 3 sheep for when she goes to Zabalam,
- 1 sheep for when the goddess goes out to the Early Grass,
- Ninibgal;
- 1 sheep for when Igizibara goes to Zabalam;
- 1 sheep for when Ningipar goes out to the Early Grass;
- [1] sheep for the *še-il-la* of Nanše;
- A total of 10 grass-fed sheep.

A reference to the ú-sag festival occurs in the myth Lugale 446ff.<sup>2</sup>

- At the gods' "early grass" (festivals)
- may they seat the two of you
- new-moon day by new-moon day,
- on the broad side (of the table).

1. SNSAT 274, which Gomi suggests is probably from Umma, is a list of three oxen given each year from Š33 to Š44 for the "three holy festivals" (3 gu<sub>4</sub> ezem-3-kù). Another reference to these three festivals is SNSAT 403 (AS8), again identified by Gomi as being from Umma, which lists animals ezem-3-a-ba.

2. Jacobsen *Harps*, 257.

1. MAD 4 116; MAD 4 82 mentions the festival, but records no month number.

2. MVN 9 197; Grégoire AAS 35; Archi, OA 9 (1972) no. 8; Langdon, PSBA 35 (1913) pl. 4; OR 47 (1930) 401; YOS 4 246; TLB 3 69.

and further on in the same work (lines 542ff.):<sup>1</sup>

O *Hulaku* stone, may you be found  
in honey and wine,  
and may you all rightfully be decked out  
with gold,  
at the "early grass" festival of the gods  
may all lands salute you  
by lowering nose to the ground for you.

According to Jacobsen "the "early grass," ... was presumably a spring festival, one celebrating the opening of the pasturing season for the flocks in the desert."<sup>2</sup> Jacobsen suggests that the Umma *ú-sag* festival occurred at Zabalam, near Umma, in which Ningipar and Ninibgal (goddesses identified with Inanna), and Inanna's harp, Igi-zi-bar-ra, participated. According to Jacobsen "the most natural way to interpret these entries would seem to be that they relate to a ritual procession with statues of the goddesses in question—in the case of Igi-zi-bar-ra she presumably came in her form as sacred harp—out into the desert to lament the dead Dumuzi."<sup>3</sup>

The texts from Ur indicate that the observance occurred at the onset of the spring. Note UET 3 273 obv. 15-18 for dates for the *ú-sag* of two goddesses whose names are not fully preserved and UET 3 242 for the "wail" for the *ú-sag* (*ér-ú-sag-gá-ke<sub>4</sub>*) (UET 3 242). Unfortunately on neither tablet is the month preserved. The *ú-sag* occurs at Old Babylonian Larsa during the eleventh month.<sup>4</sup>

It is unclear from the above Umma text if the *še-íl-la* ceremony or ritual of Nanše was part of the Festival of the Early Grass, or an observance connected to the harvesting of the first month. However, at Lagaš/Girsu the *še-íl-la* of Nanše occurred in the twelfth month.<sup>5</sup>

1. Jacobsen *Harps*, 262.

2. Jacobsen *Harps*, 257 n. 38. J.J. van Dijk (*Lugal Ud Me-lám-bi Nir-gál I*, 108), noting the variant *nisag* for *ú-sag*, interprets the phrase *ú-sag-dingir-re-e-ne-ke<sub>4</sub>* as "les prémices des dieux en vous." The term *ú-sag* also occurs in the first line of a *balag*-lamentation: *eden-na ú-sag-gá-ke<sub>4</sub> dam-a-ni mu-un-na-an-te*, "In the steppe at (the Festival (?) of) the Early Grass she nears her spouse" (see M.E. Cohen *Lamentations*, 671). For a discussion of the term *ú-sag*, see also H. Sauren, "Besuchsfahrten der Götter in Sumer," *OrNS* 15 (1946), 224 n. 1. A. Falkenstein, *Festschrift Friedrich*, 155 reads *uzùg* (*Ú.KA*) instead of *ú-sag* (as does Figulla, *Iraq* 15 (1953), 119ff.) and translates "(der Feier des) sexual Unreinen," noting a reference to *uzùg* (*Ú.KA*).<sup>6</sup> Nin-tin-ug<sub>5</sub>-ga on an Ur III tablet which mentions the *á-ki-ti-še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>* festival at Nippur (RA 9 [1912] pl. ii, SA 47). Perhaps, however, SA47 should be read also as *ú-sag*.

3. Jacobsen, *Unity and Diversity*, 85 n. 17.

4. See p. 234.

5. See pp. 76-77.

## The Months

### i. *še-sag-ku<sub>5</sub>* / *še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>*

Both month names *itiše-sag-ku<sub>5</sub>* and *itiše-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>* are plentifully attested throughout Umma tablets as the name of the first month of the year, without any particular pattern to differentiate their usage. In fact, one tablet (BE 3/1 100) contains both orthographies. This tablet is a compendium of transactions from different years. Perhaps the scribe of the tablet copied the dates from two separate original documents, each tablet inscribed with the month name written differently. In one text dating to Š33 a deified form of the month name occurs: *iti<sup>d</sup>še-sag-ku<sub>5</sub>* (Scheil, RA 25 [1928] no.7). The earlier of the two names appears to be *itiše-sag-ku<sub>5</sub>*, which occurs on two early Umma tablets bearing the year formulae *mu-2-kam-ús-sa-bi* and *mu-4-kam-ús* (MVN 4 134 and 135).<sup>1</sup>

Since the month name *itiše-sag-ku<sub>5</sub>* occurs only at Umma, whereas *itiše-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>* occurs in the calendars of the other major cities as well, the month *itiše-sag-ku<sub>5</sub>*, the month of "the early-barley cutting" is probably a native month name. The many occurrences of *itiše-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>* at Umma may have resulted from an intermingling of these two months which sounded alike, denoted the same event, and occurred at the same time.

The Umma festival was named *ezem-še-sag-ku<sub>5</sub>* "the festival of the early-barley cutting" (Sigrist *Syracuse* 489, Limet *Textes Sumériens* 90) or *ezem-še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>* "the harvest festival," (TCL 5 AO 5667 [AS2 and AS3]; MVN 4 138 [ŠS2]).<sup>2</sup> The omission of this festival from AO 6040 below does not indicate the unimportance of the holiday, but rather may indicate that the first month had already passed by the time the tablet was written. *Syracuse* 489 lists seven pairs of boots and vials of a special oil as provisions for the festival, objects which may have been used in ritual lustrations. Limet *Textes Sumériens* 90 was written during the third month of the year and adds the entry of one sheep for next year's *šesagku*-festival. TCL 5 AO 5667 lists offerings for the *še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>*-festival for two consecutive years: (AS2) one ox as a *satukku*-offering for Šara and one ox as a royal burnt offering; (AS3) two grain-fed oxen as royal *mašdaria*-offerings. Another text, probably from Umma, records 8 liters of yellow-milk as provisions for the festival (Forde *Dakota* 47 8 [ŠS7]): *silá ga-*

1. For the reading and meaning of the month names *itiše-sag-ku<sub>5</sub>* and *itiše-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>* see our discussion of the twelfth month of the Nippur calendar. One Umma text (YBC 1404), which in the body mentions the months *itišū-numun* and *itišig-si<sub>4</sub>*, is dated at the bottom of the tablet: *iti še-kin<sub>5</sub> (SE+KIN)-a-ta mu en-unu<sub>5</sub> [...] na ba-hun (=AS5)*.

2. For *sag-ku<sub>5</sub>* *sakkutu* "remainder(?)," see CAD S 79 sub *sakkutu* A, where the term is attested as referring to barley (CT 2 29:25): *ana sakkutti še'im*.

sig<sub>7</sub> ni-dab<sub>5</sub>-ezem-še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>. A goat for the temple of Šara and a sheep are recorded for the festival in another text (Boson *Tavolette* 162).

ii. sig<sub>4</sub><sup>giš</sup> NI-šub-ba-gá-gar-ra

For references to the various orthographies and readings of this month name in both Umma and Nippur see our discussion of the third month of the Nippur calendar.

At Umma there was a special ceremony for the brick mold during the month, which, as part of the cult of Šara, was performed probably at some point after the 7th of the month. The Umma tablet Toronto 967.827.12 (AS6 ii) lists offerings for the new moon, for the 7th of the month (gišgigir u<sub>4</sub>-7), daily provisions (á-u<sub>4</sub>-da), and 1 grass-fed sheep as provisions for the "laying of the brick in the brick mold" (ni-dab<sub>5</sub> sig<sub>4</sub><sup>giš</sup> NI-šub-ba gar-ra).<sup>1</sup>

iii. še-kar-ra-gál-la

This month name occurs as it<sub>i</sub>še-kar-ra-gál-la (Kang *Umma* 303), it<sub>i</sub>še-kar-gál-la (Kang *Umma* 49), it<sub>i</sub>še-kar-ra-gál (Kang *Umma* 201), it<sub>i</sub>še-kar-gál (YOS 4 25), it<sub>i</sub>še-kar-ra-gá-gar (Schneider, AnOr 1 195), it<sub>i</sub>še-kar-ra-CAR-la (BRM 3 121), it<sub>i</sub>še-kar-gá-la (MVN 13 257), it<sub>i</sub>še-kar-ra-gá-la (Sauren *NY Public Library* 93), it<sub>i</sub>še-kar-ra-gá-gál-la (AnOr 18 30) and it<sub>i</sub>še-kar-ra (Or 47 207).

Two pre-Ur III documents contain terminology similar to our month name. On one tablet at the very end of a list of individuals who, according to Westenholz, invested barley, and in another tablet concerning a venture involving barley and silver are found the expressions: še sila-a gál-la and še sila-a gál-la Lugal-iti-da.<sup>2</sup> The term še-sila-a-gál-la is an economic expression and has greater implications than its literal meaning "barley which is on the street." (In American financial parlance the expression "on the street" connotes that a financial opportunity has been released to the public for competition.) However, it does make sense to interpret the phrase še-kar-ra-gál-la literally: "barley which is at the quay." Two months earlier the harvest had begun and so, by the third month, the barley would probably have been piled high along the quays for shipment along the waterways.<sup>3</sup>

References to an actual festival name ezem-še-kar-ra-gál-la occur on an Umma textile account dated to AS2 which lists 90 bundles of rope (sa-gu) for the šekaragala and nisag-festivals, 60 bundles of rope for the etiaš-festival, and 30 bundles of rope for the pakuše-festival (Jones-Snyder SET 274: 308-313);

1. For a discussion of cultic events associated with the brick mold at Nippur, see p. 95.

2. BIN 8 221; Westenholz OSP 2; cf. *ša ina sūqi* meaning "outstanding assets" (CAD S 406).

3. Alster *Dumuzi's Dream*, 108, following this interpretation of the month name, discusses the expression tūg kar-ra gál-la, understanding the term as referring to the actual washing of clothes, which occurred by the quay.

and in YBC 1783, which records grain as provisions for the festival: ni-dab<sub>5</sub>-ezem-še-kar-ra-gál-[1]a. Another probable reference to the šekaragala-festival is a Drehem tablet dated to the month it<sub>i</sub>še-kar-gál-la in ŠS6, which includes the entry "3.1 gur of emmer, provisions for the festival" (Sigrist PTS 289).

Limet *Textes Sumériens* 90 lists four items which were probably used for the celebration of the šekaragala-festival. This conclusion is based upon noting that the entries are for ritual offerings preceding the entries for the fourth month, it<sub>i</sub>nisag, and that the tablet was written in the third month. In addition, its reference to Ašnan, the grain-goddess, also supports the assumption of festivities for this month. The tablet enumerates four items: "(Already) dispatched: 1 grass-fed sheep for the ...-boat, 1 goat for making an offering at ..., 1 goat for the ...-offering and 1 goat for [...] of Ašnan."<sup>1</sup> All four items in this text might have been intended for a ritual boat procession with stops and offerings along the way, culminating at the temple of Ašnan. Thus perhaps the last line should be restored "for the [temple] of Ašnan."

See our discussion below of the month it<sub>i</sub>pa<sub>4</sub>-kūš-e for the kušgur-še-il-la<sup>d</sup>Nanše, perhaps a leather bag used to measure out 1 gur of barley, as a ritual object receiving offerings during the month.

iv. nisag

The full month name with the Sumerian word for "festival," it<sub>i</sub>ezem-nisag, occurs rather seldomly, the form it<sub>i</sub>nisag predominating.<sup>2</sup>

The reading it<sub>i</sub>nisag (rather than \*it<sub>i</sub>murub<sub>4</sub>) is based upon several observations. A syllabic orthography it<sub>i</sub>ezem-ni-sag-e most likely for our month name occurs in a document whose case bears the seal of the scribe Lugal-kū-zu and which is witnessed by Da-gu, Ša<sub>6</sub>-ga and Ur-gi<sub>6</sub>-par<sub>4</sub> (AUCT 3 471 with case 472). Lugal-kū-zu is attested as having sealed tablets in Umma,<sup>3</sup> in Puzriš-Dagan,<sup>4</sup> and in Girsu.<sup>5</sup> Although the witnesses are independently attested at multiple sites,<sup>6</sup> in one Umma text (Grégoire AAS 96) both Da-gu and Ur-gi<sub>6</sub>-par<sub>4</sub> have sealed the same tablet, while another Umma document (Hruška, *Studies Matouš* [J 861]) bears the seals of both Lugal-kū-zu and Ur-

1. Limet suggests restoring the last line as "for the [festival] of Ašnan," which would, presumably, be an alternate name for the šekaragala-festival. However, this format would be contrary to the overall phrasing in the text. The presence of the term gin-na ("gone"), rather than ezem-še-kar-ra-gál-la as in the following sections of the text, may convey that the holiday offerings had already been dispatched, but nonetheless had to be listed in the month's accounting.

2. Owen NATN 243; three undated Ur III texts (MVN 4 127 and 166; NBC 325) and in SNSAT 409 (AS8).

3. Kang *Umma* 54 (AS8; no month) and 250 (AS2; no month), AUCT 1 550 (ŠS8; no month).

4. AUCT 1 (AS2; ezem-<sup>d</sup>Nin-a-zu).

5. Limet *Textes Sumériens*, 18 (ŠS4; ezem-<sup>d</sup>Ba-ba<sub>6</sub>).

6. Limet *Anthroponymie*, 393, 526, 546.

gi<sub>6</sub>-par<sub>4</sub>. Thus our tablet (AUCT 3 471) probably comes from Umma where this would be a variant orthography for the Umma month <sup>iti</sup>ezem-nisag.<sup>1</sup>

This same month name occurs in the Ur III Mari calendar as <sup>iti</sup>ni-ni-sag (Jestin, RA 46 [1952] no. 3). In a calendar, perhaps from Keš, the terms ezem- and ni- seem to be interchangeable, thus the Mari month ni-ni-sag is probably the same as \*ezem-ni-sag.<sup>3</sup> A possible second variant for our month name occurs in another Umma tablet (AUCT 3 447), which perhaps should be read <sup>iti</sup>ezem-sag<sub>18</sub>, thus a variant for <sup>iti</sup>ezem-nisag. A reading <sup>iti</sup>nisag is further supported by the existence of the Semitic month *Nisanu*, a derivative from Sumerian nisag. Another factor suggesting the reading <sup>iti</sup>nisag is the itinerary for the *nisag*-festival, which included the making of the first malt of the season, which in one text mentions še-nisag and in another še-nisag-gá (this latter reference proving a reading nisag) and thereby raising the possibility of a relationship between the term še-nisag-gá and the festival name.

As previously stated, on the basis of the summation of offerings for this month as "standard New Year offerings for Šara" (SNSAT 409), it is possible that this first month of summer was originally the New Year at Umma. In the Sargonic period, however, the New Year was shifted to the spring. Supplies for the coming new year were brought all year round, including hides for farmers (Sigrist PTS 144) and the hiring of straw carriers (Sigrist *Syracuse* 439). The standards of the cities and the standards of the gods were beautified or made anew for the occasion, presumably for the New Year's parade (Jones-Snyder SET 173 [ŠS8]): "4 shekels of silver for the standard of the Guedena of Umma, 1½ shekels of silver for the standard of the Guedena of Apisal—provisions for the new year"; (NBC 393 [Š42]): "4 shekels of silver for the standard of the Guedena of Umma, 1½ shekels of silver for the standard of the Guedena of Apisal—provisions for the New Year (ni-dab<sub>5</sub>-zag-mu-ka)." Another text (Sigrist *Rochester* 98 [AS8]) records clothing for the gods as provisions for the New Year festival (ni-dab<sub>5</sub>-zag-mu-ka) for Šara of Umma, Šara of Apisal, Šara-anzu and Ninegal.

The term nisag denotes the "first" as in the Sumerian Flood Story II 93: nisag-uru-bi-e-ne Eridu<sup>ki</sup> "the first of these cities, Eridu." The term nisag applies to the first of both produce and animals: for fish note MVN 3 173 (Drehem?) for the receipt of fish as nindba-dug-kù-ga ù nisag; for produce JCS 26 (1974), 163 rev. 13: pù-kiri<sub>6</sub>-na ni-sag-bi ha-ma-na-DU im-me-e-a ša re-eš GIŠ.SAR-ša lu-ḫir-ši-im i-qá-ab-bi; for honey note MVN 2 25 wherein honey is

listed among items as nisag-<sup>d</sup>En-líl-lá; for beer (kaš-nisag, kaš-gú-nisag) see MSL 11 71; for cattle, sheep and goats as the *nisag*-offering to Enlil note BIN 5 4: nisag-<sup>d</sup>En-líl-lá-še; Fish *Manchester* no. 3490: nisag-AN-<sup>d</sup>En-líl-lá-še; Giš-al Hymn 41: máš-gi<sub>6</sub> nisag-en-na-ta; MVN 2 25. However, the animals being offered were not necessarily the first-born of the year as can be seen in Fish *Manchester* no. 3490 where two grown cows, in addition to a male and a female calf, are included in the *nisag*-offering and in BIN 5 4 where two oxen constitute the *nisag*-offering.

A *nisag*-offering is provided for the *akiti*-festival<sup>1</sup> and at the New Year.<sup>2</sup> A text, perhaps from Lagaš, refers to the purchase of the *nisag*-offerings for Enlil (Chiera STA 22): 1½ gín kù-babbar ni-šám-ma nidba ù nisag-<sup>d</sup>En-líl-lá "one and one half shekel, the purchase price for offerings and the *nisag*-offering of Enlil." A text dated to AS7 (no month) is an account of offerings for the temples of Šara, Ninurta, Šulgi, Inanna and Gula with multiple entries noted as first offerings for Enlil (MVN 13 618). (Either these offerings were distributed throughout the year, or each of the five temples received first-offerings for Enlil.) A Drehem tablet lists between offerings for the é-u<sub>4</sub>-7 and the é-u<sub>4</sub>-15 grain-fed oxen as provisions for temples(?) (ni-é-e-zu-zu), for Enlil and for Ninlil, summing these as nisag-da ku<sub>4</sub>-ra, "entered with the *nisag*-offerings" (JCS 14 [1960] no. 16 [AS6 xii]).

The transport of *nisag*-offerings by barge is recorded as early as the Ebla lexical lists: má-nisag (MEE 3 177 iv 5). In the Ur III period *nisag*-offerings were transported by barge to such centers as Ur and Nippur: má-nisag-gá-a-ugu-na-ka nisag nu-mu-un-na-ab-túm "The boat with first fruit-offerings no longer brings the first fruit offerings to the father who begat him (Nanna)"<sup>3</sup>; YOS 4 94 (Drehem): ša-gal gu<sub>4</sub> má-nisag-é-<sup>d</sup>En-líl-lá-še ku<sub>4</sub>-ra; JCS 24 (1972) 171 no. 93 (ŠS5): nidba má-nisag-é-<sup>d</sup>En-líl-la-ka, "offerings for the *nisag*-boat for the temple of Enlil"; Šulgi F 15: má-nisag-g[á-k]e<sub>4</sub>; Boson, *Aegyptus* 11 no. 62 = Boson *Tavolette* 361 (Š42/AS6): 10 gi gur-dub 60 sila-ta ni-dab<sub>5</sub> má-nisag-NE ba-an-si-si "10 reed-containers 60 liters each, provisions loaded onto the *nisag*-boat"; MVN 13 428: "2 oxen for the *nisag*-boat."

There are several references to the Umma *nisag*-festival in the Sargonic period. One *mu-iti* tablet records the delivery of a goatskin for the ezem-nisag (MAD 4 96) in the fourth ("4") month. The disbursement of oils and perfumes is recorded in month five ("5") for the *nisag*-festival in Kian, a city which in the Ur III period was considered part of Umma's territory.<sup>4</sup> Not

1. For ni-sag as a variant for nisag in literary texts note Inanna-IddinDagan 149: 8<sup>is</sup>banšur-kalam-ma-ka nisag (var: ni-sag) mu-na-ab-si.

2. See pp. 207-208 for this calendar.

3. For the probable connection between the festival ezem-nisag and the name Lugal-NISAG-e, see Grégoire AAS 18 n. 4 where Grégoire reads MURUB<sub>4</sub>; Limet *Anthroponymie* 282 for Lugal-murub<sub>4</sub>-e 'Le roi vers la fête-murub' and Ama-murub<sub>4</sub>-e 'La mère (= une déesse) vers la fête-murub'; *Eames Coll.* 42.

1. WaradSin 28 rev. 40: nisag-á-ki-ti.

2. Siniddinam A 10: hé-gál nisag<sup>1</sup>-sikal nisag-zag-mu-ka šu-gal mu-un-du<sub>7</sub>-du<sub>7</sub>; Fish *Manchester* 3490: nisag-AN-<sup>d</sup>En-líl-lá-še ni-ba<sup>2</sup>-zag-mu-ka.

3. Translation Michalowski *Sumer and Ur*, 57 line 325.

4. Waetzoldt and Yildiz, ZA 78 (1988), 221-224 = MVN 14 240; Grégoire AAS 73 states: "À l'époque des rois d'Ur, la localité de KIAN<sup>ki</sup> faisait partie du territoire d'Umma."

only was Kian close to Umma geographically, but most likely in religious practice as well, as can be deduced from the numerous references to Šara of Kian, Šara being the chief god of Umma, as well as to other offerings in Kian.<sup>1</sup> Two other Sargonic receipts for oil for the *nisag*-festival (BIN 8 320 and 339) are dated to the fifth or sixth months of the year in the *mu-iti* system.

There are numerous references to the *nisag*-festival in Ur III documents from Umma.<sup>2</sup> However, there are two tablets (YBC 16663 and SNSAT 409, both presented below) which provide a high degree of detail not only as to the ritual associated with the festival, but hint at the basic significance of the occasion. Both tablets indicate that there was a ceremony in which the first barley was steeped(?) in water (*še-nisag-gá a-e šú-a*). This would seem to be a reference to the making of the first malt. This interpretation is supported by the next month at nearby Lagaš/Girsu being the time for the malt festival (*ezem-munu<sub>4</sub>-gu<sub>7</sub>*). Thus the term *it<sub>1</sub>ezem-nisag* may be a celebration of "the (making) of the first (malt)."

The *nisag*-festival was observed at both Umma and nearby Kian, a city which was part of metropolitan Umma. On the basis of YBC 16663 and SNSAT 409 the events of the festival can be partially reconstructed, although there are differences between these two texts regarding the order of events:

#### FESTIVAL PREPARATIONS

Special garments from Kian were prepared for the *nisag* and *šunumun*-festivals: "1 *nisag*-festival ...-garment belonging to the governor's wife and 1 *šunumun*-(festival) ...-garment (for?) the governor (transported) from Kian" 1 *túgn<sub>1</sub>-lám-3-kam-ús ezem-nisag dam-ensí-ka 1 túgn<sub>1</sub>-lám-3-kam-ús šunumun ensí KIAN<sup>ki</sup>-ta* (Contenau, RA 12 [1915] no. 13). Another Drehem text records ten manas of goat hair for the festival (*ni-dab<sub>5</sub> ezem-nisag*) (MCS 8 [1959], 97 BM 113126). An Umma textile account dated to AS2 lists 90 bundles of rope (*sa-gu*) for the *šekaragala* and *nisag*-festivals, 60 bundles of rope for the *eitias*-festival, and 30 bundles of rope for the *pakuše*-festival (Jones-Snyder SET 274: 308-313).<sup>3</sup> Sigrist *Syracuse* 489 lists running(?) boots, hides,

1. Rép. géogr. 2 97; Grégoire, *op. cit.*

2. The *nisag*-festival is mentioned in documents as frequently being the stipulated time for the repayment of loans (YOS 4 5, 22, 33, 54; Forde *Dakota* 23). Note for example AUCT 1 965: *mu-lugal ezem-nisag-e ga-ág bí-du<sub>11</sub>* "(He swore) by the king's name and said: 'I shall repay (the loan) at the *nisag*-festival'."

3. See Kang *Umma* 177 for *sa-gu* translated 'threaded mats'; Oppenheim, AOS 32 W 33 "200 bundles of ropes (*sa-gu*) from the storehouse" with reference to Pohl TuM 5 163:1 for "bundles of rope (*sa-gu*) for the master craftsman (*um-mi-a*)"; Grégoire AAS 155-156 for a translation 'fibres de lin' with references; Grégoire, *ibid.* no. 135 for *šunigin* 872 *sa-gu šunigin* 450 *sa-gu al-hul-a kin-še nu-nà* "a total of 872 bundles of ...; a total of 450 bundles of ... which are ... and unworked"; (for al *hul-a* see *Eames Coll.* 105; *Limet Textes Sumériens* 23); the term *sa-gu* occurs in a Sargonic text (Donbaz-Foster *Telloh* 57) wherein *sa-gu* is disbursed along with cheese and oil.

oil and grain for the *nisag*-festival. The hides may have been used to furnish the *magur*-ship to Kian, for according to this text two sheepskins were appropriated to cover the thwart of the *magur*-ship for the *pakuše*-festival in Umma. The oil may have been intended for the ritual washing of Šara and Dumuzi. YBC 1822 (see below) lists various aromatics for the *nisag*-festival, as well as for other festivals during the year. Those participating received special rations: according to AO 6040 provisions were assigned to the *gudu*-priests, though their role in these festivities is unspecified. Others receiving provisions for the festival were singers, those who poured water into bowls, and the royal standard bearer, these provisions consisting of ghee, oil, milk, cheeses, barley, fresh fruit, and dates. Offerings in the name of Šulgi included barley for the temple of Šara in Umma (perhaps the barley used in the malt ceremony), barley and oil for the cult of Šulgi-of-Kian in Kian, fine oil for Šara's *magur*-ship, barley for the *ešeš*-festival, and oil for "the door." An Umma food ration document dating to ŠS8 in the month *it<sub>1</sub>še-kar-ra-gál-la* (the month directly preceding *it<sub>1</sub>nisag*) specifies ghee for the bowl of the *nisag*-festival.<sup>1</sup> Offerings for the god Šara and royal offerings during the *nisag* and *šesagku* festivals include: "4 oxen as *satukku*-offerings to Šara and 2 oxen as royal burnt offerings for the *nisag*-festival" (TCL 5 5667: 4 *gu<sub>4</sub> sá-du<sub>11</sub>-dŠara 2 gu<sub>4</sub> ni-giš-tag-ga-lugal ezem-nisag*).

#### INITIAL OFFERINGS

The observance began, at least in Umma, with a series of offerings at places and cult objects associated with water (water basins, ships), at major cult places (*ki-an-na-gal-gal*), offerings for the throne (*bára*) of Enlil, to the grain goddess, Ašnan, at the *é-maš* (sheepfold?), and to the standard of the Guedena. A chariot which transported the statues to and from Šara's ritual barge (and which would transport the statue of the deceased Šulgi from Umma to Kian and back again) was decorated and provided offerings—just as was the ritual barge when it was set in the water (*giš<má> a-a gá-ra*) fully adorned for the trip (*má ul-la gub-ba*). AO 6040 is a ten column tablet enumerating the *satukku*-offerings, burnt offerings, and offerings on behalf of (the deceased) Šulgi and king Amar-Suen for the major Umma festivals: *nisag, ri, šunumun, eitias, ezem-Amar-Suen, pakuše* and *ezem-Šulgi*.<sup>2</sup>

1. JCS 24 (1960), 154 no. 27: *ša-ba dug nun-i bur ezem-nisag i-gál*, "from that amount there is one container's worth of ghee for the bowl of the *nisag* festival."

2. The absence of the *šesagku*-festival in AO 6040 (which is included in Sigrist *Syracuse* 489 = MVN 15 224 and *Limet Textes Sumériens* 90) may have resulted from the festival already having occurred (in month 1) by the time AO 6040 was written.

# CEREMONIES AT THE TEMPLE OF ŠARA-OF-UMMA

The king entered the temple of Šara at Umma (<sup>d</sup>Amar-<sup>d</sup>Suen é-<sup>d</sup>Šarā-ka ku<sub>4</sub>-ra), where offerings were performed and the statues of Šara of Umma and Dumuzi-of-Urua participated in ritual washings. Šara's lustration included liquids poured from ibex horns.<sup>1</sup> This ritual bathing of Šara is attested also in AS5: 1 udu-niga a-tu<sub>5</sub>-a-<sup>d</sup>Šarā ù sízkur šà é-a "1 grain-fed sheep for the washing of Šara and as the offering for the temple" (StOr 9 no. 14). RBC 13 (AS5 iv) refers to the lustration of Dumuzi-of-Urua during the festival: "1 grain-fed ox for the beer-servers stationed about the city (kaš-dé-a-uru-gub-ba), 1 grain-fed ox for the lustration of Dumuzi of Urua."

## THE MALT CEREMONY

Then occurred a ceremony in which "the first barley was steeped in water," (še-nisag-gā a-e šū-a) which, as suggested above, may have been a ceremony for the preparation of the first malt, thereby providing the name for the festival.

## CEREMONIES AT THE BARGE TO KIAN

The statue of Šulgi was then transported by chariot to the barge, where supplies had been loaded and provisions were assigned to the ship's caulker and sailor(s) (AO 6040). Additional rushes and bitumen were added to the cargo, perhaps in case of needed repair during this ritual journey from Umma to Kian.

## TRIP BY BARGE FROM UMMA TO KIAN

The barge then departed with the statue of Šulgi (<sup>d</sup>Šul-gi Ki-an<sup>ki</sup>-šè gin-na) and the king with stops along the way at "the second port?" (ka-2-a) and at the "nisag-quay" (kar-nisag), possibly referring to the quay at Kian which was decorated specifically for the festival.<sup>2</sup> It is not clear whether the statue of Šara accompanied Šulgi by barge to Kian or whether Šara remained in his temple. At Kian offerings were made to Gula. There are other deities and objects receiving offerings [to the thrones of An and Enlil, to the gods Nubandamaḥ, Mama, the temple of Utu, the Esagaš, the é-ni-LAGAR], but it is unclear whether this occurred at Kian or Umma.

1. AO 6040 sums six ibex horns. Two are listed for the lustration of Šara in the *aitiaš*-festival and another two for the *pakuše*-festival. The missing two can only be restored to the portion of the tablet concerning the *nisag*-festival.

2. Limet *Textes Sumériens* 90 (Š23 <sup>id</sup>še-kar-ra-gāl-la): 1 udu ka-2-a-š[è] 1 udu kar-nisag ezem-nisag; as noted in Nanna's Journey to Nippur the *magur*-ship stopped at various sites during the trip. Note MSL 5 179 335: giš-mā-nisag / MIN(=e-lip-pi) ni-sa-an-n[ī].

## RETURN FROM KIAN

Back at Umma there may have been a procession from the temple of Šara in order to meet Šulgi upon his return from Kian (mā kar-re tag-ga) with the chariot (giš-gigir-e igi-bé gā-ra), after which offerings were made and the god (either Šulgi or Šara who may have gone out to greet Šulgi upon his return) returned to the temple (dingir é-a ku<sub>4</sub>-ra).

## v. ri

The month name is written <sup>iti</sup>ri, with but two attestations of <sup>iti</sup>ezem-ri (YOS 4 82; Nikolski 2 351). Sollberger transliterates our month as <sup>iti</sup>tal, translating "Divider month."<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the month name <sup>iti</sup>ri signifies the month of "gleaning" or "(clod) removal." In the previous months the barley had been harvested and in the fall new seed would be sown. Thus, around the month <sup>iti</sup>ri the gleaning of the remainder of the previous harvest would have occurred, preparing the fields for the coming sowing. For an early usage of this meaning for ri note Bauer *Lagasch* 20: 6 zíz-bar<sub>6</sub>-bar<sub>6</sub> še-ri-ga gur-sag-gál "6 prime(?) gur of white emmer, gleaned grain." Although the form of the verb is usually ri(-ri)-ga, note SZ 137-138, wherein ri occurs in the second line without the -g *Auslaut* (although elision may be the cause): gemé-gin<sub>7</sub> ri-ga-ab egi-gin<sub>7</sub> gu<sub>7</sub>-a dumu-mu gemé-gin<sub>7</sub> ri egi-gin<sub>7</sub> gu<sub>7</sub>-a, "Glean like a slave and eat like a princess! My child, glean like a slave and eat like a princess!"<sup>2</sup> Also clods of earth were removed from the furrows during this period, as noted in texts which assign *guruš*-workers the task of clearing away clods (ab-sín-ta lag ri-ri-ga). Other uses of the Sumerian term ri relating to agricultural processes are: (1) to flourish said of trees (Antagal VIII 141ff. [CAD E 87]): [g]iš.ri.a = ul-lu-pu šá GIS; (2) the action of a hoe (Michalowski *Sumer and Ur* line 346): uri<sub>5</sub><sup>ki</sup> uru<sub>ki</sub> giš-al-e ri-a-gin<sub>7</sub> du<sub>6</sub>-du<sub>6</sub>-da ba-šid "Ur, like a city that has been wrought by the hoe, became a ruined mound."<sup>3</sup>

One of the few references to the *ri*-festival is an account document: "1 grain-fed sheep, an additional item (for) the *ri*-festival" (Durand *Catalogue EPHE* 304: 1 udu-niga ni-diri-czem-ri).<sup>4</sup> According to AO 6040 barley was provided for the *ri*-festival in the names of Šulgi and Amar-Suen.

1. TCS 1, 178.

2. For lexical attestations of ri-ri-ga, *laqātu*, see CAD L 100 for ri-ri-ga = *laqātu*; OB Lu A (CAD L 102 sub *laqitu*): lú.še.ri.ri.ga = *la-qā-tum*; Hb. XXIV 171 (CAD L 206 sub *laqtu*): še.ri.ri.ga = MIN(=še-im) *liq-ta-a-ti*.

3. Deimel, SL 217 suggests that the festival and month might have been associated with the plucking of wool.

4. Cf. RA 8 (1911), 152 and Wengler 28 (Or 2 64, quoted by Deimel).

## vi. šu-numun

The month <sup>iti</sup>šu-numun occurs in the Nippur and Girsu calendars as the fourth month of the year. In Umma three orthographies occur: <sup>iti</sup>šu-numun-na (Kang *Umma* 152), <sup>iti</sup>šu-numun-a (BRM 3 17) and <sup>iti</sup>šu-numun (Kang *Umma* 185). In Girsu the orthography <sup>it</sup>ezem-šu-numun also occurs (MVN 6 96 and 498), where the earliest dated occurrence is to the governorship of Gudea (MVN 6 504 and 522). However, the month name is first attested in pre-Sargonic Nippur. For our interpretation of this month name as “the month of seeding” see pp. 95ff. in our discussion of the Nippur calendar. Only at Umma does the month name šu-numun occur at the season of the year when sowing occurred. (Note that at Ur the á-ki-ti of the seventh month was called á-ki-ti-šu-numun “the á-ki-ti of the seeding [season].”)

AO 6040, Sigrist *Syracuse* 489, and *Limet Textes Sumériens* 90 refer to the festival as *ešem-šu-numun*. According to AO 6040 provisions for the *šunumun*-festival included *satukku*-offerings of barley, perfumed pomade, and fine oil, as well as regular oil for the “laborers of the ale-house”; burnt offerings of fruit and oil for the plow of Šara named “Making Long (Furrows) with Šara”; and fragrances in the names of Šulgi and Amar-Suen. *Limet Textes Sumériens* 90 lists one sheep for the festival and Sigrist *Syracuse* 489 enumerates seven pair of boots, six pair of sheepskin boots, a vial of special oil, a leather drinking bag and a turban. As expected at a ritual celebration, special offerings (*sízkur-šu-numun*) were provided for the *šunumun*-festival. A balanced account (Foster, *Gratz College Annual* [1974] 5), listing offerings for the month *išū-šunumun*, records for the 20th of the month 1 ram as the offering for *šunumun* (*sízkur-šu-numun*), as well as offerings (*sízkur*) for the temples of Šara, Ninšubur and Utu. Another document records the *sízkur-šu-numun* (AUCT 1 685, *išū-šunumun*): “1 ram for the *šunumun*-offering destined for Umma” (*sízkur-šu-numun ša-Umma<sup>ki</sup>*). Festive dress was appropriate. One document records a special garment for the *šunumun*-festival sent by the governor of Kian (Conteneau, RA 12: 1 *úšni-lám-3-kam-ús šu-numun ensi-Ki-an<sup>ki</sup>-ta*). Other texts refer to supplies of fish and wheat for the festival (MVN 13 602) and “1 ox as the royal sacrifice for the *šunumun*-festival” (*nì giš-tagga lugal ešem-šu-numun*) (CTMMA 1 36 [AS7]). Ox nose-rings and small rings are recorded as *mašdaria*-offerings for the *šunumun*-festival (Yildiz and Gomi *Umma* no. 2209 [AS7], *ešem-šu-numun*).

Several Umma documents refer to á-ki-ti-šu-numun and á-ki-ti-ezem-šu-numun: 2 ma-na kù-babbar maš-da-rá-a á-ki-ti ezem-šu-numun “2 manas of silver for the *mašdaria*-offering for the *akiti* of the *šunumun*-festival” (Grégoire AAS 149 [Š43]); 6 udu-ni-ga 12 udu-bar-gál 1 máš-ni-ta gu<sub>4</sub>-e-ús-sa á-ki-ti-šu-numun “6 grain-fed sheep, 12 ... sheep, 1 male goat and a ...-ox for the *akiti-šunumun*” (Sauren *NY Public Library* 185 [AS6]). Another Umma text,

dated to ŠS6 contains the term á-ki-ti by itself: 120 še Lugal-é-ta á-ki-ti “120 liters of barley from Lugale (for) the *akiti*.” These three texts are dated to months seven, eight and eleven respectively. It is unclear whether these references indicate an á-ki-ti complex in Umma, or (more likely), that Umma provided offerings for the á-ki-ti in Ur.

One text records two grain-fed oxen for the festival, although in this instance the word *ezem* is missing (Langdon *Archives of Drehem* 45): 2 gu<sub>4</sub>-niga mu-túm-šu-numun. Another text records the royal sacrifice (ni-giš-tag-ga lugal) of an ox for the festival (*ezem-šu-numun*; Touzalin *Ur* 415). An Umma text dated to AS8 contains the entry: 8 udu-niga-sig<sub>5</sub> 12 udu-niga-nita<sub>2</sub> 28 udu-ú 2 sila<sub>4</sub> mās-da-rá-a *ezem-šu-numun* ù *ezem-mah* 24 udu-niga-sig<sub>5</sub> 1 sila<sub>4</sub> mās-da-rá-a *ezem-še-kin-k[u<sub>5</sub>]* [š]à-a-ur<sub>4</sub><sup>2</sup>-min<sup>2</sup> *ezem-šu-numun* ba-an-x “8 grain-fed quality sheep, 12 grain-fed rams, 28 grass-fed sheep, and 2 lambs for the *mašdaria*-offering for the *šunumun*-festival and the Great Festival; 25 grain-fed quality sheep and 1 lamb for the *mašdaria*-offering for the *šekin*ku-festival; ... for the *šunumun*-festival.”

vii<sup>1</sup>. min-ÈŠ

The seventh Umma month, for which no festival is recorded, is written: *iti<sup>1</sup>min-Ēš*, *iti<sup>2</sup>mìn-Ēš*, or *iti<sup>3</sup>min<sup>6</sup>-Ēš* (MVN 1 188). In one document the scribe accidentally wrote *iti<sup>3</sup>š-Ēš* (Goetze, JCS 2 [1948] NBC 319).

The only occurrence of the term *min-ĒŠ/AB* in addition to our month name is in a list of shepherds from Drehem (Jones-Snyder SET 252 6-20).<sup>1</sup> The second section of the tablet totals nine individuals who were workers assigned to duty for the palace:

|  |                                    |
|--|------------------------------------|
| gurun <sub>2</sub> gir-sè-ga ká-é-gal-ke <sub>4</sub> ba-ab-íl | Account of workers for the palace: |
| 1 Lú-gi-na   | Lu-gina                            |
| 1 Šà-da-nu-sar na-kad  | Šadanusar, the shepherd,           |
| 1 Uš-daḥ   | Ušdaḥ                              |
| 1 Lú- <sup>d</sup> Inanna                                      | and Lu-Inanna                      |
| dumu Šà-da-nu-sar-me   | the (2) sons of Šadanusar,         |
| min-ab Lú- <sup>d</sup> Inanna                                 | and ... Lu-Inanna                  |
| dumu Lú-gi-na-me   | the sons of Lu-gina,               |
| 1 Ur- <sup>d</sup> Ba-ba <sub>6</sub>                          | Ur-Baba,                           |
| 1 Lú-bal-ša <sub>6</sub> -ga                                   | Lu-balšaga                         |
| 1 Lú-na-rú-a   | and Lu-narua                       |
| dumu Lú-Gir-su <sup>ki</sup> -me                               | the (3) sons of Lu-Girsu,          |
| 1 Un-zu-ú-zu   | Unzuzu.                            |
| <hr/>  | <hr/>                              |
| 9  | (total:) 9                         |

1. Note UET 2 *Supplement* no. 4: lú-MIN/TAB.AB<sup>ki</sup> (see *Rép. géogr.* 1, 197).



Jones and Snyder realized that on the basis of the final total of nine individuals, min-ab Lú<sup>d</sup>Inanna must refer to the ninth individual, instead of being a further description of Lú<sup>d</sup>Inanna two lines above or of his father Ša-da-nu-sar, directly above. Noting that Schneider's translation "Doppelfest" (AnOr 13 88) for min-ab was inappropriate for this passage, Jones and Snyder suggested "it is likely that the term describes Lú<sup>d</sup>Inanna with respect to his relation to the cult."

Lú<sup>d</sup>Inanna and Ša-da-nu-sar were both the sons of Lú-gi-na, explaining the textual statement "the sons of Lú-gi-na." That Ša-da-nu-sar was, indeed, the son of Lú-gi-na is demonstrated further by the seal to BIN 3 270: Ša-da-[nu-sar] dumu-Lú-gi-[na] sipa-gal. Thus Ša-da-nu-sar and Lú<sup>d</sup>Inanna were brothers, the sons of Lú-gi-na. Were min-ab a profession or function, as Jones and Snyder suggest, the term would follow, not precede, Lú<sup>d</sup>Inanna's name. Rather, noting that Ša-da-nu-sar had a son also named Lú<sup>d</sup>Inanna included in this list of nine, it is more likely that the term min-ab was intended to differentiate between the uncle and the nephew, both named Lú<sup>d</sup>Inanna. A somewhat related usage is the addition of the MIN-sign by itself after an individual's name to differentiate between two men with the same name on the same tablet.<sup>1</sup> From the context of this list of shepherds min probably means "second" or "another." In this text which spans three generations, a grandfather (Lu-gina), his two sons (Šadanu-sar and Lu-Inanna), and his two grandchildren (Ušdah and Lu-Inanna), the expression is probably to be read min-ab and is to be translated as "a second male (of the same name)."

Noting this usage "second" in this economic document, perhaps the term min-AB in our month name means "second one," an appropriate meaning for the month name, since this month marked the beginning of the second half of the year. However, if, indeed, the month name and this economic document are employing the same term, then an interpretation of -ab as "male" cannot be valid. Therefore, these two usages appear to be unrelated.

Special provisions for "two eššešu observances" for the *nisag*, *eitiaš*, and *pa-kuše*-festivals are recorded in AO 6040, which lists supplies for the singers and for those who pour water into the bowl for the (first?) two eššešu-festivals (ēš-ēš-min-a-bi) of the month and for the (ceremony) of the pouring of the cold waters (a-še23-dé-a). Perhaps our month name min-ĒŠ indicates that during the seventh month there were special observances for the (first?) two eššešu observances of the month, i.e., on the seventh and fifteenth of the month.<sup>2</sup>

1. The earliest reference to this practice is the Sargonic text BIN 8 130; some others are: Kang *Drehem* 186; YOS 4 212; Owen NATN 302 and 415; MVN 6 240; MVN 10 102.

2. For the ēš-ēš festival in the Ur III period, see H. Limet, "L'organisation de quelques fêtes mensuelles à l'époque néo-sumérienne," *CRR* 17 (1970), 59ff.

However, were this the case, we would expect variants \*min-ēš-ēš or \*ēš-(ēš)-min. Thus the meaning of this month name is unclear.<sup>1</sup>

vii<sup>2</sup>. ezem<sup>d</sup>Amar<sup>d</sup>Suen

A month named for a festival in honor of king Amar-Suen occurs on Umma tablets dated only to the years AS6, AS7, AS8 and ŠS2. Nonetheless, all twelve standard Umma month names (and an intercalary month *iti<sup>d</sup>diri* for AS6) are also attested for each of these years. A tablet dated to AS6 provides information on the position of the month: "from the fourth of the month ezem<sup>d</sup>Amar<sup>d</sup>Suen through the month é-iti-āš" (Rinaldi, *Aegyptus* 25 no. 25: *iti<sup>d</sup>ezem<sup>d</sup>Amar<sup>d</sup>Suen-ta u4-4ām ba-ra-zal-ta iti<sup>d</sup>é-iti-āš-šè*). And the placement of this month is firmly established on the basis of an Umma tablet (Fales, RA 76 [1982], 70) which lists the months in order, including:

*iti<sup>d</sup>ri*  
*iti[šu]-numun-na*  
*[iti<sup>d</sup>ezem]-dAmar<sup>d</sup>Suen-ka*  
*[iti<sup>d</sup>é-iti]-āš*

The number of attestations of the month *iti<sup>d</sup>ezem<sup>d</sup>Amar<sup>d</sup>Suen* is comparatively few, eight occurrences for AS6,<sup>2</sup> eight for AS7, three for AS8, and two for ŠS2 (for ŠS2: Or 18 38 and 39), whereas the month name *iti<sup>d</sup>min-ĒŠ* continued in use uninterrupted. The substitution of the month *iti<sup>d</sup>ezem<sup>d</sup>Amar<sup>d</sup>Suen* would appear to have been relegated to a minority of scribes, the mainstream utilizing the standard calendar for these three years. The scribe Lú-kal-la, the son of Ur-e11-e the kuš7, wrote and sealed seven of these tablets,<sup>3</sup> Lú-Šulgi wrote two,<sup>4</sup> and Lú-tur-tur wrote one.<sup>5</sup> The month *iti<sup>d</sup>min-ĒŠ* occurs in AS7 on a copy of a tablet sealed by Lú<sup>d</sup>Šul-gi (gaba-ri-kišib-Lú<sup>d</sup>Šul-gi [BRM 3 82]). However, the fact that it is a copy raises the possibility that Lú<sup>d</sup>Šul-gi himself may not have written this month name on the original. Three other tablets were written in the name of the governor<sup>6</sup> and one tablet is an accounting of many sealed tablets.<sup>7</sup>

1. For a discussion of the form X-ēš in archaic texts from Uruk, Jemdet Nasr, and Ur being appended to the titles of high dignitaries, see K. Szarzynska, "Names of Temples in the Archaic Texts from Uruk," *Acta Sum* 14 (1992), 273.

2. RBC 2585 contains a reference to this month in AS6: *iti<sup>d</sup>ezem<sup>d</sup>Amar<sup>d</sup>Suen*. The tablet is unsealed and does not contain the name of the scribe. Also Boson *Tavolette* 157.

3. Kang *Drehem* 109, 110, 112; Forde *Nebraska* 51 and 58; BRM 3 23; SNSAT 412.

4. MVN 4 92; Rinaldi, *Aegyptus* 26 no. 8.

5. Sigrist *Syracuse* 219.

6. Rinaldi, *Aegyptus* 25 no. 25; MVN 4 74; MVN 13 851.

7. Jacobsen *Copenhagen* 52. For further discussion on the position of this month name, see F. Pomponio, "Le Sventure di Amar-Suena," *SEL* 7 (1990), 3ff.; T. Gomi, *ZA* 75 (1985), 4-6.

The absence of any festival in the month <sup>iti</sup>min-ÈŠ may have been a major factor in selecting this month for the festival of Amar-Suen.

An Umma tablet (TCL 5 pl. 29 AO 6040) lists offerings for Umma festivals and in each of the four sections of the document the festivals are listed in order of occurrence. The fourth section, which contains offerings in the name of king Amar-Suen, contains our only known reference to ezem-<sup>d</sup>Amar-<sup>d</sup>Suen without the month determinative and it occurs after ezem-nisag, ezem-ri and ezem-šu-numun-na. According to AO 6040 the provisions for the festival of Amar-Suen in variety and quantity were, indeed, befitting a king: 5144 liters of barley, 135 liters of dates, 1½ liters of perfumed pomade, 1½ liters and 5 shekels of fine quality oil, 6 liters and 10 shekels of ghee, 15½ liters of (regular) oil, 3½ liters of *gazi*-cheese, 6 fig trees, 7 liters of white honey, 5 liters of pears, 20 liters of various other fruits and 4 liters of perfume. The pride and power of the Ur royal family was demonstrated by this comparatively opulent display during this festival and the festival of Sulgi.

### viii. é-iti-àš

The month name is written <sup>iti</sup>é-iti-àš, with the exception of two occurrences of <sup>iti</sup>a-iti-àš (AUCT 1 719 [undated]; Gurney, JRAS [1937] no. 2 [AS1]). The month name derives from the *etitāš*-festival of Šara of Umma observed during the eighth month (MVN 5 63): ezem-é-iti-àš-<sup>d</sup>Šarā-Umma<sup>ki</sup>, "the *etitāš*-festival of Šara of Umma."

This month name may reflect an astrological schema involving the phases of the moon. Astronomy, with a concomitant belief in astrology, had been fully developed in Babylonia by the first half of the first millennium B.C. Indeed, much earlier, in the Old Babylonian period, observations on the movement of the planet Venus are recorded during the reign of Ammi-šaduqa of Babylon. Astronomical observation texts dating from or before the Ur III period are lacking. Yet, as the ancients scanned the heavens each month, looking for the new or full moon, they had to have focused their attention also upon the stars as they wandered across the skies in their yearly patterns. And in a culture which believed in terrestrial omens, they assuredly wondered if these celestial bodies also had an effect upon their lives, just as was written almost two thousand years later: *idāt šamê itti eršetimma šadda inaššā* "the signs in the sky, just like those on earth, give us signals" (JNES 33 [1974], 199:24).

Astronomical observation in the third millennium B.C. is described in Cylinder A of Gudea, governor of Lagaš, in a section dealing with his commission to build the Eninnu. Gudea relates to Nanše, the interpreter of dreams, a dream in which he saw:<sup>1</sup>

1. Jacobsen *Harps*, 393.

The first woman—whate'er relation of his she was or wasn't—coming to the fore, had places with sheaves made on her, she held a stylus of fine silver in the hand, set a tablet (treating) of the stars above on the knee, and was consulting it.

Nanše interprets this portion of his dream:

Being that the maiden coming to the fore,  
who had places with sheaves made on her,  
who held a stylus of fine silver in the hand,  
set a star tablet on the knee,  
and consulted it,  
surely was my sister Nidaba,  
she will have announced to you  
the holy star above for the building of the house.

Jacobsen notes "The star she announces is presumably the one which by its heliacal rising marked the beginning of the month suitable for building operations. This would normally have been the Aldebaran in Taurus, which announced the month of brick making and building Sig<sub>4</sub>-ga, Akkadian *Simānu*, i.e., July/August."<sup>1</sup>

Also within Cylinder A of Gudea, Ningirsu instructs Gudea that the stars will indicate the schedule of building activity:<sup>2</sup>

for building my house  
let me give you the signposts  
and let me tell you the pure stars above,  
(the heralds) of my appointed tasks.

And again within Gudea's writings: "To yoke up the holy chariot in the starry heavens" which Jacobsen suggests: "Reference here seems to be to the mythical cosmic counterpart of the ritual journey of Ningirsu to Eridu."<sup>3</sup>

An early astronomical observation of a meteor(?) may be attested in an economic text from pre-Sargonic Lagaš, dating to Uruinimgina, in which the month is identified as *iti mul-UD sag e-ta-šub-a*, "the month in which a bright(?) star fell from above."

In fact, Sumerian celestial observation can be discerned in Sumerian compositions dated as early as the middle of the third millennium B.C., as noted by Alster, who presents several early Sumerian compositions which refer to the movement of the heavenly bodies and the constellations.<sup>4</sup> Alster states: "I believe that these texts speak in favor of the assumption that the astral aspect of the Sumerian gods is as old as Sumerian literature itself."

1. Jacobsen *op. cit.*, 394.

2. Jacobsen *op. cit.*, 399.

3. Cylinder B ix, Jacobsen, *op. cit.*, 433.

4. "Early Patterns in Mesopotamian Literature," *Kramer AV*, 13ff.

The Sumerian term "house" (é) is attested in tablets dating to the post-Sargonic period, the Ur III period, or early Old Babylonian period to denote celestial positioning. The èš-èš observance was held when the moon entered the first (é-u<sub>4</sub>-sakar), seventh (é-u<sub>4</sub>-7), fifteenth (é-u<sub>4</sub>-15) or twenty-fifth (é-u<sub>4</sub>-25) "house."

Literary references to the moon entering its house occur in Gudea Cylinder B iii 5ff:<sup>1</sup>

The year having gone, the month ended,  
a new year strode up on heaven.  
The month entered its house.  
After that completed month just three days went by  
and—Ningirsu coming from Eridu—  
the (new) moon rose brilliant,  
illuminated the land.

and in the composition "Enki and the World Order" 44: "You [Enki] have caused the month to enter its house" and PBS XII 52 i 9: it<sub>6</sub> é-ba mi-ni-ku<sub>4</sub>-ra-gin<sub>7</sub> it<sub>6</sub> é-ba mi-ni-di<sub>4</sub>-di<sub>4</sub>-lā-gin<sub>7</sub> "Like the moonlight which enters its house, like the moonlight which ... in its house."<sup>2</sup>

There are references to buildings being named the "house of the moon": a building é-iti is mentioned in Sumuel 7-10: é-iti-da-ka-ni "Sumuel ... built for her [Nanaja] her House-of-the-Moon, her beloved house in Ur"<sup>3</sup>; as part of the Ekur complex in several canonical lamentations: [é]-iti-da-buru<sub>14</sub> ki-NI á-gal-mah-ta<sup>4</sup> and in the Hymn to the Ekur: é-iti-da-buru<sub>14</sub> kur-ra àm-gál ... é-iti-da-buru<sub>14</sub>-mah kur-ra àm-gál.<sup>5</sup> The term é-iti-da occurs also in a Girsu economic text (MVN 6 293) wherein it appears to be a personal name.

The term "house" is also applied to the sun, as noted in a hymn of self-praise of the Ur III king Šulgi (Šulgi A 75f. [Klein, *Studies Hallo*, 129]):

<sup>d</sup>utu é-a-ni-šè igi i-gá-gá-dè  
kaskal 15 danna-àm šu hu-mu-nigin  
(Before) Utu set (his) face toward his 'house',  
I traversed a distance of 15 'miles'.

Curiously, the term "house" in this context is not employed in Mesopotamia during the later periods, when Mesopotamian astronomy/astrology became intensely studied. Yet the term "house" to refer to sub-regions of the zodiac was employed by other cultures, this tradition continuing into modern times.

1. Jacobsen *Harps*, 427.

2. Collated by Civil, *Iraq* 23 (1961) 167; see also Sjöberg, *Studies Falkenstein*, 223-224.

3. RIM 4 133.

4. M.E. Cohen *Lamentations* 350.

5. Kramer, *RSO* 32 (1957), 97.

Another interpretation of the meaning of the month name é-iti-àš is suggested by Grégoire who understands it as being an allusion to "á-ki-ti (of month) 6."<sup>1</sup> Grégoire suggests that the *akiti-šunumun*-festival was celebrated in this eighth month at Umma. Falkenstein translates "Monat des (Festes im) Hause des sechsten Monats."<sup>2</sup>

During this feast, according to AO 6040, as with the *nisag* and *pakuše*-festivals, the statue of Šara was ritually washed, during which liquids and fragrances were poured from ibex horns. *Satukku*-offerings of barley, pomade and oil were made and burnt offerings of barley, dates, oil and cheese were given for those who poured water into bowls, singers and for the *éseš*-activities. Grain for the ezem-é-iti-àš is recorded for the year Šulgi 27 (YBC 3236). Sigrist *Syracuse* 489 lists shoes and waterskins for the holiday, either indicating a journey as part of the celebration or for use in a ritual washing of the gods. Limet *Textes Sumériens* 90 mentions only 1 sheep being provided for the festival and another document lists 60 bundles of ropes. Another document (Owen, JCS 23 [1970] 98 no. 6) lists offerings for the ezem-é-iti-àš of coarse flour, dates, *dabin*-paste, and *esá*-flour. YBC 1822 (see below) lists various aromatics for the *etiaš*-festival and BIN 5 292 lists aromatics. Beer for the festival is recorded (Yildiz and Gomi *Umma* no. 1980 [ŠS5]). Another text dated to this month records provisions for the festival (nì-ezem-ma), presumably the é-iti-àš, consisting of copper and silver objects, including two silver mirrors (Rochberg-Halton, JCS 31 [1979] 138 no. 7).

An Umma tablet lists lustrations and activities for a festival during the month, presumably the *etiaš*-festival (RBC 2540 [AS5 viii]):

1 udu-niga a-tu<sub>5</sub>-a<sup>d</sup>[...]  
ù sizkur šà-é<sup>2</sup>[...]  
1 mās-gal-niga 1 udu-[...] gú-ne

1 mās-kù-AN  
1 mās-a-gub-ba  
1 udu-ú  
emaraḥ-e a-lá-a  
1 udu-ú nì-šà-te

1 udu-niga ki<sup>1</sup>(na)-an-na <sup>d</sup>Nin-PA  
1 udu-ú a-tu<sub>5</sub>-a <sup>d</sup>Nin-ib-gal

nì-diri-ezem-ma

1 grain-fed sheep for the lustration of ...  
and for the offering in the ...,  
1 large grain-fed goat and 1 ...-sheep  
for the *brazier*,

1 ... goat,  
1 ... goat, and  
1 grass-fed sheep  
for those who pour water into the bowl,  
1 grass-fed sheep for the  
'Calming of the Heart',

1 grain-fed sheep for the ... of NinPA, and  
1 grass-fed sheep for the lustration  
of Ninibgal.

Additional provisions for the festival.

1. Grégoire AAS 190.

2. *Friedrich Festschrift*, 148.

ix. <sup>d</sup>Li<sub>9</sub>-si<sub>4</sub>

This Umma month name is usually written <sup>iti</sup>dLi<sub>9</sub>-si<sub>4</sub>, occasionally <sup>iti</sup>dLi<sub>9</sub>-si<sub>4</sub>-na (Grégoire AAS 42), and once <sup>iti</sup>Li<sub>9</sub>-si<sub>4</sub> (YOS 4 151). At Girsu this third month of the calendar is always written with the word for festival: <sup>iti</sup>ezem-<sup>d</sup>Li<sub>9</sub>-si<sub>4</sub>-(na). There is only one occurrence of <sup>iti</sup>ezem-<sup>d</sup>Li<sub>9</sub>-si<sub>4</sub> on an Umma tablet (AnOr 290) and perhaps this tablet really derives from Girsu.

The term festival is missing from the Umma month name and, indeed, there is no evidence of any special Umma festival being observed in this month. Yet the naming of a month for Lisi indicates that either Umma borrowed the month name from another city, perhaps Girsu, or that at one time a festival for Lisi was observed in Umma. Lisi was one of the goddesses to whom offerings were given in Umma (TCL 5 AO 6053 ii 18 [§41]).

x<sup>1</sup>. ur

The month <sup>iti</sup>ur was the tenth month of the Umma calendar as discerned in an Umma tablet (probably to be dated to Š29, not to AS7—tablet year formula is mu-ús-sa en Eridu<sup>ki</sup> ba-ḥun): <sup>iti</sup>ur-ta <sup>iti</sup>pa<sub>4</sub>-kùš-e-šè iti-bi iti-2-àm "From the month *ur* to the month *pakuše*, that span is 2 months" (Sauren *NY Public Library* 356; YOS 4 280). Except for this ambiguous year date, all references date at latest to the earlier years of Šulgi's reign.<sup>1</sup> Further evidence of this month being the tenth month occurs in a tablet dated to the month <sup>iti</sup>ur in Š28 (YBC 3238), which records *satukku*-offerings of grain for the following two months: sá-du<sub>11</sub> <sup>iti</sup>pa<sub>5</sub>-kùš-e ù <sup>iti</sup>dDumu-zi-da é-šu-tum-ta. The month name <sup>iti</sup>ezem-<sup>d</sup>Šul-gi is first attested in Umma in the thirtieth year of Šulgi's reign in a most significant text, since it correlates this month with the month <sup>iti</sup>mu-šu-du<sub>7</sub> in the Girsu calendar (BE 3 136: <sup>iti</sup>ezem-<sup>d</sup>Šul-gi Umma<sup>ki</sup> <sup>iti</sup>mu-šu-du<sub>7</sub> Gír-su<sup>ki</sup>). Thus, since <sup>iti</sup>ur is attested in year 29, we can pinpoint the year of the change in month names to Šulgi's thirtieth year.<sup>2</sup> The introduction of a new month name was probably the reason for stating in the aforementioned text that <sup>iti</sup>ezem-<sup>d</sup>Šul-gi equates to <sup>iti</sup>mu-šu-du<sub>7</sub> in Lagaš. The institution of this month name and concomitant festival may have been to honor Šulgi's thirtieth anniversary on the throne of Ur, a jubilee celebration.

For our suggestion that <sup>iti</sup>ur, "(the month of) the lion," was named for Gudea (or perhaps for his predecessor Ur-Baba), see pp. 67-69 for our discussion of the seventh month in the Ur III Lagaš/Girsu calendar.

There is no record from Umma of a festival during this month.

1. Szlechter TJA IOS 27, IOS 41, MVN 4 126 and 260 (Š7); MVN 13 36 and 175; Sauren *NY Public Library* 170; BIN 5 52 and 89.

2. Noted by Sollberger, AFO 17 (1954/56), 17ff.

x<sup>2</sup>. ezem-<sup>d</sup>Šul-gi

In a few texts the month is written simply as <sup>iti</sup>dŠul-gi (CTMMA Ur III 38 [§S9]; Conteneau *Umma* 63 [§33]).

See the discussion above of <sup>iti</sup>ur for the month <sup>iti</sup>ezem-<sup>d</sup>Šul-gi being instituted at Umma as a jubilee celebration to honor Šulgi's thirtieth anniversary on the throne of Ur.

According to AO 6040 an extremely generous quantity of offerings was provided for the festival of Šulgi: "4767½ liters of barley, 137 liters of dates, 2 liters of perfumed pomade, 3 liters of fine quality oil, 6½ liters of ghee, 11½ liters of (regular) oil, 3 liters of *gazi*-cheese, 6 fig trees, 7 liters of white honey, 7 liters of pears, 5 liters of white *liparu*-fruit, 1 liter of ...-fruit, and 4 liters of perfume." Another Umma(?) tablet records the receipt of peas for the festival of Šulgi (Owen NATN 240: šà-ezem-<sup>d</sup>Šul-gi-ra-ka).

xi. pa<sub>4</sub>-kùš-e

This month name is written most frequently: <sup>iti</sup>pa<sub>4</sub>-kùš-e, and less often: <sup>iti</sup>pa<sub>5</sub>-kùš-e or <sup>iti</sup>dPa<sub>4</sub>-kùš-e.<sup>1</sup> All four terms, pa<sub>4</sub>, pa<sub>5</sub>, kùš, and e are terms for watercourses or dikes.<sup>2</sup> The barley harvest was just two months away and the winter rains may have caused minor damage to the canals or filled them with silt. Thus workers were assigned to work on the irrigation system during this period.<sup>3</sup> Note the Numušda Hymn 47: i7 mu-ba-al-ba-al e pa<sub>4</sub> pú si mi-in-sá "He has dug your canals, he has cleared up dikes, watercourses and wells."<sup>4</sup> In this Numušda Hymn e-pa<sub>4</sub>-pú is a hendiadys-type term for "irrigation system" and pa<sub>4</sub>/5-kùš-e in our month name may be another threesome meaning "irrigation system."

The DINGIR-sign which occurs in our month name and on one occasion in the festival name: ezem-<sup>d</sup>Pa<sub>4</sub>-kùš-e (MVN 3 120) signifies a deification of the irrigation system. There was a statue of <sup>d</sup>Pa<sub>4</sub>-kùš-e in the temple of Damgalnunna (presumably in Umma) as noted in a list of deities receiving offerings in the temple of Damgalnunna: l gín <sup>d</sup>Pa<sub>4</sub>-kùš-e šà-é-<sup>d</sup>Dam-gal-nun-ka (MVAG 21 [1917] FH 5). Since Damgalnunna was the spouse of Enki, the god of the sweet waters, it would seem proper that the god of canals <sup>d</sup>Pa<sub>4</sub>-kùš-e would have a place in her pantheon. Also the deified form appears as part of a cultic object gur-<sup>d</sup>Pa<sub>4</sub>-kùš-e in a list of provisions for the ezem-pa<sub>4</sub>-kùš-e festival in Umma (*Aegyptus* 10 [1929] no. 30 and Boson *Tavolette* 329).

1. Note Or 47 (1930) 225: <sup>iti</sup>pa<sub>4</sub>-kùš-è(?), this last è-sign being partly shaded.

2. ku-uš-kùš = *rāṣu* (AHw 963); pa<sub>4</sub> = *rāṣu*; pa<sub>5</sub> = *palgu*, *patum*, *atappu*, *miṭirtu*, *rāṣu*; e = *iku*. For other references to e-pa<sub>4</sub>, see Steible *Römsin* 114-115.

3. Cf. Yildiz and Gomi *Umma* no. 1979 (ŠS3 xi); Sigrist *Syracuse* 152 (Š46 ix-xi).

4. Å. Sjöberg, "Hymn to Numušda with a Prayer for King Siniqīšam of Larsa and a Hymn to Ninurta," *Orientalia Suecana* 22 (1973), 107-121.

The name appears as an element of the personal name Ur-pa<sub>4</sub>-kūš-e (G. Young, *Studies Jones FLP* 358).

The god Enkimdu has the similar epithet "lord of ditch and canal" in Enki and the World Order: "Enki, the lord who fastened on the diadem—the ornament of the steppe—placed in charge the tool expert, farmer of Enlil, Enkimdu, the man of ditch and dike"; in the Dispute between Shepherd and Farmer 41: en-ki-im-du lú-e-pa<sub>5</sub>-ra-ke<sub>4</sub>; Death of Urnammu 25: <sup>d</sup>En-ki-im-du lugal-e-[pa<sub>5</sub> ...]; note a standard litany of gods which recurs throughout *bal-ag-lamentations*: <sup>d</sup>En-ki-im-du umun-e-pa<sub>5</sub>-a-ra / <sup>d</sup>MIN be-el i-gi u pal-gi (M.E. Cohen *Lamentations* 240); in one of the tablets of the god-list AN = *Anum* Enkimdu is the farmer of Nabû and also the deification of dikes and canals (AN = *Anum* II 249-250): <sup>d</sup>En-ki-im-du ab-sín-<sup>d</sup>Na-bi-um-ke<sub>4</sub> / <sup>d</sup>E-pa<sub>5</sub> MIN; and a late bilingual text from Uruk (von Weiher *Uruk* no. 5:8): <sup>d</sup>En-ki-im-du lugal-pa<sub>5</sub>-pa<sub>5</sub>-re-ke<sub>4</sub> be-lu i-ki u pa-la-gu. There may have been a cult of Enkimdu in Umma, but this assumption is based upon one Umma text which enumerates ovine offerings to the gods of Umma and includes the entry (TCL 5 pl. xl AO 6053 r. iii 4): 1 sila<sub>4</sub> <sup>d</sup>En-ki-im-du<sup>1</sup>(MA). If our suggested reading of the line is correct (and note that a god <sup>d</sup>En-ki-im-ma is nowhere else attested), then the god of irrigation in the deified form <sup>d</sup>Pa<sub>4</sub>-kūš-e may have been a form of Enkimdu.

The festival probably occurred no earlier than the middle of the month and involved lustrations (for Šara?), offerings for Enlil, and offerings in Kian. After listing offerings for the phases of the moon for the 6th, 7th and 15th of the month <sup>iti</sup>pa<sub>5</sub>-kūš-e, an Umma tablet records: 1 goat for Enlil, 1 goat for the lustration and 1 lamb brought to Kian—extra provisions for the festival (nì-diri-ezem-ma)" (Sauren *NY Public Library* 53).

Celebration of the pa<sub>4</sub>-kūš-e festival may have involved a ceremonial journey in a *magur*-ship. A delivery of boots and water-skins for the festival may have been used during this journey down the waterways (see the discussion of <sup>iti</sup>nisag) or as part of ritual washing activities. Just as for other monthly festivals, bundles of ropes were obtained.<sup>1</sup> Provisions for the journey or offerings during the festival included various grains (MVN 3 120; YOS 4 321), one sheep and one goat, 90 liters of regular royal beer, and 30 liters of regular pea flour (Limet *Textes Sumériens* 90).<sup>2</sup>

AO 6040 enumerates items used during the *pakuše*-festival: 2 ibex horns for pouring liquids during the ritual washing of the god Šara, *satukku*-offerings of barley, pomade and oil, burnt offerings and supplies of barley, dates,

1. Jones-Snyder SET 274: 308-313.

2. Yildiz and Gomi *Umma* no. 2155 (AS8 xi) is a long list of offerings for lustrations performed for a variety of gods and objects during this month. However, it is unclear whether this unusual list is to be connected with the *pakuše*-festival or to standard, monthly lustrations.

milk and oils for those who poured water into bowls, and singers. Oil for "the door" was supplied in the name of Šulgi and Amar-Suen, as well as barley for the "The Power" courtyard of the great shrine.

A list of festival provisions includes a reference to a leather object, kušgur (TCL 5 pl. vi AO 5672 iii): 1 kušgur še-il-la <sup>d</sup>Nanše 1 kušgur pa<sub>4</sub>-kūš-e 1 kušgur dumu-zi-da.<sup>1</sup> These three entries occur in the same order as the month names: <sup>iti</sup>še-il-la, <sup>iti</sup>pa<sub>4</sub>-kūš-e and <sup>iti</sup>dumu-zi and thus may refer to a cultic leather object used in ceremonies during these three months. This same object, without the determination for leather, occurs in a text listing deliveries of offerings for the festival in the month <sup>iti</sup>pa<sub>4</sub>-kūš-e of IS1 in Umma: 1 gur-pa<sub>4</sub>-kūš-e 1 kâ-gu-la 1 a-gub-ba "1 for ...*pakuše*, 1 for the great gate and 1 for the holy water basin" (PSBA 40 [1918] Bodelian 146 [IS1]). And this cultic object is probably to be restored in another delivery text dated to <sup>iti</sup>pa<sub>4</sub>-kūš-e of IS2: [gur]-pa<sub>4</sub>-kūš-e (PSBA 40 [1918] Bodelian 168) which also mentions offerings for the holy water basin and for the great gate. These lists (which include PSBA 40 [1918] Bodelian 170) include offerings to the deceased Ur III kings (with a double portion for Šu-Sin) and parallel a third tablet dated to <sup>iti</sup>pa<sub>4</sub>-kūš-e of IS1 which lists deliveries of offerings for the Ur III kings, with a summary line: sîzkur-ezem. All three texts state that the deliveries were made to the é-maš (sheepfold?). Offerings to these objects also occur in a list of provisions for the pa<sub>4</sub>-kūš-e festival dated to <sup>iti</sup>pa<sub>4</sub>-kūš-e in IS1. At the end of the tablet the sheep are totaled, followed by the statement nî-ezem ba-an-dab<sub>5</sub> Umma<sup>ki</sup> "the provisions for the festival have been taken; (for) Umma." (*Aegyptus* 10 [1929] no. 30). Besides one sheep for the gur-<sup>d</sup>Pa<sub>4</sub>-kūš-e (nî-dab<sub>5</sub> <gur> gur-<sup>d</sup>Pa<sub>4</sub>-kūš-e), and sheep for the great gate and the holy water basin, there are sheep for, among others, the "place of the sun," Damgalnunna, the *asakku*-demon, the ritual washing of Šara and Dumuzi and for those stationed throughout the city who pour beer (kaš-dé-a-uru-gub-ba). A very similar text (Boson *Tavolette* 329 [IS1 xii]) contains a list of offerings for the festival, summing them as nî-ezem-ma-<sup>d</sup>Šara<sup>1</sup>-Umma<sup>ki</sup>. This list includes offerings during the lustrations of Šara and Dumuzi of Urua. Quantities of silver were provided for the festival, possibly for enhancing or creating emblems and standards (nî-dab<sub>5</sub>-ezem-<sup>d</sup>Pa<sub>4</sub>-kūš-e) (MVN 9 175).<sup>2</sup> YBC 1822 (see below) lists various aromatics for the pa<sub>5</sub>-kūš-e festival.<sup>3</sup>

1. The nature of this object is quite unclear. Note the first three entries for the festival in Boson *Tavolette* 329: (1) 1 udu ki-<sup>d</sup>Utu gur (2) 1 udu nî-dab<sub>5</sub> gur (3) gur-<sup>d</sup>Pa<sub>4</sub>-kūš-e. Lines 1 and 2 also occur in Boson *Tavolette* 278 in regard to the cult of Dumuzi of Kian and Dumuzi of Umma.

2. YOS 4 272, dating to <sup>iti</sup>pa<sub>4</sub>-kūš-e, is a long list of offerings to the sanctuaries of the gods, beginning with Šara (ēš-ēš-ša-nî-giš-tag-ga-dingir-re-ne). However, there is no specific indication that this involves offerings for the *pakuše*-festival.

3. Grain as provisions for a festival (nî-ezem-ma) during this month is recorded in Touzalin Ur 316. But no day is recorded.

xii. <sup>d</sup>Dumu-zi

This twelfth month of the Umma calendar is almost always written <sup>iti</sup><sup>d</sup>Dumu-zi (<sup>iti</sup>ezem-<sup>d</sup>Dumu-zi occurs as Kang *Umma* 150, which Kang identifies as coming from Umma, not Lagaš). This month occurs also in the Girsu calendar as the sixth month where it is always written <sup>iti</sup>ezem-<sup>d</sup>Dumu-zi.

Two Sargonic *mu-iti* tablets from Umma record the delivery of goats and skins for the festival of Dumuzi (MAD 4 82; MAD 4 116). A third tablet (MAD 4 149) mentions the field of Dumuzi (a-ša-<sup>d</sup>Dumu-zi-da). Kutscher, noting the absence of a temple of Dumuzi in Umma, suggests "From these scanty data it seems that Umma celebrated a festival in honor of Dumuzi, perhaps the sacred marriage rite, independent of a temple ... The field mentioned above [MAD 4 149] might have been the site of the festivities." However, as noted below, in the Ur III period the observance appears to have been celebrated in a courtyard (kisal-e<sub>11</sub>-e).<sup>1</sup>

Th. Jacobsen has suggested that the festival of Dumuzi in Umma celebrated the sacred marriage with Inanna, in the form of the *entu*-priestess. Jacobsen cites Or 47-49 (1930) 344 which dates to the twelfth month of AS5: 3 udu-ú 3 máš <sup>d</sup>Dumu-zi en-še gin-na, "3 grass-fed sheep and 3 male goats for Dumuzi going to the priestess."<sup>2</sup> Kutscher notes "This text also records gifts of small cattle to Dumuzi in Umma and Ki-dingir, as well as to other deities, to the dead Šulgi, to Amar-Suen and to the ki-a-nag of dead ensis. Other texts dated to the twelfth month record expenditures for Dumuzi's wedding gifts (níg-mí-ús-sá), probably to Inanna."<sup>3</sup> Noting other tablets which indicate a journey of Dumuzi of Urua, Kutscher suggests that his destination for reaching the priestess was Ki-dingir and Apisal.

There are three Ur III texts dealing with preparations for the festival of Dumuzi.<sup>4</sup> MVN 5 50 is dated to the month <sup>iti</sup><sup>d</sup>Dumu-zi in AS6. The JCS 24 text is closely related since the same individual, A-lu<sub>5</sub>-lu<sub>5</sub>, took charge of the offerings. All three texts list offerings on behalf of both Šulgi and Amar-Suen,<sup>5</sup> refer to ceremonies in the kisal-gešbu<sub>2</sub><sup>ba</sup>-e<sub>11</sub>-e or kisal-e<sub>11</sub>-e, and mention offerings for the má-sar-sar-re boats. AO 6040 records an opulent assortment of fruits, cheeses, honey and oil for the "festival of Dumuzi (for) Šulgi" and for the "festival of Dumuzi (for) Amar-Suen." The other two texts

list two sets of *satukku*-offerings, one on behalf of Šulgi and the other on behalf of Amar-Suen.<sup>1</sup>

MVN 5 50

1 grain-fed sheep for the new moon,  
1 grain-fed goat and 1 grass-fed sheep  
for the Chariot of Day 6,  
[2] grain-fed sheep and 1 grass-fed sheep  
for the Chariot of Day 7,  
1 grass-fed sheep for the full moon of  
of the 15th day,

*satukku*-offerings;  
1 grain-fed goat for the má-sar-sar-e boat,  
the *satukku*-offering (on behalf of?) Šulgi;  
1 grain-fed sheep for the new moon,  
1 grain-fed goat

for the Chariot of Day 6,

1 grain-fed sheep

for the Chariot of Day 7,

1 grass-fed sheep for the full moon of  
the 15th day,

*satukku*-offerings;  
1 grain-fed goat for the má-sar-sar-e boat,

1 (grass-fed) sheep brought to  
the ...-courtyard (kisal-e<sub>11</sub>-e)

the *satukku*-offering (on behalf of?)

Amar-Suen;

total: 5 grain-fed sheep

total: 4 grain-fed goats

total: 5 grass-fed sheep

withdrawn by Alulu.

JCS 24 (1972), 83

1 grain-fed sheep for the new moon,  
1 grain-fed sheep and 1 grass-fed sheep  
for the Chariot of Day 6,  
2 grain-fed sheep and 1 grass-fed sheep  
for the Chariot of Day 7,  
1 grass-fed sheep for the full moon of the  
15th day,

the monthly *satukku*-offering;  
1 grain-fed goat for the má-sar-sar-e boat,  
(on behalf of?) Šulgi;  
1 grain-fed sheep for the new moon,  
1 grain-fed sheep

for the Chariot of Day 6,

1 grain-fed sheep

for the Chariot of Day 7,

1 grass-fed sheep for the full moon of the  
15th day,

the monthly *satukku*-offering;

1 grass-fed sheep brought to the ...-  
courtyard (kisal-e<sub>11</sub>-e)

1 grain-fed sheep for the má-sar-sar-e boat,

(on behalf of?) Amar-Suen;

total: 9 grain-fed sheep and 5 grass-fed  
sheep;

*satukku*-offerings on behalf of(?) Šulgi  
Amar-Suen;

[withdrawn by] Alulu.

All three texts mention offerings loaded onto boats, má-sar-sar-(r)e. Possibly these ritual boats, bearing special offerings for Dumuzi, were set adrift along the canal, intended to fetch Dumuzi back from the netherworld—the means by which Dumuzi would cross the river separating the netherworld from Sumer.

1. The meaning of the courtyard name gešbu<sub>2</sub><sup>ba</sup>-e<sub>11</sub>-e is unclear. For e<sub>11</sub>-e possibly as a location or building, note the goddess name <sup>d</sup>Nin-e<sub>11</sub>-e (e.g. RA 69 [1975], 20) and in particular MVAG 21 21-25 iv 3-4 (listed by H. Sauren, "Besuchsfahrten der Götter in Sumer," OrNS 38 [1969], 211): <sup>d</sup>Nin-e<sub>11</sub>-e <sup>d</sup>Dumu-zi e<sub>11</sub>-e "Offerings for Nine'e and for Dumuzi of E'e." There was a temple of <sup>d</sup>Nin-e<sub>11</sub>-e at Umma (AUCT 1 766). For the element e<sub>11</sub>-e note the name Ur-e<sub>11</sub>-e, the father of the Umma scribe Lú-kal-la. A deity <sup>d</sup>E<sub>11</sub>-e is also attested in the Ur III period (Sigrist *Rochester* 160 rev. iii 4): gudu<sub>4</sub> <sup>d</sup>E<sub>11</sub>-e.

1. "The Cult of Dumuzi," *Bar-Ilan Studies*, 32. Kutscher notes Nikolski 2 14, the only Umma text to mention a temple of Dumuzi at Umma and at Urua. Kutscher suggests that this may refer to a small cella for Dumuzi's statue or to a temple located outside of Umma.

2. Jacobsen, *Unity and Diversity*, 78 n. 6 and Kutscher, *op. cit.*, 33.

3. Kutscher, *op. cit.*, 34; add Toronto 925.62.166 (SS3 xii).

4. AO 6040, MVN 5 50, and G. Wilhelm, "Eine neusumerische Urkunde zur Beopferung verstorbener Könige," JCS 24 (1972), 83.

5. Yildiz and Gomi *Umma* no. 1863 (AS9) is another example of festival offerings made on behalf of a deceased monarch: ni-ezem-ma <sup>d</sup>Šul-gi-ra ... ni-ezem-ma <sup>d</sup>Amar-<sup>d</sup>Suen.

All three texts mention an offering from the living king, Amar-Suen, in the courtyard.

A rather important aspect of the observance as noted in these three texts is that the ceremonies were not restricted to deceased monarchs, since at least MVN 5 50 occurred in the sixth year of Amar-Suen's reign. Clearly the Ur III monarchs, in particular Šulgi, identified themselves closely with Dumuzi. And rather than being offerings to dead kings identified with Dumuzi, these offerings may have been made on behalf of the kings to Dumuzi, the shepherd, to the harbinger of spring. The festival of Dumuzi at Umma occurred in the last month of winter. Therefore it is likely that this important festival in Umma may have been related to the mythologized belief that Dumuzi alternated with his sister, Geštinanna, in the netherworld. This festival may have marked Dumuzi's return, the onset of spring. Upon Dumuzi's return, he would have needed to be reunited with his spouse, Inanna, thus providing the setting for the reenactment of the sacred marriage rite, as Jacobsen suggests.

As part of the preparation for the festival, both the deceased and living monarchs provided the regular offerings for the phases of the moon. If there is any merit to the order of offerings in these texts, the festival occurred on or after the full moon. There is a reference in a Drehem tablet to a journey by Ninisina by barge to Umma on the 15th of this month (RA 79 [1985], 26 no. 13 [AS9 <sup>iti</sup>še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>]): 2 udu <sup>d</sup>Nin-in-si Umma<sup>ki</sup> u<sub>4</sub> Umma<sup>ki</sup>-še ba-gín-na-a), possibly to visit the statue of Dumuzi during this festival.

A document from Adab (A 721, Zhi *Adab* p. 317) records provisions taken to the palace for the festival <sup>d</sup>Šara-<sup>d</sup>En-líl-gar and the festival of Dumuzi, perhaps references to festivals in Umma.

Boson *Tavolette* 278, which dates to this month, refers to the 'gur' presumably in relation to the festival of Dumuzi: 1 máš ki-<sup>d</sup>Utu gur / 1 udu nì-dab<sub>5</sub> gur / <sup>d</sup>Dumu-zi Umma<sup>ki</sup> / 1 máš ki-<sup>d</sup>Utu gur / 1 udu nì-dab<sub>5</sub> gur / <sup>d</sup>Dumu-zi Ki-an<sup>ki</sup>, for which see our above discussion of the month <sup>iti</sup>pa<sub>4</sub>-kùš-e.

### xiii. diri

In Umma the intercalary month was <sup>iti</sup>diri, "extra month." T. Gomi has suggested that from the 32nd to the 46th years of Šulgi's reign there were two types of leap years at Umma.<sup>1</sup> The first type placed the leap month after the first month, the second type after the twelfth month. Thereafter the leap month occurred only after the twelfth month. Gomi, citing Contenau *Contribution* 15 in §33, suggests that <sup>iti</sup>diri was an abbreviated form of <sup>iti</sup>diri-še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>. One text dated to IS2 is dated to the intercalary month <sup>iti</sup>diri-kù (Toronto 910.209.83).

1. "Embolism in the Umma Calendar," *Acta Sum* 6 (1988), 1ff.

### Texts

The following texts list supplies for the yearly festivals in Umma:<sup>1</sup>

#### TCL 5 pl. xxix (AO 6040)

col. i

(break)

|     |  |  |
|-----|--|--|
| 1'  | [...] še   | [...] of barley  |
| 2'  | [...] má-gur <sub>8</sub> -ra                      | (for) [...] the <i>magur</i> -ship,                    |
| 3'  | [...] še   | [...] of barley,                                       |
| 4'  | [...] <sup>giš</sup> hašhur-duru <sub>5</sub> gur  | [...] of fresh ...-fruit,                              |
| 5'  | nì-dab <sub>5</sub> -gudu <sub>4</sub> -e-ne       | provisions for the <i>gudu</i> -priests;               |
| 6'  | 0.1.0 še má-du <sub>8</sub> -a                     | 60 liters of barley for the boat caulker,              |
| 7'  | 0.0.4 še [x] gín má-la <sub>4</sub>                | 40 liters of barley and ... shekels for the sailor(s), |
| 8'  | 1 sila i-nun-du <sub>10</sub> -ga                  | 1 liter of perfumed pomade,                            |
| 9'  | ½ sila i-giš-du <sub>10</sub> -ga                  | ½ liter of fine quality oil,                           |
| 10' | má-gur <sub>8</sub> Ki-an <sup>ki</sup> -še gin-na | (for) the <i>magur</i> -ship travelling to Kian;       |
| 11' | 2 gú <sup>u</sup> ninni <sub>5</sub>               | 2 bundles of rushes (and)                              |
| 12' | 2 gú ešir <sub>2</sub> -a-ba-al                    | 2 bundles of bitumen                                   |
| 13' | má-gur <sub>8</sub> -re dab- <sup>he</sup> -dè     | to be added to the <i>magur</i> -ship;                 |
| 14' | 0.0.2 še   | 20 liters of barley,                                   |
| 15' | ½ sila i-nun-du <sub>10</sub> -ga                  | ½ liter of perfumed pomade,                            |
| 16' | 1 sila i-giš                                       | 1 liter of (regular) oil,                              |
| 17' | é-ta-izi-lá-a                                      | for those who carry out fire from the temple,          |

col. ii

(break)

|     |  |   |
|-----|--|---|
| 1'  | [...] x  | ...   |
| 2'  | [...] šà é   | ... for the temple                            |
| 3'  | [ezem]-nisag   | (for) the <i>nisag</i> -festival;             |
| 4'  | [...] sila še  | [...] liters of barley,                       |
| 5'  | [...] sila i-nun-du <sub>10</sub> -ga                | [...] liter of perfumed pomade,               |
| 6'  | [...] sila i-giš-du <sub>10</sub> -ga                | [...] liter of fine quality oil, (and)        |
| 7'  | 2 sila i-giš   | 2 liters of (regular) oil                     |
| 8'  | bìr-ré é-kaš-dé-a                                    | (for) the workers (in) the ale-house,         |
| 9'  | ezem-šu-numun  | (for) the <i>šunumun</i> -festival;           |
| 10' | 2 á-dara <sub>3</sub>                                | 2 ibex horns                                  |
| 11' | a-tu <sub>5</sub> -a- <sup>d</sup> Šara <sub>2</sub> | (for) the ritual washing of Šara,             |
| 12' | 0.0.2 še   | 20 liters of barley,                          |
| 13' | ½ sila i-nun-du <sub>10</sub> -ga                    | ½ liter of perfumed pomade,                   |
| 14' | 1 sila i-giš   | 1 liter of (regular) oil                      |
| 15' | é-ta-izi-lá-a  | for those who carry out fire from the temple, |
| 16' | 2.3.5 še gur   | 830 liters of barley,                         |

1. Yildiz and Gomi *Umma* no. 2189 is a list of foodstuffs for the *nesag*, *eitiš*, and *pakuše*-festivals. For the *nesag*-festival grain, legumes, dairy products, onions and fish are recorded; for the other two festivals only onions and fish.

|          |   |  |
|----------|---|--|
| 17'      | kaš <sup>giš</sup> SILIG URU                    | for the ...  |
| 18'      | 0.1.1 1 ½ sila še                               | 71½ liters of barley   |
| 19'      | kaš-dé-uru-gub-ba                               | (for) the beer servers stationed about the city,   |
| 20'      | a-rá-min-kam                                    | two-fold,  |
| 21'      | eze-m-é-iti-6                                   | (for) the <i>etiaš</i> -festival;  |
| 22'      | 2 á-dara <sub>3</sub>                           | 2 ibex horns   |
| 23'      | a-tu <sub>5</sub> -a-dŠara <sub>2</sub>         | (for) the ritual washing of Šara,  |
| 24'      | 0.0.2 še  | 20 liters of barley,   |
| 25'      | ½ sila i-nun-du <sub>10</sub> -ga               | ½ liter of perfumed pomade,  |
| 26'      | 1 sila i-giš                                    | 1 liter of (regular) oil   |
| 27'      | é-ta-IZI-lá-a                                   | for those who carry out fire from the temple,  |
| 28'      | 2.2.3 še gur                                    | 750 liters of barley,  |
| 29'      | kaš <sup>giš</sup> SILIG URU                    | for the ...  |
| 30'      | 0.1.1 1 ½ sila še                               | 71 ½ liters of barley  |
| col. iii |   |  |
| 1        | [kaš-dé]-a-uru-gub-ba                           | for the beer servers stationed about the city,   |
| 2        | [ez]em-pa <sub>4</sub> -kùš-e                   | (for) the <i>pakuše</i> -festival;   |
| 3        | ki sá-du <sub>11</sub>                          | (the aforementioned) from the <i>satukku</i> -offerings.   |
| 4        | 0.0.3 6 ¾ sila še                               | 36 ¾ liters of barley,   |
| 5        | ½ sila ga-àr                                    | ½ liter of cheese,   |
| 6        | 0.0.1 <sup>giš</sup> hašhur-duru <sub>5</sub>   | 10 liters of fresh ...-fruit, <sup>1</sup>   |
| 7        | ni-dab <sub>5</sub> GÁL má-gur <sub>8</sub> -ra | provisions for the ... of the <i>magur</i> -ship;  |
| 8        | 6¾ sila še                                      | 6¾ liters of barley,   |
| 9        | 1¾ sila su <sub>11</sub> -lum                   | 1¾ liters of dates,  |
| 10       | 1 sila ga-àr                                    | 1 liter of cheese,   |
| 11       | ½ sila i-giš                                    | ½ liter of (regular) oil   |
| 12       | emarab-e-a-lá-a                                 | for those who pour water into the bowl,  |
| 13       | 0.0.1 še  | 10 liters of barley,   |
| 14       | 1 sila i-giš                                    | 1 liter of (regular) oil   |
| 15       | ni-dab <sub>5</sub> -nar-e-ne                   | provisions for the singers;  |
| 16       | èš-èš-min-a-bi ù a-še <sub>23</sub> dé-a        | (the above are) for the two <i>èš</i> -festivals and for the (ceremony) of the pouring of the cold waters; |
| 17       | ½ sila i-giš                                    | ½ liter of (regular) oil   |
| 18       | é-ta-IZI-lá-a                                   | for those who carry out fire from the temple,  |
| 19       | 0.2.1 5 sila še                                 | 135 liters of barley,  |
| 20       | 1 sila i-nun                                    | 1 liter of ghee,   |
| 21       | 1 sila ga-sig <sub>7</sub> -a                   | 1 liter of yellow milk,  |
| 22       | 4 sila <sup>giš</sup> hašhur-duru <sub>5</sub>  | 4 liters of fresh ...-fruit,   |
| 23       | ni-dab <sub>5</sub> -šur-nir-lugal              | provisions for the royal standard-bearer?;   |
| 25       | 0.0.2 5 sila su <sub>11</sub> -lum              | 25 liters of dates   |
| 26       | ni-giš-tag-ga-lugal                             | for the royal burnt offerings;   |
| 27       | eze-m-nisag                                     | for the <i>nisag</i> -festival;  |
| 28       | 0.0.1 <sup>giš</sup> hašhur-duru <sub>5</sub>   | 10 liters of fresh ...-fruit,  |
| 29       | ½ sila i-giš                                    | ½ liter of (regular) oil   |

1. For the identification of the *hašhur*-fruit (whether apple, apricot, etc.), see D. Snell, *Ledgers and Prices*, YNER 8 (New Haven, 1982), 220 with references.

|         |   |  |
|---------|---|--|
| col. iv |   |  |
| 1       | <sup>giš</sup> apin-dŠara <sub>2</sub> -da-sù-a         | (for) the plow "Making Long (Furrows) with Šara"   |
| 2       | eze-m-šun-numun   | for the <i>šunumun</i> -festival;  |
| 3       | 6¾ sila še  | 6¾ liters of barley,   |
| 4       | 1¾ sila su <sub>11</sub> -lum                           | 1¾ liters of dates,  |
| 5       | 1 sila ga-sig <sub>7</sub>                              | 1 liter of yellow milk,  |
| 6       | ½ sila i-giš  | ½ liter of (regular) oil   |
| 7       | emarab-e-a-lá-a   | for those who pour water into the bowl;  |
| 8       | 0.0.1 še  | 10 liters of barley,   |
| 9       | 1 sila i-giš  | 1 liter of (regular) oil,  |
| 10      | ni-dab <sub>5</sub> -nar-e-ne                           | provisions for the singers;  |
| 11      | èš-èš-min-a-bi ù a-še <sub>23</sub> dé-a                | (the above are) for the two <i>èš</i> -festivals and for the (ceremony) of the pouring of the cold waters; |
| 12      | ½ sila i-giš  | ½ liter of (regular) oil   |
| 13      | é-ta-IZI-lá-a   | for those who carry out fire from the temple, <sup>1</sup>   |
| 14      | eze-m-é-iti-6   | for the <i>etiaš</i> -festival;  |
| 15      | 6¾ sila še  | 6¾ liters of barley,   |
| 16      | 1¾ sila su <sub>11</sub> -lum                           | 1¾ liter of dates,   |
| 17      | 1 sila ga-àr  | 1 liter of cheese,   |
| 18      | ½ sila i-giš  | ½ liter of (regular) oil   |
| 19      | emarab-e-a-lá-a   | for those who pour water into the bowl,  |
| 20      | 5 gín i-giš-du <sub>10</sub> -ga                        | 5 shekels of fine quality oil,,  |
| 21      | 1 sila i-giš  | 1 liter of (regular) oil,  |
| 22      | ni-dab <sub>5</sub> -nar-e-ne-a                         | provisions for the singers;  |
| 23      | èš-èš-min-a-bi ù a-še <sub>23</sub> dé-a                | (the above are) for the two <i>èš</i> -festivals and for the (ceremony) of the pouring of the cold waters; |
| 24      | ½ sila i-giš  | ½ liter of (regular) oil   |
| 25      | é-ta-IZI-lá-a   | for those who carry out fire from the temple,  |
| 26      | eze-m-pa <sub>4</sub> -kùš-e                            | for the <i>pakuše</i> -festival;   |
| 27      | šà ni-giš-tag-ga  | (aforementioned) constitute the burnt offerings.   |
| col. v  |   |  |
| 1       | dŠara <sub>2</sub> -Umma <sup>ki</sup>                  | (For) Šara of Umma   |
| 2       | 0.0.3 še  | 30 liters of barley  |
| 3       | šà-é-a-šè   | for use in the temple,   |
| 4       | 0.2.5 5 sila še   | 175 liters of barley (and)   |
| 5       | 2 sila i-giš  | 2 liters of (regular) oil  |
| 6       | dŠul-gi Ki-an <sup>ki</sup> -šè gin-na                  | for when (the statue of) Šulgi travels to Kian,  |
| 7       | 5 gín i-giš-du <sub>10</sub> -ga                        | 5 shekels of fine quality oil  |
| 8       | má-gur <sub>8</sub> -dŠara <sub>2</sub> -inim-gaba-ri-a | for the <i>magur</i> -ship "Šara's Reply,"   |
| 9       | 0.0.1 še  | 10 liters of barley  |
| 10      | èš-èš   | for the <i>èš</i> -festival,   |
| 11      | 1 sila i-giš  | 1 liter of (regular) oil   |
| 12      | <sup>giš</sup> ig-e ak                                  | to be used for "the door"  |

1. For é-ta-IZI-lá-a and emarab-e-a-lá-a see M. Civil, *Studies Sjöberg*, 57-58; see YOS 4 207 for a-še<sub>24</sub>-dé-a.<sup>d</sup>Dumu-zi-URU×A-a. For a reference to the emarab-e-a-lá-a in the é-iti-š festival, see RBC 2540 quoted on p. 181.



|          |   |  |
|----------|---|--|
| 13       | ezem-nisag  | for the <i>nisag</i> -festival;                      |
| 14       | 0.0.5 2½ sila še  | 72 1/3 liters of barley                              |
| 15       | KI.KAS <sup>giš</sup> bu <sub>x</sub> (KA)-un DU                | for the banquet(?)                                   |
| 16       | ezem-ri   | for the <i>ri</i> -festival;                         |
| 17       | 5 gín šim- <i>hi</i> -a   | 5 shekels of perfume                                 |
| 18       | ezem-šu-numun-na  | for the <i>šunumun</i> -festival;                    |
| 19       | 0.0.1 še  | 10 liters of barley,                                 |
| 20       | èš-èš   | for the <i>èš</i> -festival;                         |
| 21       | 1 sila i-giš  | 1 liter of (regular) oil                             |
| 22       | ezem-é-iti-6  | for the <i>étiat</i> -festival;                      |
| col. vi  |   |  |
| 1        | 13.1.2 7 ½ sila še-gur  | 3987 ½ liters of barley,                             |
| 2        | 0.2.1 7 sila su <sub>11</sub> -lum                              | 137 liters of dates,                                 |
| 3        | 2 sila i-nun-du <sub>10</sub> -ga                               | 2 liters of perfumed pomade,                         |
| 4        | 3 sila i-giš-du <sub>10</sub> -ga                               | 3 liters of fine quality oil,                        |
| 5        | 6½ sila i-nun   | 6½ liters of ghee,                                   |
| 6        | 0.0.1 1 ½ sila i-giš  | 11 ½ liters of (regular) oil,                        |
| 7        | 3 sila ga-gazi  | 3 liters of <i>gazi</i> -cheese,                     |
| 8        | 6 <sup>giš</sup> pèš-še-er-gu                                   | 6 strings of figs,                                   |
| 9        | 7 sila lâl-hád  | 7 liters of white honey,                             |
| 10       | 7 sila <sup>giš</sup> hašhur-babbar                             | 7 liters of pears,                                   |
| 11       | 5 sila <sup>giš</sup> gi <sub>6</sub> -par <sub>4</sub> -babbar | 5 liters of dried <i>liparu</i> -fruit,              |
| 12       | 1 sila <sup>giš</sup> UR×HA <sup>1</sup>                        | 1 liter of ...-fruit,                                |
| 13       | 4 sila šim- <i>hi</i> -a  | 4 liters of perfume                                  |
| 14       | ezem- <sup>d</sup> Sul-gi-ra                                    | for the festival of Sulgi;                           |
| 15       | 0.0.1 še èš-èš  | 10 liters of barley for the <i>èš</i> -festival,     |
| 16       | 1 sila i-giš  | 1 liter of (regular) oil                             |
| 17       | <sup>giš</sup> ig-e ak  | to be used for "the door,"                           |
| 18       | ezem-pa <sub>4</sub> -kùš-e                                     | (for) the <i>pakuše</i> -festival;                   |
| 19       | 0.4.1 4 sila še   | 254 liters of barley,                                |
| 20       | 0.0.2 5 sila su <sub>11</sub> -lum                              | 25 liters of dates,                                  |
| 21       | ¾ sila i-nun  | ¾ liter of ghee,                                     |
| 22       | 10 gín ga-gazi  | 10 shekels of <i>gazi</i> -cheese,                   |
| 23       | 1 sila lâl-hád  | 1 liter of white honey,                              |
| 24       | 2½ sila i-giš   | 2½ liters of (regular) oil,                          |
| 25       | 5 gín i-giš-du <sub>10</sub> -ga                                | 5 shekels of fine quality oil                        |
| 26       | má-sar-sar-re   | for the ...-boats                                    |
| 27       | ezem- <sup>d</sup> Dumu-zi-da                                   | (for) the festival of Dumuzi                         |
| 28       | <sup>d</sup> Sul-gi   | (on behalf of) Sulgi;                                |
| 29       | 0.0.3 še šà-é-a-še  | 30 liters of barley for the temple,                  |
| 30       | 0.1.5 5 sila še   | 115 liters of barley (and)                           |
| 31       | 1 sila i-giš  | 1 liter of (regular) oil                             |
| 32       | <sup>d</sup> Amar- <sup>d</sup> Suen Ki-an <sup>ki</sup>        | (for) when (the statue) of Amar-Suen (goes to) Kian; |
| col. vii |   |  |
| 1        | 4 sila i-giš  | 4 liters of (regular) oil                            |

1. For the sign UR×HA read erim<sub>7</sub> or erin<sub>9</sub>, see AOAT 33, 441.

|           |   |  |
|-----------|---|--|
| 2         | giš-e ak  | to be used for "the door"                      |
| 3         | ezem-nisag  | for the <i>nisag</i> -festival;                |
| 4         | [x] še  | [... liters] of barley                         |
| 5         | ezem-ri   | (for) the <i>ri</i> -festival;                 |
| 6         | 5 gín šim- <i>hi</i> -a   | 5 shekels of perfume                           |
| 7         | ezem-šu-numun-na  | for the <i>šunumun</i> -festival;              |
| 8         | 14.1.4 4 sila še-gur  | 4304 liters of barley,                         |
| 9         | 0.1.5 6 sila su <sub>11</sub> -lum                              | 106 liters of dates,                           |
| 10        | 1½ sila i-nun-du <sub>10</sub> -ga                              | 1½ liter of perfumed pomade,                   |
| 11        | 1½ sila 5 gín i-giš-du <sub>10</sub> -ga                        | 1½ liters and 5 shekels of fine quality oil,   |
| 12        | 6 sila 10 gín i-nun   | 6 liters and 10 shekels of ghee,               |
| 13        | 0.0.1 5½ sila i-giš   | 15½ liters of (regular) oil,                   |
| 14        | 3½ sila ga-gazi   | 3½ liters of <i>gazi</i> -cheese,              |
| 15        | 6 <sup>giš</sup> pèš-še-er-gu                                   | 6 strings of figs,                             |
| 16        | 7 sila lâl-hád  | 7 liters of white honey,                       |
| 17        | 5 sila <sup>giš</sup> hašhur-babbar                             | 5 liters of pears,                             |
| 18        | 5 sila <sup>giš</sup> gi <sub>6</sub> -par <sub>4</sub> -babbar | 5 liters of dried <i>liparu</i> -fruit,        |
| 19        | 0.0.1 5 sila <sup>giš</sup> UR×HA                               | 15 liters of ...-fruit,                        |
| 20        | 4 sila šim- <i>hi</i> -a  | 4 liters of perfume                            |
| 21        | ezem- <sup>d</sup> Amar- <sup>d</sup> Suen-ka                   | for the festival of Amar-Suen;                 |
| 22        | 4 sila i-giš  | 4 liters of (regular) oil                      |
| 23        | <sup>giš</sup> ig-e ak  | to be used for "the door,"                     |
| 24        | 6½ sila še  | 6½ liters of barley,                           |
| 25        | kisal-gešbu <sub>2</sub> <sup>ba</sup> -ib-gal                  | (for) the ...-courtyard of the <i>ibgal</i> ,  |
| 26        | ezem-pa <sub>4</sub> -kùš-e                                     | (for) the <i>pakuše</i> -festival;             |
| 27        | 0.4.1 5 sila še   | 255 liters of barley,                          |
| 28        | 0.0.2 6 sila su <sub>11</sub> -lum                              | 26 liters of dates,                            |
| 29        | 5/6 sila i-nun  | 5/6 liters of ghee,                            |
| 30        | ½ sila ga-gazi  | ½ liter of <i>gazi</i> -cheese,                |
| 31        | 5 gín i-giš-du <sub>10</sub> -ga                                | 5 shekels of fine quality oil,                 |
| 32        | 1 5/6 sila i-giš  | 1 5/6 liters of (regular) oil,                 |
| 33        | 1 sila lâl-hád  | 1 liter of white honey,                        |
| 34        | 1 sila <sup>giš</sup> hašhur-babbar                             | 1 liter of pears,                              |
| col. viii |   |  |
| 1         | 1 <sup>giš</sup> pèš-še-er-gu                                   | 1 string of figs,                              |
| 2         | 1 sila <sup>giš</sup> x (x)                                     | 1 liter of ...-fruit,                          |
| 3         | 1 sila <sup>giš</sup> gi <sub>6</sub> -par <sub>4</sub> -babbar | 1 liter of dried <i>liparu</i> -fruit          |
| 4         | má-sar-sar-re   | for the ...-boat(s),                           |
| 5         | 0.0.1 5 sila še   | 15 liters of barley,                           |
| 6         | [...] gín i-giš-du <sub>10</sub> -ga                            | [...] shekels of fine quality oil              |
| 7         | kisal-gešbu <sub>2</sub> <sup>ba</sup> -e <sub>11</sub> -e      | for the ...-courtyard of Ee(?),                |
| 8         | ezem- <sup>d</sup> Dumu-zi-da                                   | for the festival of Dumuzi                     |
| 9         | <sup>d</sup> Amar- <sup>d</sup> Suen                            | (on behalf of) Amar-Suen.                      |
| col. ix   |   |  |
| 1         | <sup>d</sup> Sul-gi Ki-an <sup>ki</sup>                         | for (when the statue of) Sulgi (goes to) Kian; |
| 2         | šu-nigin <sub>2</sub> 46.0.0 4 ½ sila še-gur                    | total: 13804½ liters of barley,                |

|        |   |   |
|--------|---|---|
| 3      | šu-nigin <sub>2</sub> 0.0.1 2 5/6 sila<br>i-nun-du <sub>10</sub> -ga                            | total: 12 5/6 liters of perfumed pomade,        |
| 4      | šu-nigin <sub>2</sub> 9 sila 15 gín<br>i-giš-du <sub>10</sub> -ga                               | total: 9 liters 15 shekels of fine quality oil, |
| 5      | šu-nigin <sub>2</sub> 0. 0.1 5 sila 10 gín<br>i-nun   | total: 15 liters 10 shekels of ghee,            |
| 6      | šu-nigin <sub>2</sub> 0.1.2 6 5/6 sila i-giš  | total: 86 5/6 liters of (regular) oil,          |
| 7      | šu-nigin <sub>2</sub> 2 sila ga-sig <sub>7</sub> -a   | 2 liters of yellow-milk,                        |
| 8      | i-nun kaš 6 gín   | ghee-beer: 6 shekels,                           |
| 9      | [...] kaš 9 gín   | [...] -beer: 9 shekels,                         |
| 10     | [...] sila ga-gazi  | [...] liters of gazi-cheese,                    |
| 11     | [...] kaš 0.0.1 1/2 sila  | 10 1/2 liters of [...] -beer,                   |
| 12     | [...] sila ga-àr  | [...] liters of cheese,                         |
| 13     | [...] sila 10 gín šim-ḫi-a  | [...] liters 10 shekels of perfume,             |
| 14     | [...] sila su <sub>11</sub> -lum gur  | [...] liters of dates,                          |
| 15     | [...] i-nun [(...)]   | [...] ghee [...],                               |
| 16     | [šu-nigin <sub>2</sub> ... sila ḡi <sub>5</sub> UR×ḪA]  | [total: ... liters of ...-fruit],               |
| col. x |   |   |
| 1      | šu-nigin <sub>2</sub> 7.0.2 4 sila<br>ḡi <sub>5</sub> ḫašhur-duru <sub>5</sub> gur              | total: 2124 liters of fresh ...-fruit,          |
| 2      | šu-nigin <sub>2</sub> 13 ḡi <sub>5</sub> pēš-še-er-gu   | total: 13 strings of figs,                      |
| 3      | šu-nigin <sub>2</sub> 0.0.1 6 sila lāl-ḫád  | total: 16 liters of white honey,                |
| 4      | šu-nigin <sub>2</sub> 0.0.1 3 sila<br>ḡi <sub>5</sub> ḫašhur-babbar                             | total: 13 liters of pears,                      |
| 5      | šu-nigin <sub>2</sub> 0.0.1 1 sila<br>ḡi <sub>5</sub> ḡi <sub>6</sub> -par <sub>4</sub> -babbar | total: 11 liters of ḫi <sub>5</sub> paru-fruit, |
| 6      | šu-nigin <sub>2</sub> 2 ḡi <sub>5</sub> ḡi <sub>5</sub> -nin                                    | total: 2 bundles of rushes,                     |
| 7      | šu-nigin <sub>2</sub> 2 ḡi <sub>5</sub> esir-a-ba-al  | total: 2 bundles of bitumen,                    |
| 8      | šu-nigin <sub>2</sub> 6 á-dara <sub>3</sub>   | total: 6 ibex horns.                            |

Sigrist *Syracuse* 489 = MVN 15 224 (Š41); for a transliteration see D. Owen, MVN 15 p. 84.

7 pairs of running boots,  
2 vials of ...-oil  
(for) the *šesagtu* festival;

40 sheep-skin boots,  
1 mana of straps(?), 2 wa[terskins],  
2 fowl ox-hides,  
2 manas of mineral dye,  
7 leather ... boots,  
2 bottles of ...-oil,  
6 reed ...,  
1 1/2 black ox-hides,  
6 black sheep-skins,  
1 ...-box  
(for) the *nisag*-festival;

7 pairs of running boots,  
6 ... sheepskin boots and ...  
1 leather drinking bag and 1 headband(?)  
10 shekels of oxhide  
(for) the *šunumun* festival;

7 pairs of running boots,  
2 waterskins  
(for) the *aiiaš*-festival;

14 pairs of running boots,  
2 waterskins,  
2 white sheep-skins,  
for the thwart of the *magur*-boat,  
10 shekels of mineral dye  
(for) the *pakuše* festival;

1 well-made chariot complete with curved(?) chariot poles,  
1 ... chariot ...  
from Lubanda  
withdrawn (for the goddess) Šara.  
Year Sulgi 41

# Limet *Textes Sumériens* 90 (Š23)

30 liters of regular beer,  
18 liters of regular pea flour,  
(for) the regular offerings for day 1;

46 liters of black beer,  
20 liters of regular pea flour,  
(for) 'the chariot' for day 6;

60 liters of black beer,  
20 liters of regular pea flour,  
(for) 'the chariot' for day 7;

1 grass-fed sheep for the ...-boat,  
1 goat for making an offering at ...,  
1 goat for when [the boat] touches the quay,<sup>1</sup> and  
1 goat to the [temple<sup>2</sup>] of Ašnan  
(already) gone;

1 sheep for the ...,  
1 sheep ... the *nisag*-quay,<sup>2</sup>  
(for) the *nisag*-festival;

1 sheep  
(for) the *šunumun*-festival;

1 sheep  
(for) the *aiiaš*-festival;

1 sheep and 1 goat,

1. This line can be restored on the basis of SNSAT 409 and YBC 16663 transliterated above.

2. Limet transliterated kar murú. However, SNSAT 409 has kar-nesag-gá.

90 liters of regular royal beer,  
30 liters of regular pea flour,  
(for) the *pakuš*-festival;  
1 sheep  
(for) the *šesagku*-festival.

YBC 1822<sup>1</sup>

|                                  |   |
|----------------------------------|---|
| 2 ma-na eren                     | 2 mana of cedar                                     |
| 1 ma-na za-ba-lum                | 1 mana of juniper(?)                                |
| 1 ma-na šu-úr-me                 | 1 mana of cypress                                   |
| 15 gín mun                       | 15 shekels of salt                                  |
| 1 sila šim-gam-gam-ma            | 1 liter of ...-resin <sup>2</sup>                   |
| ezem-nisag                       | (for) the <i>nisag</i> -festival;                   |
| 2½ ma-na erin                    | 2½ manas of cedar                                   |
| 1½ ma-na za-ba-lum               | 1½ mana of juniper(?)                               |
| 1½ ma-na šu-úr-me                | 1½ mana of cypress                                  |
| ½ ma-na mun                      | ½ mana of salt                                      |
| 2 sila šim-gam-gam-ma            | 2 liters of ...-resin                               |
| daḥ-ḥa                           | additional;   |
| 1 ma-na gi                       | 1 mana of reeds                                     |
| 1 ma-na šim-IM                   | 1 mana of ...-resin                                 |
| 1 ma-na 15 gín tám-še-lum        | 1 mana 15 shekels of boxwood(?) -resin <sup>3</sup> |
| ½ ma-na šim                      | ½ mana of perfume                                   |
| 2 ma-na ar-ga-num                | 2 manas of ...-resin                                |
| 1 ma-na NI-gi <sub>4</sub> -tum  | 1 mana of ...-wood                                  |
| 3 ma-na en-MUR                   | 3 manas of ...                                      |
| 1 ma-na šim-du <sub>10</sub>     | 1 mana of sweet resins                              |
| 2 sila šim-GÁN                   | 2 liters of ...-resin                               |
| 2 ma-na še-li                    | 2 manas of pine (or juniper)-seeds                  |
| 2 ma-na gu <sub>4</sub> -ku-ru   | 2 manas of ...-(wood) <sup>4</sup>                  |
| ezem-nisag                       | (for) the <i>nisag</i> -festival;                   |
| 1½ ma-na gi                      | 1½ mana of reeds                                    |
| 1½ ma-na šim-IM                  | 1½ mana of ...-resin                                |
| 4 ma-na tám-še-lum               | 4 manas of <i>tamšillu</i>                          |
| ¾ ma-na šim                      | ¾ mana of resin                                     |
| 2½ ma-na ar-ga-num               | 2½ manas of ...-resin                               |
| 1½ ma-na NI-gi <sub>4</sub> -tum | 1½ mana of ...-wood                                 |
| 3 ma-na en-MUR                   | 3 manas of ...                                      |
| 2½ ma-na šim-du <sub>10</sub>    | 2½ mana of sweet resins                             |

1. Courtesy W.W. Hallo. We thank M. Sigrist who brought this unpublished tablet to our attention. The list of woods and aromatics in this text is similar to that in MVN 15 127, which is probably a list of provisions for one of the Umma festivals.

2. The aromatic šim-gam-gam-ma is unattested lexically. It is different from šim-GÚR.GÚR (*kukru*) (see CAD K 500), and only the form šim-GAM-ma is equated with the aromatic *šumlatū* (CAD S 245). Bauer *Lagasch*, 652 and Selz *Wirtschaftsurkunden*, 530 tentatively translate "Terebinth(?) fragrance."

3. See D. Snell, *Ledgers and Prices*, YNER 8 (New Haven, 1982), 235 for the translation 'boxwood'.

4. For references to šim-gu<sub>4</sub>-ku-ru see CAD K 500 sub *kukru* mng a).

|  |   |
|--|---|
| 2 sila šim-GÁN                             | 2 liters of ...-resin   |
| 2 ma-na še-li                              | 2 manas of pine (or juniper)-seeds  |
| 2 ma-na gu <sub>4</sub> -ku-ru             | 2 manas of ...-(wood)   |
| tur-re                                     | to be subtracted  |
| ezem-é-iti-6 ù pa <sub>5</sub> -kùš-e      | (for) the <i>éitiaš</i> -festival and<br>the <i>pakuš</i> (festival)          |
| diri lá-ni šim-i sá-du <sub>11</sub> dŠara | in addition to debits of fragrant oils for the<br>regular offerings for Šara; |
| im lú-maḥ-ta                               | from the tablet of Lumah.   |

SNSAT no. 532 (BM 106109; excerpted)

|   |   |
|---|---|
| ½ sila i-nun-du <sub>10</sub> -ga         | ½ liter of perfumed pomade, (and)                   |
| i sa-ra-ak še-kin-ku <sub>5</sub>         | ...oil (for) the <i>šekinku</i> -(festival);        |
| 1 sila i-kuš-šigigir-ra-ta                | 1 liter of oil for the chariot's leather,           |
| 2 sila i-nun-GIŠ.x.NUMUN                  | 2 liters of pomade for the ... <sup>1</sup>         |
| ½ sila i-nun-du <sub>10</sub> -ga         | ½ liter of perfumed pomade, (and)                   |
| 1 sila i-giš                              | 1 liter of oil                                      |
| é-ta-IZI-lá-a                             | for those who carry fire from the temple            |
| 5 sila i-mā-dug-a-ta                      | from (?) the 5 liters of oil for caulking the boat, |
| ezem nésag                                | (for) the <i>nesag</i> -festival.                   |
| ½ sila i-nun-du <sub>10</sub> -ga         | ½ liter of perfumed pomade                          |
| ezem-[ri]                                 | for the <i>ri</i> -festival.                        |
| [½] sila [i-nun]-[du <sub>10</sub> ]-[ga] | ½ liter of perfumed pomade, (and)                   |
| 1 sila i-giš                              | 1 liter of oil                                      |
| é-ta-IZI-lá-a                             | for those who carry fire from the temple            |
| ezem-é-iti-š                              | (for) the <i>éitiaš</i> -festival.                  |
| ½ sila i-nun-du <sub>10</sub> -ga         | ½ liter of perfumed pomade, (and)                   |
| 1 sila i-giš                              | 1 liter of oil                                      |
| é-ta-IZI-lá-a                             | for those who carry fire from the temple            |
| ezem-pa <sub>4</sub> -kùš-e               | (for) the <i>pakuš</i> -festival.                   |

YBC 16663 (AS5 iv); provisions for the *nesag*-festival

|  |  |
|--|--|
| 1 sila <sub>4</sub> šigigir ul-la gub-ba | 1 lamb for the chariot when it is standing <i>fully</i><br><i>beautified</i> , |
| 1 udu má a-a šub-ba-a                    | 1 sheep for when the boat is cast into the waters,                             |
| 1 udu URU-ba dAšnan                      | 1 sheep for the ... of Ašnan,  |
| 1 udu dAmar-dSuen                        | 1 sheep for when Amar-Suen enters the  |
| é-dŠara-ka ku <sub>4</sub> -ra           | temple of Šara,  |
| 1 udu ki-na-ma-ad                        | 1 sheep for ...,   |

1. Gomi and Sato read šigimel-numun; (for the tongue of the seeder-plow, see C. Wilcke, "A Riding Tooth: Metaphor, Metonymy and Synecdoche, Quick and Frozen in Everyday Language," *Figurative Language in the Ancient Near East*, M. J. Geller, et al., eds., [London, 1987], 81-82). Perhaps a reading šigisag-kul is possible?

|   |   |
|---|---|
| 1 udu siskur-é-maš                                  | 1 sheep for the offering of the sheepfold(?), <sup>1</sup>                      |
| 1 sila <sub>4</sub> šu-nir gú-dè-na                 | 1 lamb for the emblem of the Guedena,   |
| 1 máš še-nisag-gá a-e šú-a                          | 1 grain-fed goat for when the first barley is <i>steeped</i><br><i>in water</i> |
| 1 gu <sub>4</sub> bára- <sup>d</sup> En-líl-lá      | 1 ox for the throne of Enlil,   |
| [...] <sup>d</sup> Sul-gi má-gurg-ra<br>gaba-ri-a   | [1 ...] when the (statue of) Sulgi is facing the<br><i>magur</i> -ship,         |
| 7 máš   | seven goats   |
| [...] -ga-lugal                                     | for the royal ...   |
| [...] 'x'-du <sub>8</sub> -dè                       | ...   |
| [1 ... a-š] e <sub>23</sub> -dè-a <sup>d</sup> Šára | [1 ...] (for the ceremony) of the pouring of cold<br>waters (for) Šara,         |
| [...] é- <sup>d</sup> Šára-šè                       | ... at the temple of Šara,  |
| [...] <sup>d</sup> Dam-gal-nun-na                   | ... Damgalnunna,  |
| [...] <sup>g</sup> gigir-e igi-bé gá-ra             | ... the chariot placed at the front,  |
| 6 máš   | six goats   |
| [é'-ni <sup>2</sup> ] -gá-ra                        | for the storehouse,   |
| [1 máš] má kar-re tag-ga                            | [one goat] for when the boat touches the quay,                                  |
| [1] máš dingir é-a ku <sub>4</sub> -ra              | [one] goat for when the god enters the temple,                                  |
| 1 udu á-u <sub>4</sub> -da                          | 1 sheep for <i>the daily work</i>   |
| ki A-lu <sub>5</sub> -lu <sub>5</sub> -ta           | disbursed by Alulu.   |
| zi-ga-àm  |   |

SNSAT 409 (BM 106129 [AS8 iv])<sup>2</sup>; provisions for the *nesag*-festival

|  |
|--|
| 1 udu má' a-a gá-ra                        |
| 1 sila <sub>4</sub> bar-ba zi giš DAR ðù-a |
| 1 udu bar-ba zi-ga                         |
| a-gub-ba gi-x-DAGAL                        |
| 1 máš má-x-a gub-ba                        |
| 1 udu bar-ba zi-ga                         |
| má-e na ri-ga                              |
| 1 sila <sub>4</sub> bar-ba zi-ga kù-an     |
| 1 udu siskur-kir-ra                        |
| 1 udu bar-ba zi-ga                         |
| a-gub-ba šà-é-a                            |
| 1 udu ká-gu-la                             |
| 1 udu bar-ba zi-ga                         |
| emarah [( )]-e a lá-a                      |
| 1 udu-niga 3 [udu]-ú                       |
| 1 sila <sub>4</sub> bar-ba zi-ga           |

1. For the é-maš (sheepfold?) at Umma, cf. Touzalin *Ur* 161:2: en èš é-maš-šè, "for the *en*-priest of the shrine of the *emaš*"; Touzalin *Ur* 211:4: é-maš gub-ba, "stationed at the *emaš*."

2. Because of the many unclear cultic terms in this text, we have not attempted a translation.

|  |
|--|
| ki-an-na-gal-gal   |
| 1 mas-niga [x] udu-ú   |
| 1 sila <sub>4</sub> bar-ba zi-<ga>                                 |
| ki-an-na- <sup>d</sup> En-líl-lá                                   |
| 1 udu-niga ki-si-ga  |
| 1 udu-niga kaš-dé-a uru <sup>1</sup> gub-ba                        |
| 1 udu bar-ba zi-ga   |
| <sup>g</sup> gigir ul-la gub-ba                                    |
| 1 sila <sub>4</sub> bar-ba zi-ga                                   |
| má a-a šub-ba  |
| 1 udu bar-ba zi-ga   |
| [ ]-bar <sup>d</sup> Ašnan   |
| 1 udu bar-ba zi-ga   |
| é-kín-kín  |
| 1 sila <sub>4</sub> bar-ba zi-ga                                   |
| má ul-la gub-ba  |
| 1 udu-niga ki-an-na <sup>d</sup> Nin-PA                            |
| 1 udu-niga a-tu <sub>5</sub> -a- <sup>d</sup> Šára ù siskur šà-é-a |
| 1 udu bar-ba zi-ga ni-šà-te  |
| 1 udu-niga a-tu <sub>5</sub> -a <sup>d</sup> Dumu-zi-URU×A-a       |
| 1 udu-niga ki-AN.ASIR-da   |
| 1 sila <sub>4</sub> bar-ba zi-ga                                   |
| [x]-dè sag-gá  |
| 1 udu bar-ba zi-ga   |
| ni-dab <sub>5</sub> túg-sa-gi <sub>4</sub> -a                      |
| 1 [sil]a <sub>4</sub> <sup>1</sup> bar-ba zi-ga                    |
| má zi-A  |
| 1 udu ki-na-ma-ad  |
| 1 udu bar-ba zi-ga   |
| kar-nisag-gá   |
| 1 sila <sub>4</sub> bar-ba zi-ga                                   |
| bára-an-na   |
| 1 udu <sup>d</sup> Nu-bànda-mah                                    |
| 1 udu bar-<ba> zi-ga   |
| bára- <sup>d</sup> En-líl-lá                                       |
| 1 udu <sup>d</sup> Ma-ma   |
| 1 udu bar-ba zi-ga   |
| é- <sup>d</sup> Utu  |
| 1 udu é-ni-LAGAR   |
| 1 udu bar-ba zi-ga   |
| bára-ki-DAGAL  |
| 1 udu é-sag-aš   |
| 1 sila <sub>4</sub> bar-ba zi-ga                                   |
| <sup>d</sup> Gu-la-Ki-an <sup>ki</sup>                             |
| 1 udu bar-ba zi-ga   |
| <sup>g</sup> gigir-e igi-bi gá-ra                                  |
| 1 udu dingir é-a ku <sub>4</sub> -ra                               |

1 sila<sub>4</sub> bar-ba zi-ga  
 ni-dab<sub>5</sub> lú-máškim  
 1 udu abul-mah  
 1 udu é-e sag-du<sub>8</sub>-a  
 10 lá 1 udu 1 sila<sub>4</sub> bar-ba zi-ga  
 é<sup>1</sup>ni-gá-ra  
 1 udu bar-ba zi-ga-  
 še-nisag a-e šú-a  
 1 más más-PA  
 1 udu má kar-e tag-ga  
 1 udu-niga a sed<sub>12</sub>-dé-<sup>d</sup>Šára  
 1 udu <sup>d</sup>Nin-ka-si  
 1 udu šu-ak-lugal  
 10 lá 1 udu é-mu<sup>h</sup>aldim  
 šu-nigin 8 udu-niga  
 šu-nigin 1 más-niga  
 šu-nigin 15 udu bar-ba zi-ga  
 šu-nigin 38 udu-ú  
 šu-nigin 12 sila<sub>4</sub> bar-ba zi-ga  
 šu-nigin 2 más  
 sá-du<sub>11</sub> zag-mu-<sup>d</sup>Šára  
 ki A-lu<sub>5</sub>-lu<sub>5</sub>-ta  
 zi-ga <sup>iti</sup>ezem-nisag  
 mu en-Eridu<sup>ki</sup> ba-ḥun

THE THIRD MILLENNIUM B.C.

## Other Ur III Sites

In addition to the many Ur III tablets from Lagaš/Girsu, Nippur, Umma, Ur, and Dreheim, there is a relatively small number of tablets from Adab, a cache from modern Ishān Mīzyad, and several tablets of unknown provenience using yet other calendrical systems.

Two month names are preserved from pre-Sargonic Adab: <sup>iti</sup>á-ki-ti (OIP 14 67) and <sup>iti</sup>du<sub>6</sub>-kù (OIP 14 68).

The most crucial tablet for reconstructing the order of the Adab calendar in the Sargonic period is Zhi *Adab* A 683+689, which originally listed nine months in order, adding at the conclusion "regular offerings for the gods for nine months." Unfortunately, the names of the middle three months have been destroyed. Zhi understood this tablet as indicating that these nine months constituted the first nine months of the year.<sup>1</sup> However, these are assuredly the last nine months of the year. Zhi's interpretation positions <sup>iti</sup>še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub> far removed from its position in other calendars, whereas our positioning causes both še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub> and du<sub>6</sub>-kù to coincide with their placement in the nearby Nippur calendar. Moreover, text A 730 is a twelve month accounting which concludes with <sup>iti</sup>še-kin-a, assuredly the last month of the year. Thus A 683+689 provides the names of months 4, 5, 6, 10, 11 and 12. The month <sup>iti</sup>še-sag-sig<sub>6</sub>-ga can be positioned as the third month on the basis of A 677 which lists in order months 3, 4, 5 and 6. The month <sup>iti</sup>mu-TIR is the ninth month on the basis of A 730 which states: "It is four months from the month mu-TIR to the month še-kin-a." The months <sup>iti</sup>du<sub>6</sub>-kù and <sup>iti</sup>ni-gi<sup>š</sup>kiri<sub>6</sub> can be assigned as months 7 and 8 respectively on the basis of Ad 208 and Ad 214, according to which these two months preceded <sup>iti</sup>mu-TIR.<sup>2</sup>

The months <sup>iti</sup>ēs-gana<sub>2</sub>-ra and <sup>iti</sup>ēs-gār-šu-gar-ra (with its more common abbreviated form <sup>iti</sup>šu-gar) must be the first two months of the year at Adab. The month <sup>iti</sup>ēs-gana<sub>2</sub>-ra, "(the month when) the measuring-cord is placed on the field" probably refers either to an annual surveying of the fields or to the subdividing of fields for harvesting.<sup>3</sup> It seems likely, based upon the

1. Zhi *Adab*, 56.

2. Kraus, JCS 1 (1947), 100ff.

3. For ēš ra(-ra), "to place a measuring-cord (on a field)," see Å. Sjöberg, TCS 3, 149.

meanings of the month names, that <sup>iti</sup>ēš-gana<sub>2</sub>-ra preceded <sup>iti</sup>ēš-gār-šu-gar-ra, "(the month when) work is performed on the *iškaru*-field," the same order for these two months as suggested by Zhi.<sup>1</sup>

Therefore the order of the months of the Adab calendar in the Sargonic period is:<sup>2</sup>

- i<sup>?</sup>. ēš-gana<sub>2</sub>-ra
- ii<sup>?</sup>. ēš-gār-šu-gar-ra / šu-gar
- iii. še-sag-sig<sub>6</sub>-ga
- iv. á-ki-ti
- v. ab-è-zi-ga
- vi. gá-udu-ur<sub>4</sub>
- vii. du<sub>6</sub>-kù
- viii. nì-ḡi<sup>š</sup>kirig<sub>6</sub>
- ix. mu-TIR
- x. ezem-<sup>d</sup>Šubag-nun-na
- xi. ezem-<sup>d</sup>Nin-zadim
- xii. še-kin<sub>x</sub>-a / še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>

There are nine Ur III Adab month names preserved, eight of which are attested in the earlier Sargonic Adab calendar. The other month, <sup>iti</sup>ezem-<sup>d</sup>Šulgi, "(the month of) the festival of Šulgi," occurs in other calendars, where it replaced another month beginning in the thirtieth jubilee of Šulgi's rule. In the Adab calendar this month replaced either months 1, 3, 8 or 9. One Ur III tablet indicates that the order of the months remained the same as in the Sargonic period (MVN 13 895), recording that from the month ezem-<sup>d</sup>Nin-zadim to the month á-ki-ti was six months (<sup>iti</sup>ezem-<sup>d</sup>Nin-zadim-ta <sup>iti</sup>á-ki-ti-šè iti-bi iti-6 [IS2]).<sup>3</sup>

1. See CAD I 244 sub *iškaru* mng 5 for ēš-gār in the Sargonic period referring to the type of work or to the field on which the work was performed.

2. Sargonic references are: ēš-gana<sub>2</sub>-ra: Ad 57, Ad 71; ēš-gār-šu-gar-ra: OIP 14 187, A 940, A 959, A 994 (<sup>iti</sup>ēš-gār-šu-gar-ra); OIP 14 148, A 1008, A 1015, OIP 14 121 (A 1077); še-sag-sig<sub>6</sub>-ga: A 677; A 965+1016; OIP 14 181; A 1067; á-ki-ti: A 677, A 683, A 759, A 835; A 878; OIP 14 147; OIP 14 89; ab-è-zi-ga: A 677, A 683, A 730, A 835 (ab-è); OIP 14 102; OIP 14 152; gá-udu-ur<sub>4</sub>: OIP 14 141, OIP 14 103, A 677, A 683, OIP 14 86; OIP 14 81; OIP 14 88 (A 1038); OIP 14 85 (A 1090); OIP 14 87 (A 1091); OIP 14 97 (A 1093); OIP 14 177 (A 1097); OIP 14 122 (A 1107); du<sub>6</sub>-kù: OIP 14 90; A 865 (ezem-nì-ḡi<sup>š</sup>kirig<sub>6</sub>); OIP 14 84; A 923; A 1057; X 1; nì-ḡi<sup>š</sup>kirig<sub>6</sub>: A 865 (<sup>iti</sup>du<sub>6</sub>-kù ... ezem-nì-ḡi<sup>š</sup>kirig<sub>6</sub>); OIP 14 158; OIP 14 120; OIP 14 80; mu-TIR: A 730; OIP 14 108; OIP 14 83, A 1021; OIP 14 96 (A 1031); <sup>d</sup>Šubag-nun: A 683, OIP 14 194; ezem-<sup>d</sup>Nin-zadim: A 683; A 988; še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>: A 683, A 730 (še-SE/KIN-a); A 835: še ... šu-numun ezem á-ki-ti ... zíz nì-še-sag-ku<sub>5</sub>-rá; OIP 14 109; OIP 14 179; OIP 14 183 (še-SE/SE+KIN-a); A 1012; A 1095 (še-SE/SE+KIN-a); OIP 14 185; A 1113.

3. Ur III references are: šu-gar: A 832, MVN 3 320, 322; Owen NATN 116 (<sup>iti</sup>šu-mar-ra); á-ki-ti: A 789; MVN 13 895; ab-bi: A 843; gá-udu-ur<sub>4</sub>: MVN 3 246, NBC 8213 (IS2); du<sub>6</sub>-kù: A 1052; ezem-<sup>d</sup>Šubag-nun: MVN 3 183, 204 (ezem-<sup>d</sup>Šubag-nun-na); ezem-<sup>d</sup>Nin-zadim: MVN 3 166, 172, 211, MVN 13 895, NBC 6733(S44); še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>: A 952; ezem-<sup>d</sup>Šulgi: MVN 3 165, 188, 209.

The Adab calendar reveals several cultic affinities between Adab and Nippur. Both calendars named the seventh month after a festival of the sacred mound (du<sub>6</sub>-kù). So too the fourth and twelfth (<sup>iti</sup>še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>) months were named after similar festivals. The fourth Nippur month was <sup>iti</sup>šu-numun, during which an *akiti*-festival was held, and the fourth month in Adab was named for the *akiti*-festival.<sup>1</sup> The še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub> festival of the twelfth month in Adab is probably mentioned in another Adab text (OIP 14 98): ezem-še- [...]. The naming of the fifth month for the festival for the dead in Adab (ab-è-zi-ga) coincides with the paternalia of the fifth month in Nippur, ne-IZI-gar. An Adab text, dated to the seventh month, lists provisions for the orchard festival, after which the eighth month is specified as the time of the ne-IZI-gar offering/festival (A 865, Zhi *Adab*, p. 342): "1.5 liters of ... emmer meal (for) the ne-IZI-gar." It is interesting to note that Sargonic Adab practiced, then, a ne-IZI-gar observance, yet also named the fifth month after the paternalia, ab-è-zi-ga. Unfortunately, due to the lack of Adab tablets, their cultic differences cannot be ascertained.

A tablet from Drehem dated to the first month of the year mentions an otherwise unattested Adab (ša Adab<sup>ki</sup>) festival name: ezem-ŠAH-ur-re (Jones-Snyder SET 113). The tablet records festival offerings for Enki, Damgalnun-na, and Utu. For šah-ḡi<sup>š</sup>-ur-ra and pēš-ur-ra = *arrabu*, "dormouse(?)," see CAD A 302. However, whether this is related to our term ŠAH-ur-re is doubtful. Another possible interpretation of this festival name is ezem-šul-ur-re "festival of the warriors(?)" (šul="young man" and ur="man(?)/lion").

A harvest festival called the "festival of the garden/orchard produce" (ezem-nì-ḡi<sup>š</sup>kirig<sub>6</sub> [A 865]) occurred in Adab during the eighth month. The term nì-ḡi<sup>š</sup>kirig<sub>6</sub> is analogous to the common expression nì-buru<sub>14</sub>, "produce of the harvest."<sup>2</sup>

The festival of the goddess Šubanunna was held in Adab during the tenth month. According to AN = *Anum* III 249 Šubanunna (written <sup>d</sup>Šuba(ZA.MUŠ)-nun-na) was the daughter of Iškur. The reading of the name is assured according to a bilingual litany occurring in the *balag*-lamentation to Iškur, u<sub>4</sub>-dam ḡu-dé-dé-aš 51: dumu-é-a <sup>d</sup>Šuba(ZA.MUŠ)-nun-na-ke<sub>4</sub> / mar-ti bi-ti <sup>d</sup>Šu-ba-nu-na ana-ku "I am the daughter of the house, Šubanunna."<sup>3</sup>

The eleventh month of the year was named for the festival of Ninzadim, either the patron deity of lapidaries (*zadimmu*) or of makers of bows and arrows (*sasimnu*). A short, obscure hymn to Ninzadim occurs in the great zà-mí

1. An Adab economic document (A 835+840) contains a passage, albeit somewhat unclear, which relates the Adab *akiti*-festival with the term šu-numun: 2½ sila še 2½ sila šu-numun ez[em]-á-ki-ti [...]. ¼ sila zíz nì-še-sag-ku<sub>5</sub>-rá [...].

2. Van Dijk *La Sagesse*, 52; Sigrist *Messenger* 19 and 25; PDT II 1177. For "the day of the feast/offerings of Enki 'of the garden' at third-millennium Ebla, see p. 34.

3. M.E. Cohen *Lamentations*, 431.

hymn found at Abu Šalabikh.<sup>1</sup> A goddess Ninmug is attested in the Ur III period in the personal name Ur-<sup>d</sup>Nin-mug-ga.<sup>2</sup> Most likely there were two distinct goddesses, Ninmug and Ninzadim, but due to the periodic fusion of the MUG- and ZADIM-signs, a syncretism of the two goddesses may have resulted. In the later periods, when the signs MUG and ZADIM were clearly differentiated in the texts, both orthographies <sup>d</sup>Nin-mug (KAV 63 ii 42) and <sup>d</sup>Ninzadim (4R 25 iv) existed. This confusion of signs is manifest in an explanatory list of gods wherein both the MUG and ZADIM signs occur: <sup>d</sup>Nin-MUG = <sup>d</sup>É-a ša LÚ ZADIM.<sup>3</sup> According to the god list AN = *Anum* VI 21, Ninzadim was the spouse of Išum, the vizier (sukkal) of Nergal, and was also identified with the goddess Meme.<sup>4</sup> Ninzadim's proficiency as a lapidary and her skill at decorating the royal headdresses with jewels is alluded to in the composition "Enki and the World Order," wherein Inanna complains about her sister, Ninzadim:

My sister, holy Ninzadim,  
has taken away from me  
her golden chisel, silver ...-tool,  
and large serrated knife of *antasurra*-stone!  
She is the one entrusted to bind the rightful turban  
(upon) him who is born to be king,  
to set the crown upon the head of him  
who is born to be *en*!

Ninzadim or Ninmug was one of the eight goddesses who assisted Ninmah during the fashioning of mankind according to the Sumerian composition "Enki and Ninmah." Th. Jacobsen states: "... no obvious reason for their [these eight goddesses] selection presents itself. Possibly they were meant to represent merely a varied group of friends and neighbors such as would normally come to help at a birth in a Sumerian town. ... Nin-imma—originally the same as Namma but here differentiated from her—and Ninmug are both deities of the female genitalia." Jacobsen's identification of Ninmug as a deity of the female genitalia is presumably based upon his reading <sup>d</sup>Nin-mug and the correspondence between mug and *biššūru*, "female genitals."<sup>5</sup>

Aside from these two month names, there are no other documented ties between the two deities Ninzadim and Šubannunna and the city of Adab, whose main deities were Ninḫursag and Ašgi.<sup>6</sup> Curiously, none of the person-

al names from Adab contains the god names <sup>d</sup>Nin-ZADIM/MUG or <sup>d</sup>Šubag-nun-na.

An Adab text (A 721) records bread and beer delivered to the palace for the festival ezem-<sup>d</sup>Šāra-<sup>d</sup>En-lil-gar and the festival of Dumuzi (ezem-<sup>d</sup>Dumuzi-da). The delivery of offerings to the palace indicates that these were not celebrations in Adab. The festivals may have occurred in Umma or perhaps even at Nippur, where statues of most of the gods received offerings.

The months gá-udu-ur<sub>4</sub> ("sheep-plucking shed") and ab-è-zi-ga ("[when] the ancestors arise and go out [from the netherworld])" are attested from pre-Sargonic Lagaš, albeit the latter month occurs at Lagaš in the form ezem-ab-è.

For the month še-sag-sig<sub>6</sub>-ga as the month "(when) the early barley prospers," see our discussion of the month še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub> in the Nippur calendar.

The meaning of the month name mu-TIR is unclear. CAD M/2, as opposed to AHw, has interpreted the name as Semitic. However, since all the other Adab month names are Sumerian, it is more likely that this name is also Sumerian. The term TIR frequently means "forest" and mu is the Sumerian *emesal* form for giš "wood." However, despite the complementary nature of the terms "wood" and "forest," an *emesal* variant in all five references to a month name is rather unlikely.<sup>1</sup> The term tir may also connote a cella or dwelling.<sup>2</sup> However, an appropriate meaning for mu is not apparent. The sign TIR has a reading /ninni/, a variant for ninni<sub>5</sub> = TIR/TIR, which is rendered into Akkadian as *ašlu*, "reed." Note that among the tablets in the SLA-a archive is an Akkadian month <sup>iti</sup>*aš-lu-um* (MVN 8 200). However, even were the element TIR to mean "reed," an appropriate meaning for mu- is not evident.<sup>3</sup>

### *Drehem and Ešnunna*

During the Ur III period Drehem and Ešnunna used variations of the Ur III Ur calendar, for which see our discussion of the Ur calendar.

1. R. Biggs, OIP 99, p. 51.

2. See Limet *Anthroponymie*, 555 for references.

3. CT 25 pl. 48 14, quoted CAD Z 10 sub *zadimmu*. For a discussion of the relationship of the ZADIM and MUG signs, see CAD S 192 sub *sasinnu*.

4. Tallquist *Götterepitheta*, 415.

5. Jacobsen *Harps*, 157 n. 10.

6. See Å. Sjöberg, TCS 3, Temple Hymn no. 29.

1. For one possible *emesal* variant note Owen NATN 116 for <sup>iti</sup>šu-mar-ra, presumably for the Adab month <sup>iti</sup>šu-gar and note p. 243 for the month <sup>iti</sup>GAŠAN.É.GAL at Alalakh.

2. See CAD A/2 495 sub *atmanu*.

3. For mu = *xēru*, "seed," see CAD Z 89 and for the expression *zēr ašli*, see CAD A/2 449. However, mu should connote "seed" in the sense of a man's name being carried on, his posterity, his namesake, not the seed of a plant.

*Ishān Mizyad*

A small cache of Ur III tablets was excavated at Ishān Mizyad, a site 4 km. north of Kish.<sup>1</sup> Mahmud raises the possibility that this site may have been ancient Zimaḥula, basing this conjecture on one of the tablets (IM-95475) containing a closing line šà Zi-ma-ḥu-la<sup>ki</sup> "in Zimaḥula." However, were the native site Zimaḥula, there probably would have been no need to include this comment. Rather, the tablet indicates that Zimaḥula was the site where the transfer of goods occurred.

These tablets contain a minimum of two calendrical systems, the Ur calendar and a non-Sumerian system:

| <i>Ur Calendar</i>                            | <i>non-Sumerian Calendar</i>                   |
|---|--|
| iti <sup>ki</sup> -sīg- <sup>d</sup> Nin-a-zu | ITI <i>a-bi</i>                                |
| iti <sup>ezem</sup> - <sup>d</sup> Nin-a-zu   | ITI <i>e-lu-li-im</i>                          |
| iti <sup>a</sup> -ki-ti                       | ITI <i>e-MA-tim</i>                            |
|   | ITI <i>kin-ku<sup>5</sup>-u[m<sup>2</sup>]</i> |
|   | ITI <i>la-ḥu-um</i>                            |
|   | ITI <i>šar-ra-ni</i>                           |
|   | ITI <i>šu-x<sup>1</sup></i> (not šu-numun)     |
|   | ITI <i>zi-ib-ni</i>                            |

Four of the non-Sumerian months are attested on the same tablet, indicating that they may have occurred consecutively in the Ishān Mizyad calendar (IM-95492): *kin-ku<sup>5</sup>-u[m<sup>2</sup>]*, *e-MA-tim*, *šar-ra-ni*, and *la-ḥu-um*. *Lahḫum* occurs at Ur III Mari and Old Babylonian Mari, and, at least in the Old Babylonian period, can be identified as the third month. *Kinkum* occurs as the twelfth month at Ešnunna. This accords well with the order of these four months at Ishān Mizyad, wherein *Kinkum* occurs three months before *Lahḫum*. *Elūlu* is the seventh month at Sippar. *Abum* and *Zibnum* are the fourth and fifth months at Ešnunna. Noting that *Lahḫum* occurs in the Mari calendar, perhaps *e-MA-tim* is an orthography for the Mari month *e-bir<sup>5</sup>-tim*. The only month similar to *Šarrani* is *Ab šarrani* in the Assyrian calendar, which is named probably for a festival for the deceased kings. The following is a tentative reconstruction of the Ishān Mizyad calendar:

- i. *e-MA-tim*
- ii. *šar-ra-ni*
- iii. *la-ḥu-um*
- iv. *a-bi*
- v. *zi-ib-ni*

1. A. Mahmud, "The Ur III Tablets from Ishān Mizyad," *Acta Sum* 11 (1989), 329ff.

- vi.
- vii. *e-lu-li-im*
- viii-xi.
- xii. *kin-ku<sup>5</sup>-um*

*Keši*

Two Ur III archives contain several Sumerian and Akkadian month names unattested elsewhere. The first archive can be identified by the presence of a money-lender named SI.A-a (perhaps to be read Watrâ) the son of Ilum-bāni. This archive spans twenty-two years, from Š47 through IS2. The second archive involves the merchant Tūram-ilī and extends ten years, from ŠS3 to IS3, overlapping with the last ten years of the SI.A-a archive. As seen in Van De Mieroop's publication of the Tūram-ilī tablets, both archives share several of these rare Sumerian month names.<sup>1</sup> And, as Van De Mieroop notes, one of these months, ni<sup>d</sup>-En-lil-lá, is found in texts excavated at Tell al-Wilayah, a site north of Adab, which Postgate has suggested was ancient Keši.<sup>2</sup> All three archives, the Tūram-ilī archive, the SI.A-a archive, and the Tell al-Wilayah tablets, contain a large number of Akkadian personal names. Moreover, the Tūram-ilī archive and Tell al-Wilayah texts both contain personal names employing the god name Ašgi. On the basis of these points and others Van De Mieroop has suggested that both the Tūram-ilī and SI.A-a archives originated in or around Tell al-Wilayah.

It should be noted that the Tūram-ilī archive records thirteen different month names and the SI.A-a tablets nineteen different month names. Moreover, the SI.A-a archive contains Akkadian and Sumerian month names. This, coupled with the knowledge that one SI.A-a tablet is known to have been written at Nippur, indicates that the month names on these tablets do not represent one unified calendar, but rather months from several calendars. Nonetheless, as Van De Mieroop shows, the occurrence of more than one month on several tablets enables us to ascertain that certain months belong to the same calendar. And noting that in this calendar the month it<sup>i</sup>ni-a-dara<sub>4</sub> has the variant it<sup>i</sup>ezem-a-dara<sub>4</sub> and that a month it<sup>i</sup>ni-d<sup>d</sup>En-lil-lá is also in this calendar, it is likely that the month it<sup>i</sup>ni-e-ga with its variant it<sup>i</sup>ezem-a-ga is also from this calendar. Thus seven of the months, although not their order, can be tentatively identified in the Keši(?) calendar:

1. "Tūram-ilī: An Ur III Merchant," *JCS* 38 (1986), 1ff.

2. Postgate, *Sumer* 32 (1976), 89ff.; Powell, *JNES* 39 (1980), 52: "Keši lies about four days north of Umma ... and is perhaps identical with Tall al-Wilayah (Postgate)."



iti<sub>n</sub>i-dEn-lil-lá<sup>1</sup>  
 iti<sub>ezem</sub>-dŠul-gi  
 iti<sub>ezem</sub>-dLig-si<sub>4</sub>  
 iti<sub>n</sub>i-a-dara<sub>4</sub> / iti<sub>ezem</sub>-a-dara<sub>4</sub><sup>2</sup>  
 iti gišapin  
 iti<sub>n</sub>i-e-ga / iti<sub>ezem</sub>-a-ga<sup>3</sup>  
 iti<sub>kir</sub>i<sub>11</sub>-si-ak

Perhaps further support for an identification of Tell al-Wilayah as Keši is the month iti<sub>ezem</sub>-dLig-si<sub>4</sub>. According to tradition the goddess Lisi, along with Ašgi, was a child of Ninḫursag/Ninmaḫ, the chief goddess of Keši. In fact, the god list AN = Anum II 77 lists a child of Lisi called dKi-tuš-Kēši "Keši is the Residence." Thus, if this location, indeed, is Keši, it is easily understandable why a month named for a festival for Lisi would have existed.

Perhaps several of the other unidentified Sumerian months occurring in the SLA-a and Tūram-ilī archives are months from this same calendar.<sup>4</sup>

iti<sub>ezem</sub>-dInanna  
 iti<sub>ezem</sub>-dNè-iri<sub>11</sub>-gal  
 iti<sub>gi</sub>-sig-ga ("fence")<sup>5</sup>

## Uruk

A Neo-Assyrian lexical tablet (5R pl. 43) lists six different calendars, associating each month with the supposed corresponding month in the Standard Mesopotamian calendar. The first three calendars are Sumerian: the first is the Ur III Ur calendar and the third is probably the Ur III Girsu calendar. The last three are Semitic: the fourth is of unknown provenience, the fifth is the calendar of Old Babylonian Susa, and the sixth is the Restored Assyrian calendar.

1. An unpublished reference to this month is NBC 6711 (IS2).

2. For the reading of this month name, see P. Steinkeller, SEL 3 (1989), 3-7. Steinkeller suggests that a-dara<sub>4</sub> in other contexts "designates a hybrid resulting from the interbreeding of the domestic goat with its wild counterpart." However, Steinkeller believes that the term may have a different meaning in the month name.

3. An unpublished reference to this month is NBC 8734 (ŠS8).

4. The reference to the month GUD.GANA<sub>2</sub> (TIM 3 150) was read it<sub>gu</sub>g<sub>4</sub>-gāna-su<sup>12</sup> by Raschid, *Studies Falkenstein*, 129, and is probably to be transliterated it<sub>gu</sub>g<sub>4</sub>-si<sup>1</sup>-su<sup>1</sup>, the second month of the Nippur and Southern-Mesopotamia Sumerian calendars. The month iti<sub>ezem</sub>-dInanna occurs also in AUCT 3 473 (ŠS9). This tablet, though partially destroyed, does not appear to contain either the names SLA-a or Tūram-ilī.

For the month it<sub>tum</sub>(-ma)-al, which is attested in these archives, possibly being a month used at Nippur, see p. 79.

5. An additional reference to the month it<sub>gi</sub>-sig-ga is attested on an unpublished tablet from the Tūram-ilī archive (NBC 6702 [IS1]). The text is a silver receipt of Šu-eš<sub>4</sub>-dar the merchant (dam-gār) from Tūram-ilī.

There are two features of this text which aid in identifying the native sites for the second and fourth calendrical systems. First, the calendars seem to be listed south to north: two known Sumerian calendars, Ur and Girsu, and then the two identified Semitic calendars, Elam and Assyria. Ordering cities south to north is a somewhat common practice when listing cities. Thus the home of calendar two should lie between Ur and Girsu.

Secondly, the sites identified in this calendar are major historical sites. Thus the second calendar probably comes from a major Sumerian city.

Finally, A. Falkenstein had identified an Ur III or earlier month name from the ancient Uruk calendar on an unpublished tablet: iti<sub>ezem</sub>-dLugal-é-muš.<sup>1</sup> The fourth month name ezem-dLugal-amaš of the second calendar in 5R pl. 43 is assuredly a variant for iti<sub>ezem</sub>-dLugal-é-muš and therefore the second calendar listed in 5R pl. 43 should be the Uruk calendar. In addition, the traces of the eighth month in 5R pl. 43 fit a festival mentioned in two Drehem tablets as occurring on the 28th day of the eighth month at Uruk. The tenth month, iti<sub>ezem</sub>-má-an-na, is actually preserved on a tablet, which based on content, is from Uruk. On this basis the Uruk calendar can be partially reconstructed:

- i. iti [...]
- ii. iti [...]-la
- iii. iti ki-[x]-lugal/in
- iv. iti ezem-dLugal-é-muš / ezem-dLugal-amaš
- v. iti ezem-zi-zi x [x] MES
- vi. iti ab-n[e-IZI(?)]-gar
- vii. iti [ezem]-d<sub>x</sub>
- viii. iti ezem-ga-ma-am-è
- ix. iti [...]
- x. iti ezem-má-an-na
- xi. iti dA-šur<sub>4</sub> / dA-šar<sub>x</sub>(?)
- xii. iti en-dag<sub>x</sub>(AMAS)-ga-DU.DU

The Archaic Uruk tablets (ca. 3000 B.C.), although not totally comprehensible, contain several references to the "Festival of the Morning-Goddess, Inanna" (ezem-dInanna-sig) and the "Festival of the Evening-Goddess, Inanna" (ezem-dInanna-UD)—presumably in her identification with the planet Venus, the morning-star.<sup>2</sup>

1. W15876; see Falkenstein, ZA 45 (1939), 186; CRRA (1952), 47 n. 35; for dLugal-é-muš-a as Dumuzi, see A. Sjöberg, TCS 3, 95.

2. For identification of these festivals, see K. Szarzynska, "Names of Temples in the Archaic Texts from Uruk," *Acta Sum* 14 (1992), 269-285, with tablet references on p. 283.

In Ur and Uruk there were similar cultic events associated with the goddesses Inanna, Nanâ, Bēlat-terraban, Bēlat-šuhner, Annunitum, and Ulmašitum. These festivals appear to have been observed several times throughout the year. In the Ur III period Inanna, Bēlat-terraban, and Bēlat-šuhner had cult centers at both Ur and Uruk.<sup>1</sup> Nanâ, on the other hand, had her cult at Uruk.<sup>2</sup> The goddesses Annunitum and Ulmašitum were worshipped both at Ur and Uruk. There is a reference to regular offerings for Annunitum at Uruk (AUCT 2 89) and to the banquet of these two goddesses at Uruk (Legrain TRU 273).

There are other rituals at Uruk which were probably observed more than once a year. According to a tablet (Kang *Drehem* 132) dated to the second month of Š36, the *Ša-kug-ul-tum*<sup>d</sup>Inanna “the banquet of Inanna” observance included offerings for the entrance to the *gīpar*-building (the residence of the *entu*-priestess in Uruk), and for the entrance to the shrine (ēš): “1 grain-fed ox for the entrance (of) the *gīpar* and 1 grain-fed ox for the entrance of the shrine; disbursed (for the) *šūkultum* of Inanna, destined for Uruk.”

A *Drehem* tablet dated to the fifth month mentions two additional ritual events at Uruk (Jacobsen *Copenhagen* 9): *ér-uru-nigin<sub>2</sub>-na* (“the wail for circumambulating the city”) and *zi-ga-zé-na* (“the waving of palm-fronds”). The wail *ér-nigin-a* by the entrance to the *gīpar*-building at Uruk is mentioned in another *Drehem* text (AnOr 7 58). Another occasion was the (ni)-*HA-nisi* (SAR)-ga in the second (AnOr 7 67), fifth (AnOr 7 61), sixth (AnOr 7 83), seventh (TRU 273), and tenth (A 3002) months.

i. [...]

There are no tablets referring to the celebration of a New Year's festival in Ur III Uruk. However, one *Drehem* tablet lists offerings destined for Uruk for the first day of the first month (Gomi, BJRL 64 no. 66):

- 1 lamb for the entrance of the shrine,
- 1 grain-fed sheep as a regular offering
- and 1 lamb for the entrance of the *gīpar*-building,
- 1 lamb for Nanâ,
- and a second lamb for the entrance of the *gīpar*-building
- for the first day of the month.
- 1 grain-fed lamb as a regular offering and
- a third lamb for the entrance of the *gīpar*-building
- for the second day of the month.

1. For the cult of Bēlat-terraban and Bēlat-šuhner at Ešnunna, see pp. 252-253.

2. There are a few Ur III references to statues of Nanâ at Ur (possibly reflecting personal followings) (see UET 3/2, p. 38 for references); however none of the Ur III Ur tablets mention offerings to her or a chapel for her.

Disbursed for Uruk in the month *maš-dà-gu<sub>7</sub>* (Š45).

The fact that these offerings are differentiated as regular (*sá-du<sub>11</sub>*) and non-regular offerings, may indicate these latter offerings to be specially procured for the New Year celebration or, more probably, for the new month. Another tablet dated to the 15th day of the first month (Legrain TRU 322 [AS5]) records: “3 large, grain-fed goats (for) the *uzu-a-bal* and 4 grain-fed sheep *supplied by the king* for Inanna ... in Uruk.” Although the Great Offering (*sízkur-gu-la*) is not mentioned, the presence of the *uzu-a-bal*, which formed part of the Great Offering, may indicate the celebration of a major festival at Uruk during the full moon.

In the Ninegalla Hymn there is a reference to a festival of Dumuzi at the New Year: *zag-mu ezem<sup>d</sup>Dumu-zi-da-ke<sub>4</sub>*.<sup>1</sup> Behrens suggests that this passage may allude to the sacred marriage and ultimately date from the time of Sulgi of Ur. This passage could refer to the cult of Inanna at Ur, and not necessarily to an Uruk observance.

ii. [...]-la

The *è-lu-núm* festival of Inanna was observed in Uruk during the second month (RBC 2496 [Š47 ii]): “1 grain-fed ox, 3 grain-fed sheep, and 1 lamb for the *elūnum* of Inanna in Uruk (*è-lu-núm<sup>d</sup>Inanna ša Unug<sup>ki</sup>*).”<sup>2</sup>

iii. ki-[x]-lugal/in

Two *Drehem* texts dated to the third month of Š37 and Š40 refer to offerings for the Festival of Chains (*ezem-še-er-še-ru-um*) of Bēlat-šuhner and Bēlat-terraban (A4165): 5 *udu-niga sá-du<sub>11</sub> sízkur-še* 2 *máš ni-ki-zàh-še ezem-še-er-še-ru-um é<sup>d</sup>Be-la-at-suh-nir ù<sup>d</sup>Be-la-at-dír-ra-ba-an* “5 grain-fed sheep as the regular offering for the sacrifices; 2 goats as the offering for the Place of Disappearance (for) the Festival of Chains (for) the temple of Bēlat-šuhner and Bēlat-terraban” and AnOr 7 63: 1 *udu-niga* 2 *udu-ú še-er-še-er-ru-um<sup>d</sup>Be-la-at-šuh-ner ù<sup>d</sup>Be-la-at-tèr-ra-ba-an*, “1 grain-fed sheep and 2 grass-fed-sheep for the (Festival) of Chains of Bēlat-šuhner and Bēlat-terraban.” In this latter text the offerings were disbursed “in Ur.” This Festival of Chains may be based upon a myth in which Bēlat-terraban and Bēlat-šuhner were captured and led to the netherworld in chains or were placed in chains upon their arrival there. This suggestion is bolstered by the association in this passage of offerings to the Place of Disappearance with the Festival of Chains.<sup>3</sup>

1. Manuscript H. Behrens, *Die Ninegalla Hymne*.

2. For other references to the *è-lu-núm* festival from Ur and/or Uruk during the first or second month as well as a discussion of the *elūnum* festival, see pp. 397-399.

3. For the connection of these two goddesses with the netherworld, see pp. 475ff.

The main cult of these two goddesses was at Uruk and thus this festival may be an Uruk, not Ur, observance.

A festival was held in Ur III Uruk in the middle of the third month, although the name of the festival is not preserved. A Drehem tablet dated to 15th day of the third month (<sup>iti</sup>u<sub>5</sub>-bí-gu<sub>7</sub>) in AS9 (Sauren *NY Public Library* 357) records:

- 3 grain-fed sheep (as) the *uzu-a-bal* offering;
- 2 grain-fed sheep of third quality and 2 grain-fed sheep *supplied by the king*, for Inanna.
- (The above is) the Great Offering.
- 2 grain-fed sheep for the entrance to the *gipar*;
- 2 grain-fed sheep for Nanā.
- Destined for Uruk.

The Great Offering (*sízkur-gu-la*), of which the *uzu-a-bal* was part, was performed during special occasions such as annual festivals and royal coronations.

#### iv. ezem-<sup>d</sup>Lugal-é-mùš

The é-mùš was the temple of Dumuzi in Badtibira and <sup>d</sup>Lugal-é-mùš referred to Dumuzi.<sup>1</sup> At pre-Ur III Lagaš Lugal-é-mùš was one of the deities receiving offerings. However, aside from this month name, we know of no other references to the cult of Lugal-é-mùš in Uruk, though it is to be expected, since Uruk was the city of Inanna, Dumuzi's spouse. Note the variant <sup>iti</sup>ezem-<sup>d</sup>Lugal-amaš in 5R pl. 43.

#### v. ezem-zi-zi x [x] MES

#### vi. ab-n[e-IZI(?)]-gar

Landsberger suggested this restoration of the month name, which, if correct, appears to be a combination of the ne-IZI-gar paternalia and the ab-é festival for the dead.<sup>2</sup>

#### vii. [ezem(?)]-<sup>d</sup>[x]

The seventh month marked the occasion of one or two major festivals at the temple of Inanna in Uruk. A Drehem tablet (CT 32 pl. 16) records 10 grass-fed sheep *supplied by the king* for various statues in the temple of Inanna for the *uzu-a-bal* offering of the Great Offering on the second day of the

1. For references to Lugal-é-mùš see Å. Sjöberg, TCS 3, 95; T. Kobayashi, "Miscellanea of <sup>d</sup>Lugal-é-mùš," *Oriens* 19 (1983), 29ff.

2. B. Landsberger, LSS 6 1/2, 33 n. 4.

month in Uruk: [10 udu]-ú alam-didli [šà-é]-<sup>d</sup>Inanna uzu-a-bal sízkur-gu-la lugal-ku<sub>4</sub>-ra šà Unug<sup>ki</sup>-ga 10 udu u<sub>4</sub>-2-kam.<sup>1</sup> The nineteenth of the month also marked a major festival at the temple of Inanna in Uruk (CT 32 pl. 17): "3 grass-fed oxen, 2 two-year old cows, 10 grass-fed sheep, 10 grass-fed ewes, 10 grass-fed sheep for the various statues in the temple of Inanna—the *uzu-a-bal* offering of the Great Offering *supplied by the king* ... in Uruk on the 19th." It is unclear whether these two texts refer to two distinct festivals or whether there was one major celebration that spanned at least from the 2nd to the 19th of the month.

One Drehem text (MVN 15 323) records "4 grain-fed oxen for the festival of the Boat of An at Uruk" for the 22nd of the seventh month. A festival of the Boat of An occurred on the 22nd of the tenth month and provided the name for the tenth month. There are references to offerings for the Boat of An in the seventh month: "3 grain-fed sheep and three grain-fed lambs for the Boat of An" (Legrain TRU 275 [Š40/41]); "1 grain-fed ox as the offering for the Boat of An in Uruk" (Archi-Pomponio *Drehem* I 204 [Š33]); "2 grain-fed sheep for Inanna, the offering *supplied by the king* for the Boat of An for the palace" (PDT I 531 [ŠS4]); "1 sheep for the lustration (a-tu<sub>5</sub>-a) of the Boat of An" (TIM 6 8 [ŠS1 vii 21]); "1 ox and 2 grain-fed sheep for the festival of the Boat of An to the princess Šeleppūtum" (J. Klein, ZA 80 [1990], 33 YBC 16241). Another tablet refers to the caulking of the Boat of An (MVN 2 6).<sup>2</sup>

#### viii. ezem-ga-ma-am-è

A lexical tablet contains a broken entry for the eighth month name: <sup>iti</sup>ezem-[...]x-è (5R pl. 43:41). The complete month name can be restored as <sup>iti</sup>ezem-ga-ma-am-è on the basis of two economic documents recording offerings for the ezem-ga-ma-am-mu-è festival in Uruk on the 28th of the eighth month of Š42.

| A 2823  | SET 43                                     |
|---|--|
| 1 udu-gukkal-niga ba-úš                         |  |
| é-gal-la ba-an-ku <sub>4</sub>                  |  |
| 1 udu-niga ezem-ga-ma <sup>2</sup> -am!-mu-è-šè | 1 udu-niga ezem-ga-ma-am-mu-è <sup>3</sup> |
| iti-ta u <sub>4</sub> -28 ba-ta-zal             | šà é-gal                                   |
| 1 udu-niga gi-ra-núm- <sup>d</sup> Inanna       | 1 udu-niga gi-ra-núm <sup>d</sup> Inanna   |
| 1 udu-niga 1 udu                                |  |
| gi-ra-núm <sup>d</sup> Be-la-at-šub-nir         |  |

1. The tablet does not mention the month name; however, the text mentions the á-ki-ti-šu-numun festival in Ur and the Sacred Mound festival at Nippur.

2. For additional references to the Boat of An, see Schneider, AnOr 19 (1939), 6-7.

3. Jones and Snyder incorrectly read ga-ma-am-mu-ut-tum being unaware that this corresponded to the name of the eighth month at Uruk, which according to the traces of 5R pl. 43 does not end \*-m]u-ut-tum, but -a]m-è (=UD.DU).

ù dBe-la-at-tèr-ra-ba-an  
 1 udu-niga sızkur [...]  
 1 sila<sub>4</sub> šà é-gal-la  
 1 sila<sub>4</sub> nù-ki-zàh-šè  
 1 mās dNin-sún  
 1 udu-niga 1 mās-gal-niga  
 x u<sub>3</sub>? šà Unug<sup>ki</sup>-ga x x  
 iti-ta u<sub>4</sub> 30 ba-ta-zal                      iti-ta 28! ba-ra-zal<sup>1</sup>  
 2 mās ba-ús é-gal-la ba-an-ku<sub>4</sub>  
 zi-ga á-pil-l[i-a]                      zi-ga á-pil-lí-a  
 it<sup>ti</sup>su-eš-ša  
 mu ša-aš-ru<sup>ki</sup> ba-ḫul                      (§42)<sup>2</sup>

1 dead grain-fed fat-tailed sheep brought into the palace;  
 1 grain-fed sheep for the *gamammue*-festival,  
 on the 28th of the month;  
 1 grain-fed sheep for the Ritual Wailing of Inanna,  
 1 grain-fed sheep and 1 (regular) sheep for the Ritual Wailing of  
 Bēlat-šuhner and Bēlat-terraban;  
 1 grain-fed sheep for the [...] offering;  
 1 lamb for the palace;  
 1 lamb for the Place of Disappearance;  
 1 goat for Ninsun;  
 1 grain-fed sheep and 1 large, grain-fed goat, (and) a ... ewe(?) in Uruk ...  
 one the 30th of the month;  
 2 dead goats brought into the palace;  
 withdrawn by Apilliya  
 month 8, 42nd year of Šulgi.

This shortening of -mu-è in the festival name to -è in the month name parallels the ninth month at Nippur, which has the curiously similar month and festival name: iti/ezem-gan-gan-mu-è or it<sup>ti</sup>gan-gan-è. Quite possibly the Nippur gan-gan-mu-è festival at the end of the ninth month and the Uruk ga-am-ma-mu-è festival at the end of the eighth month are variations of the same festival. This suspicion is furthered by our inability to find a satisfactory translation of the Nippur festival name gan-gan-mu-è.<sup>3</sup>

There is a tablet which raises the possibility that the á-ki-ti-festival was observed at Uruk in the eighth month. As late as the third century B.C. the á-ki-ti-festival was celebrated in Uruk twice a year, in the first and seventh months, as at Ur III Ur.<sup>4</sup> The earliest attestation of the á-ki-ti-festival in Uruk

1. Jones and Snyder read 33!, but the date must be 30 lá 2, thus the 28th as in A 2823.

2. Jones and Snyder merely indicate the month and year number instead of transliterating them and they have indicated this to be month 9; however, we suspect that the month name is šu-eš-ša, the ninth month at Ur, but the eighth month at Drehem.

3. See pp. 113-115 with note 2 on p. 115 for a discussion of this Nippur month as well as similar-sounding festival/ritual terms.

4. See pp. 428ff. for the rituals accompanying these two late first millennium Uruk *akitu*-festivals.

is in an Ur III document which records offerings destined for the á-ki-ti-šu-numun festival in Uruk in the eighth month (AUCT 2 239 [§S7]): "3 grass-fed sheep and 2 grass-fed large goats for the *entu*-priestess of Inanna in Uruk; provisions for her *akiti-šunumun* festival." Another Drehem tablet, recording the repayment of silver as a *mašdaria*-offering for the á-ki-ti, does not mention any city (Limet, RA 62 [1968] no. 5). However, since this tablet also dates to the eighth month, it is quite likely that this too is a reference to the á-ki-ti-festival in Uruk.

ix. [...]

The na-ab-rí-um of Bēlat-šuhner and Bēlat-terraban was celebrated in the ninth month, most probably at Uruk. The na-ab-rí-um festival of Annunītum and Ulmašītum occurred during the eighth month at Ur.<sup>1</sup>

| <i>Festival</i>            | <i>Related context</i>      | <i>Date</i> | <i>Reference</i> |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------|------------------|
| ezem-na-ab-r[i-(um)]       | Annunītum/Ur                | §42 viii    | PDT II 973       |
| u <sub>4</sub> na-ab-rí-um | Annunītum/Ulmašītum         | AS2 viii 25 | PDT I 162        |
| na-bí-rí-um                | é-Bēlat-šuhner              | §34 ix      | TRU 272          |
| na-ab-rí-um                | Bēlat-šuhner/Bēlat-terraban | §46 ix      | TRU 282          |
| na-ab-rí-ḫum               |                             | AS8         | BRM 3 47         |

x. ezem-má-an-na

Drehem tablets refer to a celebration involving the Boat of An (má-an-na) in Uruk in the tenth month (PDT I 455 [§34]): "1 grain-fed ox and 2 large goats for the boat of An at Uruk." Another Drehem text (CT 32 pl. 49 [§45]) records supplies for several cultic observances in Uruk: various types of flour, bundles of *namsú*-reeds, bundles of cornel twigs, bowls of ..., and beer for the ritual wailing (gi-ra-núm), for the offering for the orchard of Inanna (gi<sup>is</sup>kirig-dInanna), and for the palace offerings (šà é-gal). But by far the longest list of foodstuffs is intended for the Boat of An, consisting of coarse flour, dates, oil, bundles of reeds, bundles of cornel twigs, bowls of ..., *tappinu*-paste, *sus-qú*-flour for ritual strewing, regular *dida* (a dry substance used to make beer), roasted chick peas, roasted lentils, roasted wheat, roasted emmer, roasted *in-ninu*-barley, unprocessed(?) chick peas, unprocessed(?) lentils, unprocessed(?) wheat, unprocessed(?) emmer, [unprocessed(?)] barley(?), [...] chick peas, [...] lentils, and three types of sesame-seed oil. These foods were probably loaded onto this ceremonial boat and transported to the temple of Inanna or An in Uruk. Another text also dated to the tenth month clearly calls the celebration in the tenth month a festival, noting at the close of the tablet: "destined for Uruk; provisions for the festival of the Boat of An"

1. For a discussion of the *nabrūm* festival see pp. 394-395.

(Jones-Snyder SET 83: ša-Unug<sup>ki</sup>-ga ni-ezem-má-an-na). This text records five days of celebration, involving offerings for Inanna and Ninsun, two major deities of Uruk:

- the 22nd: 5 grain-fed sheep for Inanna for the Great Offering (sík<sup>ur</sup>-gu-la);
- the 23rd: 5 grain-fed sheep for the midnight offering, 2 grain-fed sheep for the dawn offering for Inanna in(?) the Boat of An (<sup>d</sup>Inanna ša má-an-na);
- the 24th: 1 grain-fed sheep for Inanna;
- the 25th: 4 grain-fed sheep and 1 large grain-fed goat as the regular offering for Inanna, 1 grain-fed sheep for Ninsun in(?) the city and 1 grain-fed sheep for Ninsun in(?) the city as the mid-night offering, and 1 grain-fed sheep for the dawn offering;
- the 26th: 1 grain-fed sheep.

The festival of the Boat of An in Uruk is probably the subject of an economic account from Drehem which refers to a procession(?) of Inanna on the 21st of the tenth month (Boson *Tavolette* 330: sík<sup>ur</sup> <sup>d</sup>Inanna ša kaskal-la ... ša Unug<sup>ki</sup>-ga), perhaps the same procession referred to below in the composition "Inanna and Enki."

The Boat of An is prominently mentioned in the Sumerian composition "Inanna and Enki" as the vessel in which Inanna travelled to Eridu in order to trick Enki into handing her the cosmic functions (the *me's*). Upon her return to Uruk, the Boat of An being laden with the precious functions, Inanna commanded that a festival be held to commemorate the event:

Today I [have brought] the Boat [of An] to the "Gate of Happiness," to Uruk-Kulaba.

Let them proudly pass through the street (leading from the "Gate of Happiness)!"

Let [the *me's*] proudly be paraded through the street!

Let ...!

Let them joyfully be handed over (at the house, the holy place)!

Now I will be able to give comfort to the elders of the city.

I can provide advice to the old women.

... the young men brandishing weapons.

... the children happily ...

... Uruk ...!

(4 lines not preserved)

... the docking [of the Boat of An] ...

... the Boat of An ... a festival!

Tremendous offerings shall be ...!

Let the king slaughter oxen, prepare a multitude of sheep, and libate beer from the bowls!

Let the drums and kettledrums resound

and the melodious *tigi*-instrument be played masterfully!  
All the nations shall proclaim my greatness!  
My people shall sing my praises!

This tale, describing how Uruk became preeminent among the cities of Sumer, may well be the mythological background for the festival of the Boat of An, a festival whose observance is ordered in the tale itself and may have been recited during the festival.<sup>1</sup> During the festival, the Boat of An may have transported Inanna to Eridu, reenacting her glorious achievement.<sup>2</sup>

Cultic ritual involving the Boat of An continued for two thousand years in Uruk. The Seleucid ritual from Uruk, dating to the 61st year of the Seleucid era (251 B.C.), details the ritual for the procession of Anu from his cella to the *akitu*-house and states that the Boat of An provided the transportation for the statue of Anu.<sup>3</sup>

The many references to a festival of the Boat of An in the tenth month at Uruk raises the possibility that the tenth month at Uruk might well have been named for this festival. And, indeed, there is a tablet (A3002) dated to the month *ni-ezem-má-an-na*, "(the month of) the festival of the Boat of An," apparently a rare Ur III tablet from Uruk. The text details offerings for a three day banquet for the goddesses Bēlat-šuhner and Bēlat-terraban, beginning about the 11th of the month. The banquet included offerings for Meslamtae on the first day, a ritual called *ni-ĜA-nisi*(SAR)-ga on the first two days,<sup>4</sup> and an offering for the Place of Disappearance, an elsewhere attested festival probably involving rites for the dead:

A3002

1 gu<sub>4</sub>-niga 4 udu-niga

2 sila<sub>4</sub>

1 munus āš-gār-niga

1 sila<sub>4</sub> ni-ĜA-nisi(SAR)-ga-še

1 mās-gal

kaš-nag <sup>d</sup>Mes-lam-ta-è

u<sub>4</sub>-l-kam

1 gu<sub>4</sub>-niga 2 udu-niga

1 grain-fed ox, 4 grain-fed sheep,

2 lambs,

1 small goat, (and)

1 lamb for the ...;

1 large goat, (and)

beer for drinking for Meslamtae

(for) the first day.

1 grain-fed ox, 2 grain-fed sheep,

1. This possibility has been most recently noted by J. Klein, ZA 80 (1990), 33.

2. B. Alster, "On the Interpretation of 'Inanna and Enki'," ZA 64 (1974), 28-29: "One will have to agree that, in view of the fact that Inanna is known to be Venus, the cycle which is depicted here is likely to be that of the disappearing and returning Venus star. I do by no means wish to deny, of course, that there may have been a terrestrial ritual journey between Eridu and Uruk, but, if such a ritual journey actually took place, it was an earthly representation of the celestial journey of the god, as in fact all rituals are imitations of the divine acts."

The shape of the Boat of An is employed metaphorically for the pubic triangle of the young goddess Inanna in the Sumerian love poetry composition, called by Jacobsen the "Herder Wedding Text" (Jacobsen *Treasures* 46).

3. See p. 429.

4. The *ni-ĜA-nisi*(SAR)-ga occurs on the 17th of the seventh month in TRU 273.

|                                     |   |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| 1 mās-gal-niga                      | 1 large, grain-fed goat, (and)                    |
| 2 munus āš-gār-niga                 | 2 grain-fed small goats                           |
| nī-ĪA-nisi(SAR)-ga-šè               | for the ...;                                      |
| 1 udu 1 mās                         | 1 sheep (and) 1 goat                              |
| nī-ki-zàh-šè                        | as offerings for the 'Place of<br>Disappearance'; |
| u <sub>4</sub> -2-kam               | (for) the second day.                             |
| 1 udu-niga                          | 1 grain-fed sheep (and)                           |
| 1 udu-ū                             | 1 grass-fed-sheep                                 |
| u <sub>4</sub> -3-kam               | (for) the third day.                              |
| kaš-dé-a dBe-la-at-sub-nir          | (All this is for) the banquet of<br>Bēlat-šuhner  |
| ū dBe-la-at-dīr-ra-ba-an            | and Bēlat-terraban.                               |
| iti-ta u <sub>4</sub> -11 ba-ra-zal | On the 11th day of the month                      |
| zi-ga Á-pil-lī-a                    | withdrawn by Apilliya.                            |
| iti <sup>u</sup> ezem-mā-an-na      | The month: ezem-mā-an-na.                         |

The goddesses Bēlat-šuhner and Bēlat-terraban are known to have had a cult at Uruk (A2823 records offerings for the gi-ra-nūm for these two goddesses in Uruk [šā Unug<sup>ki</sup>-ga]). And Meslamtae was closely identified with Nergal, a netherworld deity, who had a cult at Uruk<sup>1</sup> and was also identified with dPisan-sag-Unug<sup>ki</sup>-ga.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, Apilliya is the same individual making deliveries for the eighth month at Uruk (see above). Thus this tablet assuredly involves Uruk and may have been written in Uruk. Of course, the possibility exists that iti<sup>u</sup>ezem-mā-an-na is a mistake for the month iti<sup>u</sup>ezem-an-na.

Several texts dating to the sixth, not the tenth, month refer to offerings for the Boat of An: "1 grain-fed ox for the Boat of An in Uruk" (Gomi *Hirose* 12: iti<sup>u</sup>ā-ki-ti in Š34) and "1 marsh male ...-pig, 2 ducks, 3 ...-doves, and 15 ...-doves for the Boat of An" (ArOr 27 [1959], 369 no. 17 [Š46/AS6 vi 24]); "1 grain-fed ox and 3 grain-fed sheep for the Boat of An" (Archi-Pomponio *Drethem* I 189). Another text dated to the sixth month of Š43 records hides from oxen, sheep, lambs and goats for the Boat of An of Geme-Ninlila (kuš-gud mā-an-na Gemé<sup>d</sup>Nin-lil-lā-ka (P. Michalowski, JCS 31 [1979] 174 F.M.41.5.1). An undated tablet (PDT II 1062) records containers of pomegranates for the "Boat of An in Uruk." The Boat of An in Uruk was also used to transport offerings for Inanna and Nanā and for the gi-ra-nūm of Inanna (Nesbit *Drethem* 12 [Š45 xi 25]). Another text (A 4200) records oxen and sheep for the Boat of An for the 15th day of the eleventh month in Š40. Thus offerings to the Boat of An, apart from the festival of the tenth month, occurred throughout the year at Uruk.

1. See our discussion of the twelfth month at Uruk for the cult of Nergal at Uruk.

2. M.E. Cohen *Lamentations*, 240 et passim.

Cultic veneration of the Boat of An occurred in Ur as well as in Uruk. A text from Ur (UET 3 242 [IS6, no month]) records containers of dates for several cultic events centered about lamentations for the deceased kings. The Boat of An is a recipient of offerings.

- 5 ten-liter containers of dates for the lustration  
(preceding) the ir-sud-a lamentation ritual,
- 2 ten-liter containers and 8 five-liter containers for the Boat of An,
- 6 five-liter containers for the nu-bān-da official,
- 5 five-liter containers for the lamentation for the Early Grass (festival),<sup>1</sup>
- 4 five-liter containers for the royal funerary shrine.

A Drethem document from the sixth month (Jones-Snyder SET 59 [AS3]), almost assuredly referring to Ur, records "5 grain-fed sheep for the Boat of An, 4 sheep for Nanna *supplied by the king*, 2 grain-fed sheep for the du<sub>6</sub>-ūr mound, another grain-fed sheep for the Boat of An and a grain-fed sheep for Ninḫursag."

In the Old Babylonian period a month iti<sup>u</sup>mā-an-na is attested on a tablet from Ishchali, though this may be simply a "Sumerianized" form of the Amorite calendar month iti<sup>u</sup>ma-na.<sup>2</sup>

The temple of Kešī is likened to the Boat of An in the Kešī Temple Hymn: mā-an-na-gin<sup>7</sup> mūš-kur-kur-ra, "like the Boat of An, the ... of the lands."<sup>3</sup>

Based upon the aforementioned evidence we can deduce that a five day festival for the Boat of An was observed in Uruk during the tenth month and that in Uruk the Boat of An was involved in cultic activities at other times during the year, as later seen in the use of the Boat of An to transport the statue of Anu during the *akitu*-festival in Uruk in the first millennium B.C. Thus the Boat of An was the object of offerings several times throughout the year in Uruk. There is no mention of a specific festival for the Boat of An in a tablet from or mentioning the city Ur, although, as at Uruk, it was involved in cultic ceremonies, on some occasions in ceremonies for the deceased kings. There was, however, a festival of the Boat of An celebrated on the 22nd day of the seventh month. But it is unclear whether this was a festival at Ur or was another instance of the festival at Uruk.

Lastly, there is one reference to the Boat of An in Nippur (Sigrist, JCS 32 [1980], 104ff., CBS 2163): [...] sila<sub>3</sub> mā-gu-la mā-an-na. Nippur was a religious center for most of Sumer and its temples included shrines for the gods and perhaps cult objects used in the various Sumerian cities, one of these objects possibly being a representation of the Boat of An used in Uruk or Ur. The Boat of An is attested at Old Babylonian Larsa, where distributions to

1. For the Early Grass (ū-sag) Festival, see pp. 163-164.

2. S. Greengus, "The Akkadian Calendar at Sippar," JAOS 107 (1988), 212.

3. G. Gragg, TCS 3, 168.

Šamaš and the Istar temple for the ezem-mā-an-na are recorded for the 26th day of the first month (*Syria* 53 [1976], 67 no. 122).

xi. <sup>d</sup>A-šur<sub>4</sub> / <sup>d</sup>A-šar<sub>x</sub>(?)

According to Powell, the oldest known date for the sign LĀL+SAR having a reading /šur/ is from the Old Babylonian period, (Šamši-Adad refers to <sup>d</sup>A-šur<sub>4</sub> *rā'imīšu* and in an inscription of Hammurapi's the city of Aššur is written: <sup>uru</sup>A-šur<sub>4</sub>).<sup>1</sup> The Uruk calendar, of course, pre-dated the Old Babylonian period. However, the lexical tablet on which the Uruk months are written (5R pl. 43) is of first millennium B.C. date and therefore the use of the sign LĀL+SAR is not evidence of the pre-Old Babylonian existence of the value šur<sub>4</sub>.

It is surprising, however, that an Ur III Sumerian city would name a month after <sup>d</sup>A-šur<sub>4</sub>, assuming this is the Assyrian god usually written <sup>d</sup>Aš-šur. Noting that the sign LĀL+SAR with a value /šur/ is unattested in the Ur III period, it is not inconceivable that our scribe has incorrectly written the month name. Perhaps the original month was <sup>d</sup>A-šar, who is attested in Sargonic and Ur III names, as well as at Mari.<sup>2</sup> The writing may indicate a corrupted tradition based on a confusion with the well-known god Aššur.

xii. en-dag<sub>x</sub>-ga-DU.DU

If the reading en-dag<sub>x</sub>(AMAS)-ga is correct, this probably refers to a festival of Nergal, who was called en-dag-ga. This month name would agree with the late translation of the name as *bēl šubti*,<sup>3</sup> for the month name should mean the "lord who walks in the chapel." Note also the Abu Salabikh zā-mi Hymn to Nergal (OIP 99 p. 48 lines 65-69) for the phrase: dag-gal an-ki, "the great chapel (of) heaven and earth." Nergal was known to have a cult at Uruk, where he was the divine land registrar (sa<sub>12</sub>-du<sub>5</sub>-Unug<sup>ki</sup>-ga) and where he was identified with the god Pisan-sag-Unug<sup>ki</sup>-ga.<sup>4</sup> Endagga was also the spouse of Nintinugga (AN = *Anum* V 123). The name of the deity Engidudu of the Erra Epic, who is identified with Nergal, is possibly a derivative of the deity name Endaggadudu, for whom this Uruk month is named.

1. M. Powell, "Graphic Criteria for Dating in the Old Babylonian Period," *OrNS* 43 (1974), 402 with notes 34 and 35.

2. For this god see Gelb, *MAD* 3 76; Roberts *Pantheon*, 16-17.

3. M.E. Cohen *Lamentations*, 502.

4. For references see Van Dijk *Götterlieder*, 23 n. 38.

*Months From Unidentified Calendars*

The Neo-Assyrian lexical tablet 5R pl. 43 lists six calendars, including a Sumerian calendar with several months similar to the Lagaš/Girsu calendar.<sup>1</sup> There are errors throughout, indicating that the scribe did not have totally accurate data about each of these calendars. (Note, for example the erroneous repetition of ezem-me-di-gál [should be ezem-me-ki-gál] as the twelfth month of the Susa calendar and the placement of the twelfth month of the Susa calendar in the wrong calendar.) Thus, this following calendar may be a corrupted rendering of the Lagaš calendar or else a somewhat accurate listing of a calendar whose city (probably near Lagaš) we cannot identify:

- |       |  |                                     |   |
|-------|--|-------------------------------------|---|
| i.    | [...]  |                                     |   |
| ii.   | [...] - si-mú-mú <sup>2</sup>                              | Lagaš/Girsu                         | month 2   |
| iii.  | <sup>iti</sup> ezem- <sup>d</sup> Nin-si <sub>4</sub> -na  | Lagaš/Girsu:                        | month 3 (ezem- <sup>d</sup> Lig-si <sub>4</sub> ) |
| iv.   | <sup>iti</sup> šu-numun-na                                 | Lagaš/Girsu                         | month 4   |
| v.    | <sup>iti</sup> ezem- <sup>d</sup> [Dumu-zi-d]a             | Lagaš/Girsu                         | month 6   |
| vi.   | <sup>iti</sup> ki-si[kil]- <sup>d</sup> Ba-ba <sub>6</sub> | Pre-Sargonic Lagaš:                 | sig- <sup>d</sup> Ba-ba <sub>6</sub> <sup>3</sup> |
| vii.  | <sup>iti</sup> ezem- <sup>d</sup> Ba-ba <sub>6</sub>       | Lagaš/Girsu                         | month 8   |
| viii. | <sup>iti</sup> é-[...] - AN                                |                                     |   |
| ix.   | [...]  |                                     |   |
| x.    | [...]  |                                     |   |
| xi.   | <sup>iti</sup> ēš-ga-zu                                    | cf. Adab month 2 (ēš-gār-šu-gar-ra) |   |
| xii.  | <sup>iti</sup> me-e-ki-ga<<SAL>>al                         | Ur (ezem-me-ki-gál)                 | month 12  |

The month ezem-<sup>d</sup>Nin-si<sub>4</sub>-na would appear to be a scribal error for ezem-<sup>d</sup>Lig-si<sub>4</sub>. However, note another somewhat similar, unidentified month: <sup>iti</sup>ezem-an-si<sub>4</sub>-an-na: (MVN 12 313; MVN 2 361 [without ezem-]).

There are a few references in Ur III texts to months whose calendars cannot be identified. The SIA-a archive contains four non-Sumerian month names of unknown provenience:

- <sup>iti</sup>aš-lu-um (MVN 8 200)
- <sup>iti</sup>ba-ra-um (MVN 8 153; MVN 13 900+901; TIM 3 148)
- <sup>iti</sup>da-hu-bu-um (Sauren *NY Public Library* 361)
- <sup>iti</sup>AN.ZA.GU.ĪAR<sup>2</sup>-um (TIM 6 44)

1. Collated by E. Leichty.

2. Landsberger, *LSS* 6 1/2, 46 n. 1 interpreted this orthography as a syllabic writing for -IZI- in the month gu<sub>4</sub>-rā-IZI-mú-a.

3. The scribe also writes ki-sikil-<sup>d</sup>Nin-a-zu for ki-sig-<sup>d</sup>Nin-a-zu.

Several Sumerian month names are attested which we cannot assign to any specific calendar:

<sup>iti</sup>ezem-KIN: The contents of the tablet indicate that it might be from Umma, in which case a reading <sup>iti</sup>ezem-sag<sub>18</sub> as a variant for <sup>iti</sup>ezem-nisag should be considered.

<sup>iti</sup>SIM: (Sollberger, TCS 1 358 and see TCS 1 p. 138 for a reference to <sup>iti</sup>SIM-<sub>hal-la</sub>). This reference to the month <sup>iti</sup>SIM occurs on a tablet dated to the Umma month <sup>iti</sup>ri. We hardly expect a text to utilize two distinct calendars.

<sup>iti</sup>ezem-DU<sub>8-x</sub>: (TuM NF I-II 361)

The language of one unidentified month name on an Ur III tablet is unclear:

<sup>iti</sup>ki-ir-ki-ma (Toronto 910.209.58 [Š44]).

## THE EARLY SECOND MILLENNIUM B.C.

*Time has no divisions to mark its passage, there is never a thunderstorm or blare of trumpets to announce the beginning of a new month or year. Even when a new century begins it is only we mortals who ring bells and fire off pistols.*

*Thomas Mann*  
The Magic Mountain



## The Southern-Mesopotamian Sumerian Calendar

The Sumerian calendar used at Nippur, which basically remained unchanged since pre-Sargonic times,<sup>1</sup> was adopted throughout much of southern Mesopotamia after the fall of Ibbi-Sin of Ur, an innovation perhaps of the first monarch of the new Isin dynasty, Išbi-Erra (2017–1855 B.C.).<sup>2</sup> There are two tablets dated to the fourth and fifth years of Išbi-Erra which utilize the Ur calendar.<sup>3</sup> If these two texts derive from Isin itself, then this indicates that Isin may have utilized the Ur calendar during much of the Ur III period (although tablets dated by the Ur calendar are found at almost every city during this period). Noting that Isin is but 18 miles south of Nippur and that, before Išbi-Erra established it as his capital, Isin was a small town of little importance, it is quite conceivable that Isin utilized the prestigious Nippur calendar during the Ur III period. However, whether Išbi-Erra's actions were the imposition of the calendar at use in Isin (in reality the Nippur calendar), thus the "victor's" calendar, or as a shrewd maneuver purposely utilizing the revered Nippur calendar, the intent was the same—the economic and political unification of his new empire. The symbolism of Nippur as a unifying presence was not lost on the Isin monarchs, who made special efforts to participate in the Nippur rites, as seen by Lipit-Ištar's central role in the *gusis*-festival at Nippur. As merchants, scribes, and representatives of the government from the Isin empire conducted business in the Diyala region, the official calendar may have followed, eventually being used simultaneously with (or perhaps even replacing) the local, northern calendars, so that when the First Dynasty of Babylon arose, it too was already using this Southern-Mesopotamian Sumerian calendar.

Although Amorite calendars were utilized by the Semitic centers further to the north until about the twenty-first year of Samsuiluna of Babylon (1749–1712 B.C.), the Southern-Mesopotamian calendar was used at these

1. The exception was the replacement of <sup>iti</sup>kù-su<sub>x</sub> with <sup>iti</sup>ab-è (see p. 117).

2. If our hypothesis that it was Išbi-Erra who created a uniform calendar throughout Sumer is correct, then possibly the Old Babylonian writing reform, which Powell dates to the Isin period (OrNS 43 [1974], 403), may be also attributed to Išbi-Erra, or at a minimum, as a continuation of his efforts at standardizing the Sumerian administration.

3. BIN 9 127: <sup>iti</sup>diri-ezem-me-ki-gál and BIN 9 145: <sup>iti</sup>su-eš-ša.

sites as well.<sup>1</sup> Tablets from Mari dating to the first half of the eighteenth century B.C. demonstrate not only utilization of this Sumerian calendar, but indicate that these Sumerian month names were not merely logograms to express a Semitic month name, but were actually pronounced. There are two references from Mari to the month *itū-duru<sub>5</sub>* as *ū-ud-ri-im*. One of these texts also includes the month names *ab-bi-in* for *itū-ab-è* and *ga-an-ga-na* for *itū-gan-gan-è*.<sup>2</sup> And at Sippar the second spring month was *Gusisi*, a form of the second Nippur month *itū-gu<sub>4</sub>-si-su*.

The main stylistic features differentiating the Southern-Mesopotamian Sumerian calendar from its predecessor, the Ur III Nippur calendar, are relatively minor:

- The complete abandonment of the Ur III Nippur orthography *itūsig<sub>4</sub>-gi<sub>5</sub>-šub-ba-gar* (and variants) in favor of a shortened *itūsig<sub>4</sub>-a*. During the Kassite period in Nippur the orthography *itūsig<sub>4</sub>-ga* (or the shortened *itūsig<sub>4</sub>*) predominated<sup>3</sup>;
- The introduction of the orthography *itūudra* (=ZIZ.AAN) for *itū-duru<sub>5</sub>* (= *itūZIZ.A*); and
- The orthography *itūgu<sub>4</sub>-si-sá*, which indicates a lack of understanding of the meaning of the original Nippur name. In the Old Babylonian period *itūgu<sub>4</sub>-si-su* was still used, but by the Kassite period it would disappear entirely.

In addition to the occasional dropping of a sign or shortening of the month name, the following variants are attested for the month names comprising the Southern-Mesopotamian Sumerian calendar:

|                        |  |
|------------------------|--|
| bāra-zag-gar           | <i>itūbāra-GAL<sup>2</sup>-gar</i> in Sippar (CT 8 pl. 41 c, noted by Landsberger, LSS 6 1/2, 24);   |
| gu <sub>4</sub> -si-sá | <i>itūgū-si-sá</i> (TCL 11 234; TCL 10 30; VAS 9 18, <i>et passim</i> );   |
| sig <sub>4</sub> -ga   | note the unusual orthography in an Old Babylonian letter from Kisurra: <i>itūsig<sub>4</sub>-ū-IGI-šub</i> (Kienast <i>Kisurra</i> 68:13); |

1. For references to this calendar at Kish during the reign of Īlialum (before 1894 B.C.) and at Dilbat during the reign of Sumuabum (1894–1881 B.C.), see most recently Greengus, "The Akkadian Calendar at Sippar," JAOS 107 (1987), 213 n. 16.

2. J.-M. Durand, ARMT 26/1 248; D. Charpin, NABU 1989/4, 66. S. Greengus (JAOS 107 [1987], 209ff.) has concluded that there is no evidence to justify the hypothesis that by the end of the Old Babylonian period these Sumerian month names had devolved as logograms only for a series of Semitic month names. However, we believe Greengus' observation is correct only for the period from Išbi-Erra to Hammurapi. (For full discussion of this development, see pp. 297ff.)

3. Note the Kassite Nippur text BE 15 148: *itūsig<sub>4</sub>-ga-a*.

|                          |   |
|--------------------------|---|
| šu-numun-na              | <i>itūšu-ni-gi-na</i> (CT 45 31) and <i>itūšu-ni-gi-na</i> (VAS 9 183) possibly for <i>itūšu-numun-na</i> (already suggested by Landsberger, LSS 6 1/2, 30);  |
| ne-IZI-gar               | <i>itūni-IZI-gar</i> (YOS 12 11);   |
| kin- <sup>d</sup> Inanna | <i>itūkin-<sup>d</sup>Nanna</i> (BIN 10 208) in Isin and <i>itūkin-<sup>d</sup>na</i> (CT 6 pl. 38 c and UET 7 48 [perhaps read <i><sup>d</sup>Inanna<sup>1</sup></i> for <i><sup>d</sup>na</i> ]); |
| gan-gan-na               | <i>itūgal-gal-gan-è</i> (UET 5 446) at Ur; <i>itūgan-gan-ne</i> (YOS 12 83), and note <i>ga-an-ga-na</i> at Mari (quoted above);  |
| ab-è                     | <i>itūab-pa-è</i> (Syria [1983], 87, AO 21958 [Larsa]), and note <i>ab-bi-in</i> at Mari (quoted above);  |
| še-kin-ku <sub>5</sub>   | <i>itū[š]e-k[in]-kù</i> (CT 8 pl. 14 a).  |

A most unusual adaptation of the Southern-Mesopotamian Sumerian month names occurred during the reign of Rim-Sin of Larsa (1822–1763 B.C.) at Nippur, Larsa, Isin, and Ur.<sup>1</sup> Kraus noted that private documents from this period continued to use the standard calendrical system, whereas a new system was utilized by certain administrators of particular economic sectors. Robertson observed that the introduction of this new system coincided with Rim-Sin's conquest of Isin and, therefore, this administrative change may have reflected the need to reorganize the flow of goods throughout his suddenly enlarged domain. The earliest attestation of this new pattern is from the 28th year of Rim-Sin. However, except for this one tablet, all other texts date from the 30th year of Rim-Sin to his 53rd year, after which this system seems to have been abandoned.

In this system there were month cycles. Each cycle was named for a month of the Southern-Mesopotamian Sumerian calendar (e.g. *itū gu<sub>4</sub>-si-su*), although no cycles for the months *itūapin-du<sub>8</sub>-a* and *itūab-è* have as yet been found. The subsequent month in the cycle used the same name, but added the element *ki-#*, which incremented the month number by one: *iti ki 2 gu<sub>4</sub>-si-su*. The next month in this cycle would then be *iti ki 3 gu<sub>4</sub>-si-su*. The highest number of months attested in one cycle is 51: *iti ki 51 kin-<sup>d</sup>Inanna*. There were three basic formats of month notation, each format tending to occur most frequently at a specific city. At Nippur the format was *iti ki # MN*; at Isin and Ur: *iti MN ki #*; at Larsa: *iti # ki #* where the first # indicated the position within the cycle and the second # the position of the month name within the regular calendar—thus *iti 6 ki 2* would be the sixth month in the *gu<sub>4</sub>-si-su* cycle.

1. F.R. Kraus, "Ungewöhnliche Datierungen aus der Zeit des Königs Rim-Sin von Larsa," ZA 53 (1959), 136ff.; J.F. Robertson, "An Unusual Dating System," *Acta Sum* 5 (1983), 147ff.

Kraus postulated that cycles occurred concurrently, i.e., *iti ki 2 gu<sub>4</sub>-si-su = iti sig<sub>4</sub>-a* and *iti ki 3 gu<sub>4</sub>-si-su = iti ki 2 sig<sub>4</sub>-a = iti šu-numun-a*, and so on. Robertson partially confirmed this hypothesis on the basis of CBS 7567 which equated *iti ki 5 gan-gan-è* with *iti bára-zag-gar*. However, Robertson noted CBS 7536 which equated *iti ki 3 gu<sub>4</sub>-si-su* with *u<sub>4</sub>-14-kam iti sig<sub>4</sub>-a*, contradicting the proposed schema.

Another unique feature of this system was the number of possible days per month. In some of these month cycles there are months attested with 33, 34, 36, 38, 40, 45, or 48 days.

## Ur

Although the Ur calendar gave way to this new *Reichskalender*, one hundred and fifty years later the names of the old months were still known to and preserved by some of the Ur scribes, as noted in a tablet dated to the month *i<sup>u</sup>á-ki-ti* in Sin-iddinam's reign (1849–1843 B.C.) (UET 5 262). And another Old Babylonian tablet from Ur is dated to the month *i<sup>u</sup>ki-sig<sup>d</sup>Nin-a-zu* (UET 5 548). A unique equating of the second months of the year in the two calendars occurs on an undated Old Babylonian tablet from Ur (UET 5 426):

|  |  |
|--|--|
| <i>iti gu<sub>4</sub>-si-sá</i>                          | (In) the month <i>Gusisa</i> ,                               |
| <i>i<sup>u</sup>maš-dà-gu<sub>7</sub>-gu<sub>7</sub></i> | (which is the same as) the month <i>Mašdag<sub>u</sub></i> , |
| <i>mA-ap-pa-a</i>  | (concerning) Appa's  |
| <i>e-li-a-ti-šu</i>                                      | additional share,  |
| INIM.GAR   | the oracle   |
| <i>i-ip-pa-al</i>  | will give an answer.   |

Our translation of this passage is tentative. But if this passage does refer to an oracular pronouncement, then the unexpected use of the old Ur calendar may indicate that certain Ur diviners, soothsayers, or priests maintained the traditional Ur calendar in their cultic practices as a means of validating the authenticity of their ritual practices. But the need to state the corresponding month name in the Southern-Mesopotamian Sumerian calendar indicates that the old Ur month names were unknown to the uninitiated who might read or hear the contents of the tablet.

The large number of tablets recovered from Old Babylonian Ur provides insight into the negligible effect the imposition of this new calendar had upon the religious observances of a Sumerian city. Although the month names changed, no longer referring to Ur's festivals, the Ur III Ur festivals continued to be observed into the Old Babylonian period. The only major innovation was the institution of the Great Wailing (*ér-gu-la*) in the fourth month, perhaps a remembrance of the destruction of Ur in 2004 B.C. Thus, a calendar which employed Nippur festival names was imposed upon Ur, but

without the imposition of concomitant religious observances. The following schedule of festivals and observances is attested at Old Babylonian Ur:

| Month | Ur Festival/Observance                   |
|-------|--|
| i.    | <i>á-ki-ti-še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub></i>     |
| ii.   | <i>elūnum</i>                            |
| iii.  |  |
| iv.   | <i>ér-gu-la</i> (Great Wailing)          |
| v.    |  |
| vi.   | <i>ezem<sup>d</sup>Nin-a-zu, elūnum</i>  |
| vii.  | <i>á-ki-ti-šu-numun-a, ezem-má-nu-ru</i> |
| viii. |  |
| ix.   | <i>ezem-šu-eš-ša</i>                     |
| x.    | <i>ezem-maḥ</i>                          |
| xi.   |  |
| xii.  |  |

*á-ki-ti-še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>*: The first month at Old Babylonian Ur marked the observance of the *á-ki-ti*-festival of the harvesting season (*še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>*), which, as during the Ur III period, was a festival for Nanna (UET 5 749: *á-ki-ti-še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub><sup>d</sup>Nanna*). However, the Old Babylonian texts also mark this month as being the time for the observance of Nanna's Partaking of the First Offerings (*nisag-gu<sub>7</sub>*), the Early Grass (*ú-sag*) festival of Ningal, and the Procession to Eridu (*kaskal-Eridu<sup>ki</sup>-ga*).<sup>1</sup> Texts record the withdrawal of ghee, cheese, dates, milk and yellow milk from the storehouse of Ningal for these observances.<sup>2</sup>

*Elūnum*: The reading *è/é-lu-núm* is based upon the Old Babylonian orthographies *è-lu-nu-um* and *e-lu-nu-um*.<sup>3</sup> The cult of Bēlat-terraban and Bēlat-šuhner at Ur and Uruk included the observance of the *è-lu-núm* festival in the second or first month.

The Old Babylonian references to the *elūnum* observance at Ur refer to an *elūnum* for Ningal (the moon-god Nanna's wife), recording the withdrawal of ghee, cheese and dates from the storehouse of Ningal for the *elūnum* dur-

1. H. Figulla, *Iraq* 15 (1953), 119 no. 48 = UET 5 738 (*ni-dab<sub>5</sub> á-ki-ti ù nisag-gu<sub>7</sub>-[<sup>d</sup>Nanna]*), no. 49 = UET 5 766 (*[á-ki-ti ...] nisag-gu<sub>7</sub><sup>d</sup>Nanna(?) ù ú-sag<sup>d</sup>Ningal*), no. 50 = UET 5 779 (*á-ki-ti-še-[kin-ku<sub>5</sub>] nisag-gu<sub>7</sub><sup>d</sup>[Nanna] ù ú-sag<sup>d</sup>Ningal*, no date), p. 175 no. 59 = UET 5 749 (*á-ki-ti-še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub><sup>d</sup>Nanna nisag-gu<sub>7</sub><sup>d</sup>Nanna ù ú-sag<sup>d</sup>Ningal*), UET 5 783 (*ni-á-ki-ti-še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub><sup>d</sup>Nanna nisag-gu<sub>7</sub> ú-sag ù kaskal-Eridu<sup>ki</sup>-ga*). For a discussion of the Festival of the Early Grass (*ú-sag*), see pp. 163-164.

2. Edzard *Zwischenzeit*, 19 suggests reading UET 5 524 6': *á-ki-ti<sup>2</sup>*, which, if correct, would be an otherwise unattested orthography for the festival.

3. See CAD E 136 sub *elūlu* for references.

ing the second and sixth months of the year.<sup>1</sup> The second month in the Amorite calendar at Ešnunna was named for the *elūnum* observance, *it<sup>u</sup>e-lu-nu-um*, (this month occurred also in the calendars of Nērebtum and Šadupum).<sup>2</sup>

For a full discussion of the *elūnum* observance, see pp. 397-399.

ér-gu-la: From the Ur III period there is one attestation of the Wailing at the Mourning-site(?) (ér-ki-gu-la, MVN 15 193), which was performed at a funerary libation site (ki-a-nag) of Amar-Suen in the first year of his brother's reign. The ritual lasted two days—the 27th and 28th of the twelfth month—and included offerings of sheep each day. In the Old Babylonian period at Ur a similar sounding ritual, the ér-gu-la, the Great Wailing, was an integral part of the á-ki-ti-celebration (UET 5 748, 752, and 782). During the fourth month the ér-gu-la was part of a ritual for Nanna, "provisions for the Great Wailing and the ... for Nanna" (nī-dab<sub>5</sub>-ér-gu-la-u<sub>5</sub>-gu<sup>1</sup>-<sup>d</sup>Nanna) (UET 5 744). Another text dated to the fourth month records the offering for the Great Wailing (sīzkur-ér-gu-la) (UET 5 734).<sup>3</sup> The introduction of the Great Wailing as part of the á-ki-ti festival may be an innovation in the Old Babylonian period to remember the devastation of Ur by the armies of Elam and Šimaški (2004 B.C.), preserved in the two laments, the Lamentation over the Destruction of Ur<sup>4</sup> and the Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur.<sup>5</sup> These two compositions may have been read aloud as part of the observance at Old Babylonian Ur. A tablet from Isin (BIN 10 190) mentions a Great Wailing: u<sub>4</sub> kaš-dé-a šu-à-lī-šu 1 dug 30 sila 30(?) dug-ša-gi ér-gu-la u<sub>4</sub> lugal an-šè ba-a-da, "the day of the banquet of Šu-ilišu—1 thirty liter container and thirty(?) ...jars for the Great Wailing when the king went up to heaven."<sup>6</sup>

ezem-<sup>d</sup>Nin-a-zu: In Old Babylonian Ur, just as at Ur III Ur, the festival of Ninazu was celebrated in the sixth month.<sup>7</sup> During the Ur III period the ob-

1. Figulla, *op. cit.*, 116 no. 42 (*e-lu-nu-um*, month 2, Sumuel 5), no. 43 = UET 5 787 (*e-lu-nu-um*, month 2, Abisare 9), p. 173 no. 56 = UET 5 755 (*e-lu-nu-um* <sup>d</sup>Nin-gal, month 2, Sumuel 9), p. 173 no. 55 = UET 5 781 (*e-lu-nu-um* <sup>d</sup>Nin-gal, no date preserved), p. 117 no. 44(?) (*e-lu-nu-um*), month 6, Sumuel 15), p. 179 no. 63 = UET 5 768 (*e-lu-nu-um*, month 6 Sumuel 28), and UET 5 786 (nī-dab<sub>5</sub>-*e-lu-nu-um*).

2. For references see S. Greengus, "The Akkadian Calendar at Sippar," JAOS 107 (1987), 209ff.

3. There is one Ur reference to ér-šš-bānda, "the wailing for the minor shrine," though we do not know its significance (Figulla, *Iraq* 15 [1953], 176 no. 60, no date).

4. Kramer, AS 12.

5. Michalowski *Sumer and Ur*.

6. This passage has been discussed by P. Steinkeller, NABU 1992/1, 3 in connection with the concept of the dead ruler ascending to heaven and by Yoshikawa (*Acta Sum* 11 [1989], 353), who interprets ba-a-da in this passage as an assimilated form for ba-e<sub>11</sub>-da and thus translates an-šè e<sub>11</sub> as a euphemism for "to die."

7. Figulla, *op. cit.*, 108 no. 30 (nī-dab<sub>5</sub>-ki-bur-bi ezem-<sup>d</sup>Nin-a-zu, month 6, Abisare 9); p. 179 no. 63 = UET 5 768 (month 6, Sumuel 28); and probably to be restored in UET 5 763.

servance was marked by offerings to funerary shrines, this festival being intertwined with the observance of the *abum*. An Old Babylonian tablet records offerings for the festival on behalf of the *entu*-priestess of Nanna, Enmegalanna, who held office during the reigns of Abisare (1905–1895 B.C.) and Sumuel (1894–1866 B.C.).<sup>1</sup> In a text dated to Sumuel 28, when Enmegalanna was already dead and had been replaced by Enšakiaganna, the festival provisions included offerings for the funerary shrines of the *entu*-priestesses Enmegalanna and her predecessor, Enannatumma. Ur documents from other months also mention offerings for the shrines of these two *entu*-priestesses, so this was not a practice restricted to the festival of Ninazu.

á-ki-ti-šu-numun-a: There are Old Babylonian references to the *akiti*-festival of the seeding season (á-ki-ti-šu-numun-a) in Ur, a festival celebrated also in the seventh month in Ur III Ur. In several Old Babylonian texts it is described as the á-ki-ti-šu-numun-a (festival) of Nanna,<sup>2</sup> some of these texts noting that the festival of the Boat of the Moon (ezem-má-nu-ru)<sup>3</sup> and the Great Wailing (ér-gu-la)<sup>4</sup> constituted part of the á-ki-ti celebration. A Larsa document (YOS 14 202) refers to the day of the á-ki-ti in Ur (u<sub>4</sub>-á-ki-ti ša Urí-ki-ma) in the seventh month. (Two other Larsa documents, also dating to the seventh month, mention the u<sub>4</sub>-á-ki-ti of Dumuzi of Badtibira, for which see our discussion of Larsa, below.) According to a royal inscription, king Warad-Sin of Larsa provided offerings for the á-ki-te festival (nesag<sub>x</sub>-á-ki-te, RIM 4, 222 line 97), though it is unclear which of the two Ur á-ki-ti-festivals is intended. Warad-Sin also claims to have built/rebuilt the é-AB/ES<sub>3</sub>-ki-te for Nanna in Ur, which may have been part of the á-ki-ti complex at Gaēš.

ezem-má-nu-ru: There are Old Babylonian Ur references to the má-nu-ru festival in the seventh month, a festival unattested in the Ur III period. The ezem-má-nu-ru festival was part of the á-ki-ti-šu-numun-a festival in month seven.<sup>5</sup> The má-nu-ru (with Akkadianized variant <sup>g</sup>is-má-nu-ri) was the procession ship of Nanna.<sup>6</sup> The term *elip nūri*, "the boat of light," referring to the moon, occurs in a first millennium text (Delitsch AL<sup>3</sup> 88 5 40). The term nu-

1. Figulla, *op. cit.*, 108 no. 30; for Enmegalanna see E. Sollberger, "Sur la chronologie des rois d'Ur et quelques problèmes connexes," AFO 17 (1954/56), 46.

2. Figulla, *op. cit.*, 121 no. 51 = UET 5 782. Some references use the term ezem-á-ki-ti (UET 5 748, <sup>lu</sup>dug-kù), one recording an offering to Nanna for the "day of the á-ki-ti-festival" (sīzkur-<sup>d</sup>Nanna u<sub>4</sub> ezem-á-ki-ti) (UET 5 407, <sup>lu</sup>dug-kù).

3. Figulla, *op. cit.*, 174 no. 58 (month 7, Sumuel 22(?)); UET 5 748, 752, and 782.

4. UET 5 748, 752, and 782.

5. Figulla, *op. cit.*, 174 no. 58; UET 5 748, 752, and 782; D. Loding, JCS 28 (1976), 240 no. 8: u<sub>4</sub>-ezem-má-nu-ru.

6. Falkenstein, *Friedrich Festschrift*, 175 n. 43c.

ru in má-nu-ru is a Sumerianized form of Akkadian *nūrum* "light," thus "the festival of the boat of light" or "the festival of the boat of the moon." The imagery of the crescent moon as a boat was rather common throughout Sumer. From the tablets of Ur III Ur there is a reference from the seventh month in the reign of Ibbi-Sin to a sheep and a lamb for the ezem-má-dSuen "the festival of the boat of the moon" (UET 3 190). Therefore, considering this Ur III festival and the occurrence of the term *elip nūri*, it seems rather likely that the Old Babylonian ezem-má-nu-ru is also the "festival of the boat of the moon."

ezem-šu-eš-ša: Although the šu-eš of Nanna and the šu-eš of Inanna are attested in pre-Sargonic Ur, there are no Ur III references to a šu-eš-ša festival. Yet there are references from Ur from the reign of Sumuel of Larsa (1894–1866 B.C.).<sup>1</sup> These texts record the withdrawal of ghee, cheese and dates from the storehouse of Ningal for the šu-eš-ša festival. It seems more likely that this festival continued uninterrupted from the pre-Sargonic period through the Ur III period, down into Old Babylonian times, rather than its having been reintroduced into Old Babylonian Ur after a hiatus of at least a hundred years.<sup>2</sup>

ezem-maḥ: The Great Festival continued to be observed in the tenth month in Old Babylonian Ur.<sup>3</sup> The texts record foodstuffs for the festival from the storehouse of Ningal. The ezem-maḥ of Ur is probably being referred to in a text which lists the u<sub>4</sub>-ezem<sup>2</sup>-maḥ for the 5th day of the month (month name not preserved), along with offerings for the ritual washing of the king and offerings for Ninḫursag, Ninkununna, and Ninsun.<sup>4</sup>

A festival of Nergal (ezem-dNè-iri<sub>11</sub>-gal) is mentioned on several Old Babylonian Ur tablets. Such a festival at Ur is unattested in the Ur III period.<sup>5</sup>

Van De Mieroop has suggested that a festival of the first fruits occurred in Old Babylonian Ur, which involved a procession at the beginning and end of the festival (possibly to and from the boat at the quay).<sup>6</sup>

1. Figulla, *op. cit.*, 117ff. no. 45 = UET 5 785 (no month), no. 46 = UET 5 757 (month 9), no. 47 = UET 5 745 (month 9).

2. For more information on šu-eš-ša, see pp. 154ff. for a discussion of the ninth month of the Ur calendar in the third millennium.

3. Figulla, *op. cit.*, 113ff. nos. 37 = UET 5 751, 38 = UET 5 739, 39 = UET 5 747, and 40.

4. *Annual Review of the RIM Project* 4, 25 no. xxiv.H.36c.

5. UET 5 nos. 225, 226, 404, and 798.

6. *Studies Sjöberg*, 398.

## LARSA

There are no Larsa tablets dated before the rise of Išbi-Erra which could provide information on its calendar before the spread of the Southern-Mesopotamian Sumerian calendar. Jean lists three unidentified month names found on Old Babylonian tablets from Larsa: *iti di/ki-in-šu-um* (TCL 10 125), *iti a<sup>2</sup>-ba<sup>2</sup>-è* (TCL 10 30), and *iti AS-A-KU<sub>5</sub>* (VAS 13 100).<sup>1</sup> The orthography *iti a<sup>2</sup>-ba<sup>2</sup>-è* may be a variant for *iti ab(-ba)-è*. Possibly *iti di/ki-in-šu-um* should be read *iti ki-in-ku<sup>1</sup>-um*, a known month from the Amorite calendars. (This same tablet [TCL 10 125] includes a reference to *iti ne-IZI-gar*.) The orthography *iti AS-A-KU<sub>5</sub>* might somehow be a variant for *iti še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>* or, indeed, be an otherwise unattested month name. Leemans (SLB 1 (2) 21) reads a month name found at Larsa from this period as *iti BAL-NA*, which perhaps should be emended to read *iti numun<sup>1</sup>-na*, for *iti šu-numun-na*.

One tablet, dated to the reign of Samsuiluna (1749–1712 B.C.) and said to have come from Larsa (TCL 11 222) is dated to the month *Elūnum*, the second month in several of the Amorite calendars. Another tablet, though dated to *iti ne-IZI-gar*, records that payment will occur in *iti na-ab-ru-ú u<sub>4</sub>-30*, a mixture of the two calendrical systems (TCL 10 20). However, Leemans, based upon internal evidence, argues that several Larsa tablets, including TCL 10 20, were written by merchants from Larsa in Ešnunna, where they used the native calendar<sup>2</sup> and, therefore, these two texts would not indicate the use of an Amorite calendar at Larsa.

á-ki-ti: A Larsa document (YOS 14 202) refers to the day of the á-ki-ti in Ur (*u<sub>4</sub>-á-ki-ti ša Ur<sup>ki</sup>-ma*) in the seventh month. Two other Larsa documents, also dating to the seventh month, mention the *u<sub>4</sub>-á-ki-ti* of Dumuzi of Badtibira (YOS 14 194): *l-giš sízkur-dDumu-zi šà Bād-tibira<sup>ki</sup> u<sub>4</sub> á-ki-ti ù e-lu-lu* "oil for the offering to Dumuzi of Badtibira for the day of the á-ki-ti-festival and the *elūlu*-celebration"; (YOS 14 265): *l-giš u<sub>4</sub> á-ki-tum<sup>d</sup> Dumu-zi uru<sup>ki</sup> Bād-tibira<sup>ki</sup>* "oil for the day of the *akūlum*-festival of Dumuzi of Badtibira." In Ur the á-ki-ti-festival was directed to Nanna, the moon and patron deity of Ur. These two Larsa references concerning Dumuzi of Badtibira are the earliest references to an á-ki-ti-festival for a deity other than Nanna. There is another Larsa document which refers to provisions for the á-ki-ti-festival (*Sumer* 34 [1978], 167 L.74186), but this may refer to the celebration in Ur or Badtibira.

1. Jean *Larsa*, 61-62.

2. See Greengus, *op. cit.*, 217 n. 39; Leemans, *Foreign Trade in the Old Babylonian Period*, 68-74.

*elūlu*: There is a reference to the day of the *elūlu* festival for Ningišzida in the fourth month (YOS 14 238: UD *e-l[u]* <sup>d</sup>Nin-gi[š-z]i-d[a]) and an *elūlu*-festival in the twelfth month (*Sumer* 34 [1978] L.74133), perhaps both or one of these texts referring to a native Larsa festival. Sin-iddinam (1849–1843 B.C.) participated in the *elūnum*-festival: “this is the (appearance of the) liver which fell to the lot of King Sin-iddinam when he sacrificed (a sheep) in the temple of Šamaš at the *elūnum*-festival” (YOS 10 1:3). However, the *elūnum* festival may not be the same as the *elūlu* festival and thus this latter reference may refer either to a different celebration or to the Šamaš temple in Sippar or elsewhere.

ezem-má-an-na: The festival for the Boat of An is mentioned in a tablet found at Larsa (Syria 53 [1976], 67 no. 122) which records the distribution of provisions for Šamaš and for the Ištar temple for the festival on the 26th day of the first month. Another text records oil for the day of the Boat of An in month seven (YOS 14 268).<sup>1</sup>

ne-IZI-gar: The ne-IZI-gar observance was conducted during the eighth month throughout the temples of Larsa. Texts record the ne-IZI-gar for Ningal (YOS 14 199), Martu (YOS 14 201, 209, 277), Ninḫursag (YOS 14 224), Ninmar (YOS 14 242, 273), Nin-mē (YOS 14 246, 248), Iškur and Nin-šár-an-ki (YOS 14 275). There are additional references to the ne-IZI-gar without a specified deity (YOS 14 276 [u<sub>4</sub>-ne-IZI-gar dingir-ēš-didli], 170, 195 and 274).

One Larsa text mentions oil for the offering to Ninmar for the day of the *ḫursubum* (UD *ḫu-ur-su-bu-um*) during the first month (YOS 14 211). Unfortunately, this is the only reference to the term. Two texts refer to oil for the “sweepings(?)” (YOS 4 170: *ana ḫimmatim* [13th month]; YOS 4 269: UD *ḫi-ma-lum* [7th month]). However, this passage may refer to rituals accompanying agricultural activities. There are also two references to the ritual bathing of Nergal in the ninth month (YOS 14 233 and 247) and two references to the day of the Festival of the Early Grass (u<sub>4</sub> *ú-sag*) in the eleventh month (YOS 14 219 and 234).<sup>2</sup>

#### BABYLON

An Old Babylonian text records a *pīḫu*-beer-container brought to Babylon (ká-dingir-ra<sup>ki</sup>) for the *kinūnu* festival (ezem-KI.NE) (YOS 13 406).<sup>3</sup>

1. See p. 215 for a discussion of the festival of the Boat of An.

2. For the Festival of the Early Grass, see pp. 163-164.

3. For KI.NE, *kinūnu*, see CAD K 393.

Samusiluna's 27th regnal year is named after his commissioning of a statue of Adad of Babylon for the á-ki-ti festival in Ur(?): “Year Samsuiluna dedicated for his life to Adad of Babylon his lord who helps and who listens to his supplications the most splendid offering such as is suitable for the *akitu*, a brilliant image of silver, 10 talents in weight.”

#### BADTIBIRA

The á-ki-ti festival of Dumuzi of Badtibira and the *elūlu* festival are mentioned in documents dating to the seventh month (YOS 14 194): *l-giš sízkur-dumu-zi ša Bād-tibira<sup>ki</sup> u<sub>4</sub> á-ki-ti ù e-lu-lu* “oil for the offering to Dumuzi of Badtibira for the day of the á-ki-ti-festival and the *elūlu*-celebration”; (YOS 14 265): *l-giš u<sub>4</sub> á-ki-tum dDumu-zi uru<sup>ki</sup> Bād-tibira<sup>ki</sup>* “oil for the day of the *akītum*-festival of Dumuzi of Badtibira” and note YOS 14 231: *l-giš ezem e-lu-lu-ú dDumu-zi Bād-birg<sup>ki</sup>* “oil for the *elūlu* festival of Dumuzi of Badtibira.”

The *elūnum* festival was observed in Badtibira during the third month (YOS 14 213) and the ne-IZI-gar observance in the eighth month (YOS 14 245).

R. Kutscher suggests that YOS 14 279 alludes to a festival or special occasion in the cult of Dumuzi of Badtibira, the tablet listing provisions for Dumuzi for his trip from Badtibira to Larsa during the ninth month.<sup>1</sup>

#### GIRSU

A text from Larsa mentions the day of the festival of the cattle pen of Baba in Girsu (YOS 14 284): *u<sub>4</sub> ezem-é-tūr-ra dBa-ba<sub>6</sub> ša Gír-su<sup>ki</sup>*. Unfortunately the month name is not preserved.

#### ISIN

A tablet dated to the sixth year of Išbi-erra records an offering for the Boat of An for Inanna (sízkur má-an-na <sup>d</sup>Inanna) (BIN 9 387).

In at least one of the years during the reign of Iddin-Dagan of Isin (1974–1954 B.C.) at New Year's the king ritually slept with a priestess of Inanna, performing, what has been termed, the Sacred Marriage Rite. This ritual was based upon the original motif of the god Dumuzi marrying Inanna, their union ensuring a year of plenty. Jacobsen concludes that Dumuzi (not Inanna) was the original source of fertility, as depicted by all the gifts he brings to the union in scenes on the Uruk Vase and on roll-seals.<sup>2</sup> It was the allure of the goddess Inanna which attracted the god and his bountiful gifts for the na-

1. “The Cult of Dumuzi,” *Bar-Ilan Studies*, 39.

2. Jacobsen, “Religious Drama in Ancient Mesopotamia,” *Unity and Diversity: Essays in the History, Literature, and Religion of the Ancient Near East*, H. Goedicke and J. J. M. Roberts, eds. (Baltimore, 1975), 69.

tion. However, Jacobsen observes: "Alongside of this view, however, also a diametrically opposed one occurs, according to which the *goddess* is the source of the blessings envisioned, and the god, in the person of the king, the receiver" and "in Isin-Larsa times such enticing of the goddess by his [the king's] bodily charms actually *was* the role of the king in the Sacred Marriage."<sup>1</sup>

Jacobsen suggests that the Sacred Marriage was "patterned after the normal Ancient Mesopotamian wedding ceremony which had the bridegroom appear with his wedding gifts of edibles at the door of the bride's paternal house asking to be let in. The bride, having bathed and dressed in all her finery, then opened the door to him and this opening of the door was the ritual act that concluded the marriage. Next bride and bridegroom were escorted separately to the bridal chamber, where the marriage was consummated. The next morning the young couple then presided at a feast of plenty."<sup>2</sup>

#### NIPPUR

Lipit-Ištar of Isin (1934–1924 B.C.) participated in the *gusisu*-festival at Nippur, (see our discussion of the second month of the Ur III Nippur calendar).

A reference perhaps to a festival of the barley harvest occurs in a royal hymn of Išbi-Erra of Isin (2017–1985 B.C.) to the goddess Nisaba: *urudu*kin-gal-gal *ur*<sub>4</sub>-*ur*<sub>4</sub>-*ru*-*da* *ezem*-gal *na-am*, "It (the grain) is harvested with sickles; there is truly a great festival!"<sup>3</sup>

A Nippur text dating to the reign of Samsuiluna (1749–1712 B.C.) mentions festival provisions for the coming year for the *é-sikil* of the Ekur complex (*ni-ezem-ma é-sikil*.<sup>d</sup>*En-lil-lá ni-mu-l-kam*).<sup>4</sup> However, specific festivals are not named.

1. Jacobsen, *op. cit.*, 70.

2. Jacobsen, *op. cit.*, 65.

3. D. Reisman, "A 'Royal' Hymn of Išbi-Erra to the Goddess Nisaba," *Kramer AV*, 362 line 90.

4. K. Van Lerberghe in *Reflets des deux fleuves*, Akkadica Supplementum 6 (Leuven, 1989), 177. For the *é-sikil* of the Ekur complex see Bernhardt and Kramer, "Die Tempel und Götterschreine von Nippur," *Or* 44 (1975), 98 obv. 18 and rev. 34 for *é-SIKIL-lum*.

## Assyria

The Assyrian calendar is attested in Cappadocia at the beginning of the second millennium B.C. at Kültepe, ancient Kaneš, an Assyrian trading colony (level 2 period), and about fifty years later (level 1b period) at Hattušaš (the Hittite capital) and at Alishar.<sup>1</sup> A slightly evolved Assyrian calendar is attested as early as the middle of the eighteenth century B.C.,<sup>2</sup> although almost all references are dated after the middle of the second millennium at Aššur and at Šibaniba (=Tell Billa).<sup>3</sup> (We shall differentiate these two calendars as the Old Assyrian calendar and the Restored Assyrian calendar.) Finally, during the reign of Tiglath-Pileser (1114–1076 B.C.) the Restored Assyrian calendar was abandoned in favor of the Standard Mesopotamian calendar.<sup>4</sup>

As noted by Larsen, during the fifty years between level 2 and level 1b at Kaneš, the Old Assyrian calendar underwent several modifications.<sup>5</sup> Larsen bases this observation partly on his analysis of tablets dated with the formula: *limum ša qāti* PN, "eponymy: of the hand of PN," a formula used at the beginning of the year when the colony had not yet received the official eponymy from Aššur. At the level 2 period only five months ever demonstrate this type of dating (*warah bēlī-ekallim*, *warah ša sarrātim*, *warah narmak Aššur ša kīnātim*, *warah mahḥurili*, and *warah ab šarrāni*). The fact that the other seven months never contain this type of dating indicates that only these five months ever occurred at the beginning of the eponym-year. Beginning with level 1b, the dating formula *limum ša qāti* PN could be associated with all the months, indicating that any month might begin an eponym-year.<sup>6</sup> Thus the eponym-year and the Assyrian calendar were congruent in the level 2 period, but were asynchronous beginning with level 1b.

1. For references to Assyrian texts from Hattušaš and Alishar, see Larsen *City-State*, 53 notes 16 and 17.

2. K. Veenhof, "Assyrian Commercial Activities in Old Babylonian Sippar" in *Marchands, Diplomates, et Empereurs*, D. Charpin and F. Joannès, eds. (Paris, 1991), 291.

3. J.J. Finkelstein, "Texts from Tell Billa," *JCS* 7 (1953), 114ff.

4. See pp. 300ff. for a discussion of the timing of this change of calendars.

5. Larsen *City-State*, 53 and 193.

6. *Ibidem*, 53 n. 18.

Larsen, assuming that the eponym-year was always a solar year, states concerning the Assyrian calendar at level 2:<sup>1</sup>

The Old Assyrian calendar is very poorly known and it seems certain that only the publication of a large corpus of new material can help us gain a better understanding of it. My own efforts in this direction indicate that there was some system in operation during the level 2 period at Kanesh which secured a constant coordination between the month-calendar and the year-eponymy, i.e., it was a kind of solar calendar; apparently no intercalary months were used, in contrast with the system in the south, but the precise way in which the coordination between the lunar months and the solar eponym-year was arranged remains unknown.

Considering the absence of intercalary months and the lack of any other attested method of reconciliation with the solar calendar, it seems more likely that the eponym-year at level 2 was a lunar year—not a solar year, thereby explaining its coinciding with the Assyrian calendar. After all, both the Assyrian calendar and the dating by eponym-years were peculiar to Aššur and it is more likely that they would have been created in consonance, a coherent system, and that subsequently, as the perils of using a lunar year became apparent, they diverged. Moreover, if both the calendar and eponym-year at level 2 were tied to the solar year, it almost defies logic to understand why the reforms instituted by level 1b would purposely adopt a lunar calendar that roamed throughout the seasonal calendar as well as creating disharmony with the eponym year and with other calendrical systems! This would appear to be retrogressive with no advantages.

One of the reforms instituted by the level 1b period at Kaniš resulted in the calendar and the eponym-year diverging, which would have occurred had the eponym-year become tied to the seasons, rather than as a result of the Assyrian calendar having lost its synchronization with the solar calendar. With the increased interaction with other major commercial and political centers, such as Mari, Ešnunna, and Babylon, the need to become synchronized to the solar year used by these other powers became evident. This adjustment was a partial adjustment, the eponym-year coinciding with the solar year, thereby creating harmony in international agreements and contracts. Since the eponym year was strictly an administrative device, restructuring it was a relatively simple matter. The lunar calendar, however, would have been tied to entrenched religious practices.

The restoration of the Old Assyrian calendar had occurred by 1750 B.C. This dating is based upon a tablet dated to the eponymy of Ḫabil-kenum, which Veenhof and Charpin have placed between the 42nd year of Hammurabi and the 2nd year of Samsuiluna, ca. 1750 B.C., in which the new month

1. Larsen, *op. cit.*, 192-193.

iti *dSin* occurs.<sup>1</sup> The calendar used at Šubat-Enlil by the Amorite interlopers Šamši-Adad and his son Išme-Dagan was an Amorite calendar,<sup>2</sup> not the native Assyrian calendar. Thus it seems likely that the Restored Assyrian calendar was instituted by the Assyrian successors to the deposed Amorite dynasty.<sup>3</sup> This move would have been one step in eradicating vestiges of the Amorite interlopers, while restoring the "true" Assyria. This restored calendar had undergone several modifications from the Old Assyrian calendar. The most striking change was the replacement of *warah te'inātim*, "the month of figs," by iti *dSin*, "the month of the moon-god Sin." The third month was shortened to *ša kēnāte*—the first part of the Old Assyrian month name (*narmuk-Aššur*) no longer being written.

The order, but not starting point, of the Assyrian calendar can be determined from a first millennium B.C. tablet from Aššurbanipal's library at Nineveh and by several Middle Assyrian texts.<sup>4</sup> The proposed order of the Old Assyrian months from level 2 is based upon (1) Larsen's observation on the five months which, based upon the *limu ša qāti* dating, were at the beginning of the year; (2) these five months being consecutive in the Restored Assyrian calendar.

| Old Assyrian Levels 2 and 1b           | Restored Assyrian Calendar |
|--|----------------------------|
| <i>warah bēlī-ekallim</i>              | <i>Belēt-ekalli</i>        |
| <i>warah ša sarrātim</i>               | <i>Ša sarrāte</i>          |
| <i>warah (narmak Aššur) ša kinātim</i> | <i>Ša kēnāte</i>           |
| <i>warah maḥḥurili</i>                 | <i>Muḥḥur ilāni</i>        |
| <i>warah ab šarrāni</i>                | <i>Abū šarrāni</i>         |
| <i>warah ḥubur</i>                     | <i>Ḥubur</i>               |
| <i>warah šip'im</i>                    | <i>Šippu</i>               |
| <i>warah qarrātim</i>                  | <i>Qarrātu</i>             |
| <i>warah kanwarta</i>                  | <i>Kalmartu</i>            |
| <i>warah te'inātim</i>                 | <i>dSin</i>                |
| <i>warah kuzallu</i>                   | <i>Kuzallu</i>             |
| <i>warah allanātim</i>                 | <i>Allanātu</i>            |

1. K. Veenhof, JEOL 30 (1987/88), 32-37; D. Charpin, NABU 1990, 6.

2. See pp. 255ff. for the calendar of Šubat-Enlil. Note that *Magrānum*, the second month of the Šubat-Enlil calendar, has been found on a tablet excavated at Aššur. However, V. Donbaz (NABU 1989/3, 48) suggests that this tablet was originally from Chagar Bazar [=Šubat-Enlil].

3. By the 18th year of Hammurapi (ca. 1774 B.C.) Zimri-Lim had succeeded to the Mari throne previously held by Šamši-Adad's son, Išme-Dagan. (See Charpin and Durand, "La prise du pouvoir par Zimri-Lim," MARI 4, 293ff. for the accession of Zimri-Lim in the year Hammurapi 18.) Thus, by the eponymy of Ḫabil-kenu (and the time of our tablet containing the new month name <sup>1d</sup> *dSin*), the Amorite interloper Šamši-Adad was no longer ruling in Assyria.

4. KAV 155; VAS 21 19; see Landsberger, ZDMG 74 (1920), 216ff.



There is a text (VAS 21 19) dated to the eponyms Usāt-Marduk and Enlil-ašared in the reign of Šhalmaneser I (1274–1245 B.C.) which records two consecutive eponym-years of twelve months each, beginning each year with *Šippu* and ending with *Hubur*. Unfortunately, this cannot be viewed as evidence that the Middle Assyrian year began with the month *Šippu*, since the two eponym-years may not have needed to be seasonally adjusted, thereby causing the same first month each eponym-year.

A Nineveh tablet from the library of Aššurbanipal (5R 43) lists six different calendars, each equated with its corresponding month in the Standard Mesopotamian calendar. According to this text the Assyrian months were equated as follows:

|  |                             |
|--|-----------------------------|
| [...]                                      | iti bára-zag-gar            |
| iti <i>dŠin</i>                            | iti gu <sub>4</sub> -si-sá  |
| iti <i>ku-zal-li</i>                       | iti sig <sub>4</sub> -ga    |
| iti <i>al-la-na-a-ti</i> [i]               | iti šu-numun-na             |
| iti [(...)] <sup>dN</sup> IN.É.GAL         | iti ne-IZI-gar              |
| iti [ <i>ša</i> ] <i>sa-ra-a-ti</i>        | iti kin <sup>d</sup> Inanna |
| iti <i>ša ke</i> -[ <i>na</i> ]- <i>ti</i> | iti du <sub>6</sub> -kù     |
| [...]                                      | iti apin-dug-a              |
| [...]                                      | iti gan-gan-na              |
| [...]                                      | iti ab-ba-è                 |
| iti [ <i>ši</i> ] <i>pu</i>                | iti udra                    |
| iti <i>qar-ra-a-ti</i>                     | iti še-kin-ku <sub>5</sub>  |

However, whereas the other five calendars in this tablet may have been correctly equated by the scribes, the Assyrian calendar was never tied to the solar year and thus the scribe's equating of the two would have been invalid eleven twelfths of the time.

Since the Restored Assyrian calendar did not coincide with the eponym-year, it is almost meaningless to search for the 'first month' of the Restored Assyrian calendar. Unless there was a religious New Year's observance tied to one particular month (for which there is no evidence to date), a concern for a starting month in the Restored Assyrian calendar may be as irrelevant as a modern concern for whether Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, etc. is the first day of the year.

A major dating problem is, however, seemingly inherent in a system in which the calendar year is shorter than the eponym-year. Weidner and Hunger have suggested that whenever the eponym-year had to be seasonally adjusted, the year contained thirteen months. And using a strict calendar of twelve months, the first month of that particular eponym-year apparently served as the thirteenth month of the same eponym-year. However, this cre-

ates a seemingly unacceptable dating system in which the same eponym-year and month name would indicate two months which fell twelve months apart. It is hard to believe that the Assyrians did not have some type of notation to differentiate the two months, but unfortunately the preserved Middle Assyrian tablets provide no clue.

As to the starting point of the eponym-year, Larsen suggests that, beginning with level 1b, the eponym-year began around the autumnal equinox.<sup>1</sup> Larsen bases his conclusion on an analysis of Mari tablets from the eponym of Tāb-šilli-Aššur which contain the *warki* month notation, a method employed when, Larsen suggests, political developments in Assyria delayed the announcement of the new eponym. Thus, as with the Kaneš *limum ša qāti*, the tablets utilizing the *warki*-notation should have occurred at the beginning of the next eponym-year. Larsen's research has found that this notation occurs on Mari tablets dated to the fifth through ninth months. And since the first month at Mari, *urāhum*, began in the spring, the Assyrian eponym year began at the end of the summer, the beginning of autumn.

In the Old Assyrian period the month names were written as genitival formations "the month of ..." (*warah<sup>KAM</sup> MN*). The two clear instances wherein this genitival formation does not occur are the months *Hubur* and *Kanwarta*, indicating that these two month names are not Semitic. A somewhat unclear instance, however, is the month *Kuzallu/i* (for which see our discussion below). Based upon the Old Assyrian tablets from Kültepe, the Old Assyrian calendar consisted of the following months:<sup>2</sup>

#### a. *Šip'im*

Note the month designation: *warah<sup>KAM</sup> ši-pi* <<bi>> *bi<sub>4</sub>-ri-im* (BIN 4 207 case 10) which CAD has quoted with references in its discussion of the month name *Šippu*. The meaning of the name is unclear.<sup>3</sup>

#### b. *Qarrātīm*

The meaning of this month and festival name is unclear. This month name was found also on a tablet from Nuzi (HSS 15 134 rev. 41).

1. "Unusual Eponymy-Datings from Mari and Assyria," RA 68 (1974), 18 and Larsen *City-State*, 53.

2. For references to various orthographies for these months as well as suggested meanings of the month names not presented below, see Hirsch, *op. cit.*, 54-55.

3. J. Levy ("The Assyrian Calendar," ArOr 11 [1939], 39) suggested that the month *šib'um* derived from the western root *šb* "to go to war" and thus designated the month the kings went to war.

c. *Kanwarta*

The reading of the month name was established by Donbaz with his publication of a tablet with the orthography *kà-an-wa-ar-ta*.<sup>1</sup> Donbaz's collations of other tablets revealed that the Old Assyrian references had *kán*, not *tan* as had been copied in several instances. Other orthographies are: *kán-mar-ta* (CCT 1 113275); *ak-wa-ar-ta* (CCT 1 113528); *kán-bar-ta* (CCT 5 120517); *kán-wa-ar-ta* (ICK 1 60). With Donbaz's establishment of the reading *kanwarta*, instead of *\*tanwarta*, it is clear that the month is non-Semitic and the meaning of the month name is unknown.

d. *Te'inātim*, "(the month of) figs"

In the Restored Assyrian calendar this month name was replaced by *iti dŠin* (the month of the moon-god Sin).

e. *Kuzallu/Kuzalli*, "(the month of) the shepherd(?)"

The Old Assyrian Semitic month names are constantly written as part of a genitival construct with *warah* and always have mimation. However, the orthography of the month *kuzalli* is unusual. First, a form *kuzallu* is attested. Second, the form without mimation, *kuzalli*, is the more common, the form with mimation occurring rarely. Thus *kuzallu/i* appears to be originally non-Semitic, probably related to Hurrian *kuzallu*, "shepherd."<sup>2</sup> The ambivalence in scribal declension of the month name probably reflects the adoption of the Hurrian *kuzallu* into every-day usage, but a basic realization that it was of non-Semitic origin.

f. *Allanātim*, "(the month) of acorns"

CAD states: "the name refers to the month in which the acorns ripen."<sup>3</sup> Regarding the economic importance of the acorn in the Old Assyrian period, CAD A/1 55 notes: "in certain instances [the acorn] is used by the fuller. In others, however, it is considered important enough to be sent overland in earthen containers and to be mentioned beside resins, etc., so that it possibly denotes a specially treated acorn or also an edible acorn-shaped nut."

1. "The Old Assyrian Month Name Kanwarta," JCS 24 (1972), 24.

2. Langdon *Menologies*, 33 n. 7; CAD K 613 sub *kuzallu* B.

3. CAD A/1 354. Landsberger, LSS 6 1/2, 89 had interpreted the month as "*Hirtenmonat*" and J. Lewy, ArOr 11 (1939), 40-41, as deriving from *alālu*, "to praise," stating "the month *warah allanātim* refers to thanksgiving celebrations at which, as is indicated by the feminine plural, women played a prominent role, probably in praising Ištar as the goddess of fertility who had granted the harvest."

g. *Bēlī-ekallim*, "(the month) of My-Lady-of-the-Palace"

In a tablet from Alalakh the *emesal* form of the month is attested (Wiseman *Alalakh* 238): *iti GAŠAN.É.GAL*. The temple of Bēlet-ekallim was the subject of an inscription of Zariqu who lived during the Ur III period (KAH 2).

h. *Ša sarrātim*, "(the month) of the (ritual) washing of (Aššur) for the unfaithful(?)"

For the various orthographies see CAD S 180 sub *sarrātu* mng. b2') and note in particular the hypocoristic form *ITI ra-a-tu*.

This month stands in contrast to the following month name: *ša kinātim*. However, the implication of these terms is unclear.

i. *Narmak Aššur ša kinātim*, "(the month) of the (ritual) washing of Aššur for the faithful(?)"

Orthographies: *ša ki-na-tim* (CCT 1 113470); *na-ar-ma-ak a-šur* (ICK 1 118; KTS 9); *na-ar-ma-kū-a-šur ša ki-na-tim* (Matouš KK 18); *na-ar-<ma>-ak a-š[ur]* (TCL 21 238A).

j. *Maḥḥurilī*

*Maḥḥurilī* would seem to mean "the offering of the gods" (*maḥḥur ilī*). However, CAD M/2 176 states: "The O[ld] A[ssyrian] month name is possibly a popular etymology of a foreign (Hurr[ian]?) name \*maḥ(h)urillu or the like; the M[iddle] A[ssyrian] form *muḥur ilī* seems to represent *muḥru*." For *muḥru* denoting a special type of prayer or a street chapel marking the turning point of a processional circuit, see CAD M/2 177.

k. *Ab/p šarrāni*

CAD states: "Since the first element is consistently written *ab* in the O[ld] A[ssyrian] refs., it is unlikely that the month name is composed with *abu*, "father"; the fact that no writings with AD are found in the M[iddle] A[ssyrian] texts supports this interpretation."<sup>1</sup> CAD notes that a plural *šarrānu* for "kings" is attested in the Old Assyrian period. Note the somewhat similar Ur III month name from Ishān Mīzyad: *ITI šar-ra-ni*.<sup>2</sup> Possibly the element *ab/p* in the month name may be related to *ab/pum* as in the month and festival

1. CAD A/1 2 sub *ab šarrāni*. J. Lewy (ArOr 11 [1939]) had accepted *ab* as meaning "father," while rejecting *šarrāni* as "kings," in the OA period, preferring to related *šarrāni* to *šrn*, "fertility," thus the month of the "father of fertility."

2. See pp. 206-207 for the calendar at Ishān Mīzyad.

name, which may refer to a burial mound.<sup>1</sup> If true, then this month name probably refers to a yearly observance for the deceased Assyrian kings.

# 1. *Hubur*, "(the month of) the netherworld"<sup>2</sup>

The *Hubur* was the river to be crossed by the dead on their journey to the netherworld (see p. 247). In the Restored Assyrian calendar both forms *hubur* and *hibur* are plentifully attested.

There is one Old Assyrian tablet which, within the body of the text, uses the month *iti dDumu-zi*, a month in many of the Amorite calendars.<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately, the month name in the date formula at the close of the tablet is not preserved. According to Donbaz: "the metrology is according to the Old Assyrian type and the presence of a *limu* shows that it was written in Assyrian territory."<sup>4</sup>

Since the Assyrian calendar was out of phase with the solar calendar it is surprising that several months are named for agricultural activities tied to the seasons, i.e., the months of acorns, figs, and shepherding.

The Old Assyrian texts, mainly due to the economic nature of these transactions, reveal almost nothing about the festivals celebrated throughout the Assyrian cities.<sup>5</sup> Several texts refer to festivals of the gods *Nipas*, *Parka*, *An(n)a* and *Harihari* as the time for repayment of loans.<sup>6</sup> A fifth term is *Tuhtuhāni*, which occurs in the forms *ša Tuhtuhāni* and *ana Tuhtuhāni*.<sup>7</sup> These terms are non-Semitic, perhaps referring to festivals of the local populace in Cappadocia.

Hildegard and Julius Lewy suggested that the observance of the *akitu*-festival in Aššur is attested as early as the period of Cappadocian colonization, at the beginning of the second millennium at Level 2:<sup>8</sup>

That the "distant days" before which, according to Sennacherib, the New Year's festival had been celebrated in an *akitu*-temple outside the city actually comprised the period covered by the Kültepe texts is suggested by the Old Assyrian letter TC II 15. ... "One or two months ago, upon the rising of

1. See pp. 259-261 for our discussion of the meaning of the month name *ab/pum*.

2. So J. Lewy, "The Assyrian Calendar," *ArOr* 11 (1939), 43. See p. 283 for its relationship with the Mari month *IGI.KUR*, an observation already made by Lewy.

3. V. Donbaz, "Four Old Assyrian Tablets from the City of Aššur," *JCS* 26 (1974), 81ff., A 1574 = Ass. 18799.

4. *Ibidem*, 82.

5. See P. Garelli, "La religion de l'Assyrie ancienne d'après un ouvrage récent," *RA* 56 (1962), 191ff.; H. Hirsch, *AFO* 13 (1939/41).

6. See H. Hirsch, *AFO* 13 (1939/41), 51-53; L. Matouš, "Anatolische Feste nach 'Kappadokischen' Tafeln," *Studies Landsberger*, 175-181; B. Landsberger, "Jahreszeiten im Sumerisch-Akkadischen," *JNES* 8 (1949), 293.

7. Hirsch, *op. cit.*

8. "The Week and the Oldest West Asiatic Calendar," *HUCA* 17 (1942/43), 62-64.

your god, Kurub-Ištar came here (in) a matter concerning me ... The words "upon the rising (*tab'ē*) of your god" have an exact parallel in Neo-Babylonian royal inscriptions in as much as the latter define as the "rising (*tabē*) of Marduk, the Enlil of the gods" the solemn moment when, during the celebration of the New Year's festival, the supreme god left Esagil in order to move to the *akitu*-temple outside the city of Babylon. ... Further information in regard to these processions is furnished by the Old Assyrian letter TC II 37 which contains the following lines: "Since it is (the time of) the procession, there is here no one in the city ... The return of the procession is near; within ten days it will return hither." Since there can be no doubt that the procession referred to by the writer of this letter is part of the great religious celebration in which the whole population participated, we learn from this passage that actually no business could be carried out during this festival; it further follows that in Assyria, like in Babylonia, the feast extended over a period of more than ten days.

The reference in TC II 37 to a ten day procession, does, indeed bring to mind the *akitu*-celebration (although the *akitu*-festival was eleven days). However, there really is no evidence to indicate that the *akitu*-festival is the subject of this letter. And Lewy's interpretation of TC II 15 seems somewhat contrived, since this could refer to any celebration, perhaps even a native Cappadocian one. Moreover, the distant days referred to by Sennacherib may extend no further back than the Middle-Assyrian period (if, indeed, that far back!), from which there is a ritual indicating a procession to an *akitu*-house outside of the city gates.<sup>1</sup>

During the period of the Amorite interlopers (ca. 1800 B.C.), an *akitu*-festival was celebrated in the middle of the month *itiGUD*, as noted in a letter from Šamši-Adad to his son Yasmah-Adad at Mari:<sup>2</sup>

The current month is *itiGUD*; when the sixteenth day comes the *akitu*-festival will be performed. The envoys of the ruler of the city of Ešnunna are already present. As to the [...] ceremony, let your teams of *damdammu*-mules and horses come here to the New Year's festival; the chariots and harnesses for the horses should be new. They will pull (the chariot) during the New Year's festival and will then be returned directly to you.

Your animals should depart for here the very day you receive this message without even waiting for next morning."

However, it is unclear whether Šamši-Adad was stationed at Šubat-Enlil or some more southerly location when this letter was written, particularly in light of the month being written *itiGUD*, which is unexpected from scribes at Šubat-Enlil, where a different calendar was in use.

1. *ZA* 50 (1954), 192-202.

2. *ARM* 1 50; translation based upon Oppenheim *Letters*, 109.

The observance of the *akitu*-festival for Marduk in Aššur during the Middle Assyrian period is attested in a ritual from Aššur.<sup>1</sup> Van Driel notes

The supposition that this Marduk was the statue of Marduk of Babylon brought to Aššur by Tukulti-Ninurta I and not that of a local Marduk from the temple of the god in Aššur itself seems acceptable, especially if one compares KAR 135+ ... [These texts may] belong to the period between the conquest of Babylon by Tukulti-Ninurta I and the return of Marduk to his residence, possibly in the reign of Ninurta-tukul-Aššur [ca. 1225–1135 B.C.].<sup>2</sup>

Although the preserved portions of the text do not actually name the festival, several passages indicate that it, indeed, concerns the *akitu*-festival: (1) the king is an active participant before Marduk; (2) Marduk is seated on the Throne-of-Destiny, (which occurs in the *akitu*-rituals of the first millennium B.C.); (3) there is a procession of gods outside the city and the gods travel by barge. This text points to the existence of an *akitu*-house outside the walls of Aššur during the Middle Assyrian period and this may be the period of time referred to by Sennacherib: "when the *akitu*-temple outside the walls had been forgotten for a long time."<sup>3</sup> According to this ritual the king presented gifts to the gods, some of which were sent to the temple of Ištar. The king, the *šangû*-priest and the statues of the other gods stood before Marduk, as Marduk sat on the Throne-of-Destiny, receiving libations and offerings. The procession to the *akitu*-house outside the city wall then began. At certain points along the procession-way hymns to soothe Marduk were sung and offerings of sheep and libations of wine were performed. After exiting the city gate, the gods boarded barges, presumably to travel to the *akitu*-house. After arriving at the *akitu*-house a ritual meal was presented by the king to Marduk and the other gods.

If the two aforementioned Cappadocian letters cited by Lewy do not refer to an *akitu*-festival in Aššur, (the Šamši-Adad letter refers to an *akitu*-celebration at Subat-Enlil or somewhere else other than Aššur), then the period from 1225–1135 B.C. would have marked the introduction of the *akitu*-festival at Aššur, a ritual imported from Babylon with the appropriation of the statue of Marduk. The observance of the *akitu* may have been originally intended to welcome Marduk into his new city (indeed, the very function of the *akitu*), as well as to demonstrate to Marduk that the Assyrians had assumed from the Babylonians the responsibility for his cult. Eventually the *akitu*-festival in Assyria was adapted to the cult of Aššur, with Marduk still playing a prominent role (see pp. 420ff.).

1. F. Köcher, "Ein mittelasyrisches Ritualfragment zum Neujahrsfest," ZA 50 (1954), 192–202. For an English translation of this text see pp. 418–420.

2. Van Driel *Aššur*, 54.

3. OIP 2, 136: 26ff.

Two other festivals may be discerned in second-millennium Assyria.

From the Neo-Assyrian period there is mention of the *qarrātu* festival on the 17th and 18th days of the twelfth month (KAV 79 r. 9) "one seah (of wine) on the 17th, one seah on the 18th of the month of *Addaru* at the *qarrātu* festival." Since there was a month by the same name, quite possibly this festival was observed in Assyria during the second millennium.

The month name *Hubur* may refer to special religious activities along the *Hubur* (or *Habur*) river, a river which was frequently associated with the netherworld:<sup>1</sup> "[*Hubur*], as stated by Tiamat in *Enûma eliš* (I: 133), designates almost certainly the Sea that encircles the Earth and separates it from the gloomy border of the Hereafter, so distant and so poorly visible that one did not know whether the cosmic sea was *beyond* or *beneath* it." Thus, perhaps, these activities during this month in Assyria may have been related to the cult of the dead.

Historical inscriptions indicate a Middle Assyrian custom in which Aššur and the other gods visited the royal palace once a year, the date of which has not been preserved (see Van Driel *Aššur*, 165–167).<sup>2</sup>

1. Bottéro *Mesopotamia*, 275.

2. In the Middle Assyrian period the procession of Tašmētum occurred on the 5th of every month (KAR 122:8, quoted CAD § 33): "on the fifth day of each month the procession of Tašmētum (takes place)."

THE EARLY SECOND MILLENNIUM B.C.

# The Amorite Calendars

Variations of a basically Semitic calendar were employed by many of the cities stretching across the middle of the Tigris and Euphrates valley during the last century of the third millennium and the first three centuries of the second millennium B.C. The last attestations of these calendars date from the reign of Samsuiluna (1749–1712 B.C.) of Babylon.<sup>1</sup> These centuries witnessed the influx and growing influence of Semitic tribes referred to in Mesopotamian sources as Amorites, “westerners,” (*amurrû* in Akkadian, *mar-tu* in Sumerian), followed by the establishment of Amorite-dominated kingdoms at such important centers as Ešnunna, Babylon, and Šubat-Enlil. Although there is no conclusive evidence that these new calendars were introduced by the immigrating Amorite tribes, the appearance of a new calendar at the same period as the introduction of a new, large, dominating population suggests just such a connection.

A further indication that these calendars were of ‘western’ origin is the month name *Niqmum*, a Semitic word for “vengeance,” unattested in Akkadian texts, yet frequently attested in Amorite personal names.<sup>2</sup>

The Early Semitic calendar, which had been utilized throughout the Semitic centers of much of Mesopotamia in the third millennium (being attested in Ebla, Mari, Gasur [Nuzi], Abu Šalabikh, Ešnunna, as well as occasionally in Sumerian cities such as Umma, Adab, Lagaš, and Nippur), disappeared shortly before the introduction of these Amorite calendars. In the interim, local calendars appeared at both Ebla and Mari, calendars which bore no resemblance to the later Amorite calendars. Rather, the new Eblaite calendar and the Ur III Mari calendar appear to have been completely parochial in nature, (in contrast to the Old Semitic calendar, which was basically agricultural). The native Eblaite calendar and the Ur III Mari calendar contained several months named for festivals for their gods, thus reflecting the local cult. However, by the Old Babylonian period, the Mari calendar had evolved to include the months *Kinūnum* and *Kiskissum*, two months from the

Amorite calendars, an indication of the increased influence of the Amorite population at Mari.

There are very few references to the months of these Amorite calendars from the Ur III period, which, of course is not surprising since there is a dearth of documentation from central-Mesopotamian sites before the Old Babylonian period. The months *Kinkum* and *Zibnum* are attested in the Diyala region and the month *Nabrûm* occurs at Ešnunna as early as Šulgi 39.<sup>1</sup> The months *Abum*, *Zibnum*, and *Kinkum* are attested among the Semitic months at Ur III Ishān Mīzyad.<sup>2</sup> Further south, the month *Elūnum* is attested at Nippur in ŠS6.<sup>3</sup> Thus the Amorite calendars were already in use, at least in some areas of central Mesopotamia, in the Ur III period. By the Old Babylonian period the cities Ešnunna, Nērebtum, Šubat-Enlil and Šaduppum, and the ancient cities at the modern sites of Chagar Bazar and Tell al Rimah were all using variations of an Amorite calendar.<sup>4</sup>

Greengus, attempting to determine if any relationship existed between the Semitic month names and the Sumerian Nippur month names used at Sippar, gathered these calendrical references, concluding:<sup>5</sup>

The Akkadian calendar of Sippar can be viewed as part of a continuum of regional calendars stretching from Tell al Rimah and Mari on the West to Elam on the East and, embracing as well, the Khabur and Diyala rivers’ drainage areas. It is a continuum because no single set of month names is used throughout. One does find, however, some areas with significant congruity. One such area is formed by the Diyala sites of Tell Asmar [=Ešnunna], Ishchali [=Nērebtum], and Tell Harmal [=Šaduppum]; they use the same set of month names and thus appear to be part of a shared cultural tradition. A second such area is formed by the sites of Tell Rimah, Chagar Bazar, together with the adjacent northern reaches of empire represented in the correspondence of Šamši-Adad. The calendars of Elam, Mari, Sippar (with Tell ed-Dēr) are less congruent and may represent more separate traditions.<sup>6</sup>

One of the major difficulties in discerning the particular months and order of the Amorite calendar in each of the sites in the Old Babylonian period is the occurrence of more than the expected twelve months. In some instances

1. *id ki-in-kum* (MAD 3 147: TA 1931, 423), *id zi-ib-[nu]-um* (MAD 3 305: TA 1931, 591); *id na-ab-ri-um* (TA 1930-760).

2. For discussion of Ishān Mīzyad, see pp. 206-207.

3. Owen NATN 266.

4. S. Greengus, *op. cit.*, 228 (with references in n. 69) notes occasional references to this Semitic calendar at Southern Mesopotamian sites: “*Nabrûm* and *Elūnum* at Larsa, *Humtum* and *Mammitum* at Puzriš-Dagan, *Elūnum* at Nippur, and EZEN.<sup>d</sup>IM at Kish.”

5. S. Greengus, *op. cit.*, 209ff.

6. Greengus, *ibidem* 228; for Tell al Rimah as being either Karana or Qatara, see most recently J. Eidem, “Some Remarks on the Iltani Archive from Tell al Rimah,” *Iraq* 51 (1989), 76; K. Nashel, “Qatara and Karana,” *WO* 19 (1988), 35ff.; D. Charpin, *RA* 81 (1987), 125ff.

1. The latest references to this calendar have been gathered by S. Greengus (“The Akkadian Calendar at Sippar,” *JAOS* 107 [1987], 229 n. 72), wherein Greengus notes that the latest reference is to *Elūlu* in the twenty-first year of Samsuiluna (CT 8 15c:14).

2. See H. Huffman, *Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts*, (Baltimore, 1965), 242.

this may have resulted from tablets written at other sites being deposited in the city or foreign scribes and merchants using the calendars of their home towns. So too there may have been variations of the calendar at different periods within one city. Nonetheless, the calendar at each town was a subset of a core of nineteen month names. The variations among cities may be attributable to the traditions of the particular Amorite tribes which became influential in each area.

### The Cities

#### EŠNUNNA

The earliest month names attested at Ešnunna are Semitic month names from tablets dating to the Sargonic period,<sup>1</sup> whereas the earliest dated tablets from Ešnunna utilizing a Sumerian calendar date to the 30th year of Šulgi of Ur. Although the Sumerian Ur calendar is used at Ešnunna from Šulgi 30 on, two of the month names attested during Š30 are not found in the Ur calendar: <sup>iti</sup>šu-numun-na (TA 1931-354) (which occurs at a minimum at Nippur, Umma, and Lagaš) and <sup>iti</sup>KA.SI or <sup>iti</sup>ka-si (TA 1931-330). There is one tablet (TA 1930-760) which dates to Š39, yet utilized a month from the Amorite calendar, <sup>iti</sup>na-ab-ri-um, the calendar which completely replaced the Ur calendar at Ešnunna by the reign of Išbi-Erra of Isin. The Ur calendar appears to have been imposed upon Ešnunna around the thirtieth year of Šulgi, but a version of the Amorite calendar was probably used simultaneously.

Greengus' proposed reconstruction of the calendars of the cities using versions of an Amorite calendar is, to a large measure, based upon the established order of months at Ešnunna, which can be reconstructed from tablets found at that site which list several months in order (e.g. TA 1931-38 lists ten in order) or which calculate the duration between months. The calendar at Ešnunna in the Old Babylonian period consisted of the following months:<sup>2</sup>

- i. *Niggallum*
- ii. *Elūnum*
- iii. *Magrattum*
- iv. *Abum*
- v. *Zibnum*
- vi. *Niqmum*
- vii. *Kinūnum*

1. See pp. 25ff.

2. For this order, also see R. Whiting, "Four Seal Impressions from Tell Asmar," *Afo* 34 (1987) 32 note 16.

- viii. *Tamḥīrum*
- ix. *Nabrūm*
- x. *Mammītum*
- xi. *Kiskissum*
- xii. *Kinkum*

Though many of these months derive their names from festivals occurring during those months, only the month *Kiskissum* is ever attested as actually being written at Ešnunna with the word for festival: *iti EZEM ki-is-ki-sūm* (TA 1930-256). Greengus has identified *Kinkum* as the last month of the calendar based upon (1) a text which is dated to one year and states "from *Niggallum* to the intercalary *Kinkum*"; (2) an intercalary *Kinkum* occurring in six texts.

There is one attestation each of the months <sup>iti</sup>dū-gul-lá and <sup>iti</sup>Saḥarātum on tablets excavated at Ešnunna, these two months occurring in the calendar of Nērebtum.<sup>1</sup> The month *Saḥarātum* may have corresponded to the seventh month, indicating the autumnal equinox or the "turning" of the year (cf. *qūfat haššānā* [Exodus 34:22]).

The *akitu*-festival is attested in the year name of Sin-abušu, perhaps the same Sin-abušu who was ruler of Ešnunna: MU *a-ki-tam* <sup>d</sup>EN.ZU-a-bu-šu *iš-ku-nu* "the year Sin-abušu held the *akitu*-festival."

Offerings for several days of festivities at Ešnunna are recorded on a tablet dated to the 18th day of *Abum* (TA 1931-325). This tablet mentions the Great Offering, a special ritual performed only on festivals or great occasions during the previous Ur III period:

|   |  |
|---|--|
| ½ sila dabin 1 sila eše <sub>4</sub><br>sizkur ša-ge-guru <sub>7</sub><br>é <sup>d</sup> Tišpak-ka<br>1 sila dabin ½ sila eše <sub>4</sub><br>u <sub>4</sub> -1-kam<br>1 sila dabin ½ sila eše <sub>4</sub><br>u <sub>4</sub> -2-kam<br>1 sila dabin ½ sila eše <sub>4</sub><br>u <sub>4</sub> -3-kam<br><sup>d</sup> Nin-tir-ba-an<br>½ sila dabin 10 gín eše <sub>4</sub><br><sup>d</sup> Nin-šuk-nir<br>u <sub>4</sub> e-lu-um-še <sub>2</sub><br>½ sila dabin 10 gín eše <sub>4</sub><br><sup>d</sup> Inanna Unuk <sup>b</sup><br>1 sila dabin ½ sila eše <sub>4</sub><br>ki <sup>d</sup> Suen[(x)]<br>1 sila dabin ½ sila eše <sub>4</sub> | ½ liter of flour-paste (and) 1 liter of flour<br>(for) the <i>šageguru</i> -offering for the temple<br>of Tišpak.<br>1 liter of flour-paste (and) ½ liter of flour<br>(for) the first day,<br>1 liter of flour-paste (and) ½ liter of flour<br>(for) the second day, (and)<br>1 liter of flour-paste (and) ½ liter of flour<br>(for) the third day<br>(for) Bēlat-terraban.<br>½ liter of flour-paste (and) 10 shekels of flour<br>for Bēlat-šukner<br>on the day of the <i>elum</i> .<br>½ liter of flour-paste (and) 10 shekels of flour<br>(for) Inanna of Uruk.<br>1 liter of flour-paste (and) ½ liter of flour<br>(for) the Place-of-Sin.<br>1 liter of flour-paste (and) ½ liter of flour |
|---|--|

1. Greengus, *op. cit.*, 225.

|  |  |
|--|--|
| sízkur-gu-la                                   | (for) the Great Offering.                        |
| ½ sila dabin 10 gín eše <sub>4</sub>           | ½ liter of flour-paste (and) 10 shekels of flour |
| ᵀI-pu-qá                                       | (for) Ipuqa.                                     |
| 1 ᵀAdad  | 1 (liter of flour-paste for) Adad,               |
| 1 ᵀNin-é-gal                                   | 1 (liter of flour-paste for) Bēlet-ekallim,      |
| 1 ᵀNin-ūr-ba-an                                | 1 (liter of flour-paste for) Bēlat-terraban,     |
| 1 ᵀNin-šuk-ner                                 | 1 (liter of flour-paste for) Bēlat-šukner,       |
| 1 ᵀBe-el-x                                     | 1 (liter of flour-paste for) Bēl-...,            |
| 1 ᵀInanna-ki-[t]i                              | 1 (liter of flour-paste for) Ištar-ki-ti, (and)  |
| 1 sila dabin ½ sila eše <sub>4</sub>           | 1 liter of flour-paste (and) ½ liter of flour    |
| u <sub>4</sub> ᵀi-ru-um-še                     | for the day of the <i>tirum</i> .                |
| ká-é-gal                                       | (Delivered at) the gate of the palace.           |
| 2 sila dabin (zi-<še>)                         | 2 liters of flour-paste (and) ½ liter of flour   |
| ½ sila eše <sub>4</sub>                        |  |
| [... ᵀT]iṣpak u <sub>4</sub> é-dingir-ra-še    | (for) [...] Tiṣpak for the day at the temple.    |
| [šu-nigin] 16 x sila dabin                     | [Total]: 16 [...] liters of flour-paste.         |
| [šu-nigin] 5 sila eše <sub>4</sub>             | [Total]: 5 liters of flour.                      |
| <sup>(1a)</sup> A-bu-um u <sub>4</sub> 18-kam  | The month of <i>Abum</i> , the 18th day,         |
| mu Tu-tu-ub <sup>(b)</sup> ba-dab <sub>5</sub> | the year Tutub was seized.                       |

This text mentions the day of the *elum* as an observance for Bēlat-šukner (=Bēlat-šuhner) and Bēlat-terraban. The day of the *elum* is mentioned as a special day for Bēlat-terraban in the month *Abum* in another Ešnunna tablet (TA 1931-261) dated to the 13th of the month (½ sila ne-IZI-gar-še u<sub>4</sub> e-lu-um-ᵀNin-ūr-ra-ba-an <sup>(1a)</sup>A-bu-um u<sub>4</sub> 13). The two goddesses Bēlat-terraban and Bēlat-šuhner were almost always mentioned in tandem, and their cult was indelibly intertwined at Uruk, Ešnunna, and Ur.<sup>1</sup> The ne-IZI-gar offering, which is mentioned as part of this *elum* observance at Ešnunna, was an offering associated with the cult of the dead in Southern Mesopotamia. In fact, the ne-IZI-gar offering at Nippur provided the name for the fifth month, the month of the Nippur paternalia. At Ur III Uruk (and possibly Ur) there was a ritual period of wailing (gi-ra-núm) for these two goddesses, the same type of observance held for Inanna. Apparently the goddesses Bēlat-terraban and Bēlat-šuhner were mythologized as journeying to the netherworld. Two Drehem texts dated to the third month of Š37 and Š40 refer to offerings for the Festival of Chains (ezem-še-er-še-er-ru-um) of Bēlat-šuhner and Bēlat-terraban (A4165): "5 grain-fed sheep as the regular offering for the sacrifices; 2 goats as the offering for the Place of Disappearance (for) the Festival of Chains (for) the temple of Bēlat-šuhner and Bēlat-terraban" and (AnOr 7 63): "1 grain-fed sheep and 2 grass-fed sheep for the (Festival) of Chains of Bēlat-šuhner and Bēlat-terraban." In this latter text the offerings were disbursed "in Ur." This Festival of Chains may be based upon a myth in which Bēlat-terraban and Bēlat-šuhner were captured and led to the netherworld in

1. For a discussion of the cult of these goddesses at Ur and Uruk, see pp. 136ff.

chains or were chained once they arrived in the netherworld. This suggestion is bolstered by the association of offerings to the Place of Disappearance with the Festival of Chains in A 4165. Consequently, the day of the *elum* at Ešnunna may have been part of this netherworld cult—particularly since *Abum* was the month of ceremonies for the dead. This may explain the special offering to Inanna of Uruk—another goddess who descended to and arose from the netherworld. And this raises the possibility that the term *elum*, instead of deriving from *elum* "god," may derive from *elû* "to arise," referring to Bēlat-terraban and Bēlat-šuhner arising from the Netherworld. The orthography e-lu-um, which does not convey the final weak consonant, may be a result of "Sumerianizing" the term (e-lu-um-še in our text).

The term *tirum*, which occurs in our tablet in "the day of the *tirum*," is presumably the same term as the month name, which is attested as early as the Sargonic period. The term *tirum* can denote a courtier, a piece of clothing, a part of a building, or twisting (AHw 1361).<sup>1</sup> In light, however, of the apparent netherworld motif during these Ešnunna observances, the term *tirum* in our context may be related to *tāru*, "to return," (as with *tiru*, *tirānu*, "twisting"). The day of the *elum* followed by the day of *tirum* may be interpreted either as the day of arising from the netherworld followed by the day of the return to the netherworld, or as the day of going up (to the mountain, i.e., the netherworld) followed by the return to the land of the living. Note that at Old Babylonian Sippar the month *Isin-abi* preceded the month *Tirum*, which might indicate a similar concept at Sippar. The *tirum* observance is attested at first-millennium B.C. Nippur as a festival of Ea or Ištar in the sixth (or perhaps seventh) month.<sup>2</sup>

The third special day mentioned in this Ešnunna tablet is a special observance at the temple of Tiṣpak.

It is uncertain whether these three special days correspond to the three days for which offerings were provided to Bēlat-terraban (at the beginning of the tablet), or whether these were special days which occurred after the three-day observance for Bēlat-terraban.

Lastly, at Ešnunna there is a reference to a special day on the 20th or 25th of the sixth month, *Niqmum* (TA 1931-262), when oil was provided for "the day the god Qurītum is carried away" (u<sub>4</sub> ᵀQu-ri-tum in-kar-ra).

#### NEREBTUM

Part of the calendar from Nērebtum was reconstructed by Greengus on the basis of internal evidence, wherein the duration between months was

1. Gelb (MAD 5 299) suggests the term may be related to *tirum*, a type of plant.

2. George *Topographical Texts*, 154 and see p. 267 below.

stipulated on tablets. These texts indicate that the months <sup>d</sup>Dumu-zi and *Abum* occurred consecutively and that the three months <sup>d</sup>Ū-gul-lá, *Kinūnum* and *Tamḫīrum* were also consecutive. The occurrence of an intercalary *Kinkum* at Nērebtum indicated that, as at Ešnunna, *Kinkum* was probably the last month of the calendar. Difficulties, however, arise in that one text lists the months *Qerrētu*, *Saḫarātum*, *Tamḫīrum* and *Nabrūm* in order, while another lists *Saḫarātum* followed by *Kinūnum*. Greengus attempts to resolve this apparent discrepancy by suggesting that the months in these texts need not be totally consecutive; *Kinūnum* should be inserted after *Saḫarātum* and that *Qerrētu* and *Saḫarātum* were alternatives for *Zibnum* and <sup>d</sup>Ū-gul-lá respectively. In addition to these months other months attested in tablets from Nērebtum include: <sup>iti</sup>Mana, <sup>iti</sup>má-an-na (= <sup>iti</sup>Mana), *Magrattum*, *Maškanum*, *Niggallum*, *Elūnum*, *Sadduttum*, <sup>d</sup>Mammi, and *Kiskissum*.<sup>1</sup> As Greengus points out, *Sadduttum* may not be an actual month name, but rather descriptive, *warah* *Sadduttim*, "the month when debts are collected." Perhaps some of these tablets were not written at Nērebtum, thus introducing foreign months. However, there are too many months, as well as the aforementioned possibly contradictory texts, to reconstruct the calendar of Nērebtum with any degree of certainty.

In addition to the months of this Amorite calendar, three tablets from Nērebtum record months using the Southern-Mesopotamian Sumerian calendar: <sup>iti</sup>sig4-a (Greengus *Ishchali* 326, ca. 1880–1840 B.C.), <sup>iti</sup>še-kin-ku5 (Greengus *Ishchali* no. 305, Samsuiluna), and <sup>iti</sup>bāra-zag-gar (Greengus *Ishchali* no. 314, Samsuiluna).

The only reference to a festival at Nērebtum occurs in two tablets which state: *ana nabrī*, "(repayment) at the time of the *nabrū* festival."<sup>2</sup>

#### SADUPPUM

As at Nērebtum, there are far in excess of twelve months from tablets excavated at the site. These months include *Abum*, *Elūnum*, *Kinkum*, *Kinūnum*, *Kiskissum*, *Magrattum*, *Mammūtum*, *Nabrūm*, *Niggallum*, *Niqumum*, *Qerrētu*, *Saḫarātum*, *Sadduttum*, *Tamḫīrum*, <sup>iti</sup> <sup>d</sup>Ū-gul-lá, and *Zibnum*.<sup>3</sup> As noted by Greengus, YOS 14 41 states that from *Zibnum* to *Tamḫīrum* was four months, just as at

1. For references see Greengus, *op. cit.*, 226; for <sup>iti</sup>Mana at Nērebtum note Greengus *Ishchali* 98. For the possible relationship between the orthographies <sup>iti</sup>ma-na and <sup>iti</sup>má-an-na see Greengus, *BiMes* 19, 45.

2. See pp. 394–395 for a discussion of the *nabrū* festival.

3. See Greengus, *JAOS* 107 (1987), 226–227 with references and M. Ellis, "Old Babylonian Texts from Tell Harmal—And Elsewhere?," *Studies Sachs*, 119ff. Simmons (YOS 14, p. 2) refers to a month *Summum*. However, we have been unable to locate the reference. Note the Alalakh month *ša-am-me* and the partially preserved month at Ugarit *yrḫ 3m[ ]* (see p. 377).

Ešnunna,<sup>1</sup> and IM 51175 indicates that the month *Elūnum* preceded *Tamḫīrum*.<sup>2</sup> An intercalary *Kinkum* indicates that *Kinkum*, as elsewhere, was probably the twelfth month of the year.

The *nabrūm* festival was celebrated in Šaduppum, as noted in a letter to Warḫum-magir in which Imgur-Sin states: "When you have received and delivered your *kiprū*, have the god brought in for the *nabrū*-festival."<sup>3</sup>

The festival of Adad, which provided the name for the eleventh month in Sippar, is mentioned in a letter to the mayor of Šaduppum, Warḫum-magir: "When the king appointed you mayor, you promised one shekel of silver. But since your people have attained equality, you don't pay any attention to us. Send us either one shekel of silver or one fattened ram for the festival of Adad."<sup>4</sup> However, this letter does not indicate that the festival was observed in Šaduppum, but rather that it was observed in the city of the senders (Tamḫiri-eš...ti and Belšunu), who were royal officials. Another letter refers to the statue of Adad being taken to his sacred precinct (*ḫamrum*): "On the first auspicious day, which is the 16th, which is three days from now, Adad will leave for (his) sacred precinct. As soon as you hear my tablet, send me confirmation that you did not allow him to depart."<sup>5</sup> However, it is unclear whether this journey of Adad in any way relates to an annual festival of Adad.

The festival of Tišpak is mentioned in a letter from Mar-Ištar to Nannamsum (translation tentative): "(Today is) the *kinkum*, the festival of Tišpak (*ki-in!-kum i-si-in dTišpak*)! The bearer (of this tablet) is the (actual) writer of the tablet. In the morning the chief *šatammu*-official brought it to me."<sup>6</sup> The content of the letter, which vaguely mentions an embarrassing matter, seems to have no relation to the celebration of the festival.

#### TELL RIMAH, CHAGAR BAZAR, and ŠUBAT-ENLIL

Evidence for the reconstruction of the calendars at Tell Rimah, Chagar-Bazar and Šubat-Enlil (Tell Leilan)<sup>7</sup> indicates a great likelihood that the same calendar was in use at all three sites.

1. Simmons, *JCS* 14 (1960), 29 reads *Si-ma-nim* instead of *Zi-ib!-nim* as Greengus reads.

2. Greengus, *op. cit.*, 226–227.

3. *Sumer* 14 (1958), 23 no. 7 (translation CAD K 400 sub *kiprū*).

4. *Sumer* 14 (1958), 38 no. 17.

5. *Sumer* 14 (1958), 44 no. 22.

6. *Sumer* 14 (1958), 47 n. 25. Goetze read *ki-sik-kum* ("funerary offering"); whereas CAD K 387 reads *ki-in!-kum*.

7. The calendar at Šubat-Enlil/Šaḫne was first attested in the correspondence of Samši-Adad from Mari. Since then the excavations at Tell Leilan, which can now be identified as Šubat-Enlil, have yielded hundreds of economic documents using this calendar.



Months mentioned in Tell Rimah tablets include še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>, *Abum*, *Ajarum*, <sup>d</sup>Dumu-zi, *Kinūnum*, *Magrānum*, *Mammītum*, *Nabrūm*, *Mana*, *Niqmum*, and *Tamḥīrum*, a total of less than twelve months. The following months are attested at Chagar Bazar: *Abum*, *Ajarum*, <sup>d</sup>Dumu-zi, *Kinūnum*, *Magrānum*, *Mammītum*, *Mana*, *Nabrūm*, *Niqmum*, *Tamḥīrum*, *Tirum* and še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>.<sup>1</sup>

From an archive of tablets from Tell Rimah dating to the Middle Assyrian period, one text recording a loan of silver employs the second month of the Southern-Mesopotamian Sumerian calendar: <sup>iti</sup>gu<sub>4</sub> (*Iraq* 30, Tell Rimah no. 3031). From the content and style of writing it is clear that this is not a foreign tablet somehow deposited with Middle-Assyrian texts, but rather an indigenous tablet.

At Chagar-Bazar the months *Mana* and *Ajarum* are known to be consecutive (Loretz *Chagar Bazar* 994). One text from Tell Rimah (*OBT Tell Rimah* 178) states that the span from *Mammītum* to <sup>iti</sup>še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub> was four months. Another text from Tell Rimah (*OBT Tell Rimah* 213) records an intercalary <sup>iti</sup>še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>, raising the possibility that še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub> was the twelfth month.<sup>2</sup>

All twelve months are attested in the economic documents from Šubat-Enlil.<sup>3</sup>

Charpin noted several groups of consecutive months. According to Tell Rimah texts the months *Niqmum*, *Kinūnum*, *Tamḥīrum*, *Nabrūm* and *Mammītum* occurred consecutively and še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub> occurred three months after *Mammītum*.<sup>4</sup> Texts from Mari containing correspondence from Šamši-Adad identified the months <sup>d</sup>Dumu-zi, *Abum* and *Tirum* as consecutive and the months *Mana* and *Ajarum* as consecutive. Gallery, in her reconstruction of the Tell Rimah calendar, noted that the months *Niqmum*, *Kinūnum*, *Tamḥīrum*, and *Mammītum* at Tell Rimah all occurred on tablets with *warki* eponyms, indicating that these months probably occurred at the beginning of the eponymous year.<sup>5</sup> And Larsen comparing the correlation between the native Mari calendar (whose order can be established) and the calendar used in the correspondence of Šamši-Adad during the eponymy of Ṭāb-šilli-Aššur, examining those months on tablets with *warki* year notation, notes that the months *Tamḥīrum* and *Mammītum* most probably occurred at the beginning of the eponymous year and should occur in the range of months six

1. See Greengus, *op. cit.*, 223 for references.

2. Noted by R. Gallery, JNES 40 (1981), 346. There is also a reference to <sup>iti</sup>DIRI UD. The UD could have resulted from a confusion with the following UD specifying the number of the day. (It is unlikely that this reflects a variant for the eleventh month <sup>ud</sup>-duru<sub>5</sub>.) Greengus suggests UD might be for <sup>ga</sup>, thus diri-ga.

3. Farouk Ismail, *Alibabylonische Wirtschaftsurkunden aus Tell Leilan (Syrien)*, diss. Tübingen (1991) and Claudine-Adrienne Vincente, dissertation, Yale University, 1990. The monthly festival of Šamaš on the 20th of the month is attested at Šubat-Enlil (Ismail no. 26: a-na SIZKUR.RE i-nu-ma is-re-e [<sup>iti</sup>še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>]) as at other sites (see CAD E 368 sub *ēšrā* mng. b).

4. MARI 4 (1985), 244ff.

5. JNES 40 (1981), 346-347.

through nine of the Mari calendar, whose sixth month, <sup>iti</sup>d<sub>1</sub>GI.KUR, corresponded to the first month of the eponymous calendar that year.<sup>1</sup>

The calendar put forth by Charpin is in harmony with the observations of Gallery and Larsen:

- i. še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub><sup>2</sup>
- ii. *Magrānum*
- iii. <sup>d</sup>Dumu-zi
- iv. *Abum*
- v. *Tirum*
- vi. *Niqmum*
- vii. *Kinūnum*
- viii. *Tamḥīrum*
- ix. *Nabrūm*
- x. *Mammītum*
- xi. *Mana*
- xii. *Ajarum*

Further supporting evidence for this order is found in a tablet from Mari which is dated to the month *Mana* (not a month of the Mari calendar) and mentions the festival of Dirutum, a festival otherwise attested in the month *Kiskissum*, the eleventh month at Mari.<sup>3</sup> Finally, a recently excavated tablet from Šubat-Enlil contains nine of the months in order and fully supports Charpin's reconstruction of the calendar.<sup>4</sup>

A festival of the netherworld was observed at Šubat-Enlil in the middle of the fourth month, *Abum*, a time when other sites celebrated some form of a festival for the dead. According to one text there were special observances to Bēlet-apim and Nergal on the 14th of the month: i-nu-ma a-na <sup>d</sup>NIN-a-pi ū <sup>d</sup>Nè-eri<sub>11</sub>-gal LUGAL iq-qū-qū.<sup>5</sup>

One text from Šubat-Enlil records oil for the royal offerings on the 3rd of *Nabrū*: i-nu-ma ḥa-ma-an-du-ni.<sup>6</sup>

An apparently unique aspect of the festival scheduling at Tell Rimah was the observance of the *elūnum* festival during the 15th day of the ninth month *Nabrū*: a-na UD.15.KAM <sup>iti</sup>Na-ab-ri-i e-lu-un-nam e-ep-pé-eš "On the 15th day of the month *Nabrū* I shall perform the *elūnum* celebration" (*OBT Tell Rimah*

1. "Unusual Eponymy-Datings from Mari and Assyria," RA 68 (1974), 16ff.

2. Charpin, *op. cit.*, interpreted še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub> as a logogram for *Addaru*. However, such an equation at this early period is unwarranted.

3. 12124, D. Charpin, MARI 3, 94 no. 73.

4. Report on the excavations at Tell Leilan presented by M. Van De Microop at the meeting of the American Oriental Society, 1992.

5. Ismail, *op. cit.*, no. 65. For the possible significance of this entry for our understanding of the festival and term *Ab/pum*, see pp. 259-261.

6. Ismail, *op. cit.*, no. 128. Note a somewhat similar sounding Nuzi month *Hamannum* (HSS 15 56:23).

64). At Ur the *elūnum* festival occurred in the second and possibly the sixth months. At Šubat-Enlil the *elūnum* festival was celebrated in the eighth and tenth months. A Šubat-Enlil document dating to the 2nd day of the month *Tamḫīrum* of the eponymy of Išme-AN states: "king's drink at night when he leaves the house of [the goddess]; total 24 containers of wine which were used up (*iggamru*) for the *e-lu-un-ni* festival" (Ismail no. 30). There is a receipt for delivery to the É.UZU on the 11th of *Tamḫīrum* in the eponymy of Amer-Ištar *i-nu-ma e-lu-un-ni* (Ismail no. 127). During the eponymy of Ḫabil-kinu, however, deliveries of rings, vases, silver palm leaves(?), garments, fine oil, wine, fish, oxen, sheep, and goats for the *elūnum* observance are attested from the 14th to 17th of the tenth month, *Mammītum*.<sup>1</sup>

The Brazier Festival (*kinūnum*) was celebrated at Tell Rimah: "You personally are to receive(?) what they bring to you during the *kinūnum* (festival)" (OBT Tell Rimah 100).<sup>2</sup> And another reference to this festival reveals that the *nabrū* ritual, which may have been a rite involving the reading of omens to foretell the coming year,<sup>3</sup> occurred during the *kinūnum* observance: "On the 20+[x]th day of this month, for the occasion of the *nabrū*-rite of the *kinūnum* (festival)" (OBT Tell Rimah 110). At Šubat-Enlil the *nabrū* ritual is attested on the 6th of the tenth month, *Mammītum*. Thus, noting that this rite occurs in two months other than the month *Nabrū*, it would appear likely that this ritual was performed throughout the winter in order to detect any changes to the previous month's predictions. Perhaps this *nabrū* ritual had originally been confined to one month, thus the naming of a month *Nabrū*. However, the importance of predicting the future—with an assumed ability to alter that future through ritual acts—may have led to several *nabrū* rites in order to reinterpret the omens throughout the winter.

A third possible festival at Tell Rimah may have been called AḪ-te-en-zi-im, although the term EZEM does not occur: "You wrote to me saying: 'I shall invite you to the spring (celebrations?) at the AḪtenzim-[festival?]' (*a-na di-ši-im i-na AḪ-te-en-zi-im*). Let me set foot upon the land of life in good health and then let us ... the day of the AḪtenzim-festival in good health."<sup>4</sup>

Ritual references in economic texts from Chagar Bazar have been analyzed by Gadd.<sup>5</sup> A (ritual of) purification (*tebibtum*) is mentioned in five texts as occurring in *Ajarum*, two on the 6th of the month and one on the 4th, the other two recording no specific day in the month. Another is dated to the

1. Vincente nos. 57 (14th), 62 (14th; duplicate of no. 57), 70 (15th), 133 (16th), 109 (17th).

2. For a discussion of the *kinūnu* festival, see pp. 392-394.

3. See pp. 394-395 for the *nabrūm* festival.

4. Translation OBT Tell Rimah 123.

5. "Tablets from Chagar Bazar and Tell Brak, 1937-1938," *Iraq* 7 (1940), 26-28. Gadd suggests that the phrase NE-*pa-ni-im* may refer to a festival. However, see CAD N/2 341 for *nupāru*/*nepāru* as a "workhouse" or "ergasterion."

last day of *Mana*, the month preceding *Ajaru* and thus the same occasion as on the other tablets. The final occurrence is dated to the 11th of *Magrānum*. It is unclear then whether this was a semi-annual festival or a monthly occurrence. Gadd concludes: "That it was a high occasion is shown by the contribution of the prince Iasmaḫ-Adad, and even more strikingly by the 'subscriptions' of no less than 2,770 people." The ritual included the *jugunū* and *sakkušakū* offerings. Another text (984) records a cow being slaughtered at the temple of Šamaš on an occasion involving a throne. But whether this observance was celebrated annually or more often cannot be ascertained.

Also at Šubat-Enlil there are references to special events: "honey for the royal table at the time of the geese" (*i-nu-ma kur-ki-i-mušen*)<sup>1</sup> in the eleventh and twelfth months and "when the *zaḫan*-fish were presented" (*i-nu-ma za-ḫa-an<sup>ku</sup> it-te-er-šū*) in the tenth month.<sup>2</sup> However, these texts may refer to seasonal delicacies and not to cultic festivals.

### The Months

There is a core of nineteen months that reoccur throughout the Amorite calendars:<sup>3</sup>

### Ab/pum

The earliest references to the *Ab/pum* festival are from Sumerian texts of the Ur III period. An Ur document detailing an allotment of oxen for ceremonies comprising the funerary offerings for the deceased Ur-Nammu mentions the *ab/pum* observance as part of the cultic activities (UET 3 244 [no month]): "2 oxen: provisions for the *abum* (observance); 1 ox: provisions for the festival of Ninazu; 1 ox: provisions for the festival of AN.ḪUL; (all these are) the provisions for the funerary offerings (ki-a-nag) for Ur-Nammu." Another undated Ur text refers to beer, various grains, and sweet-smelling fragrances for the *abum* ceremony of the ki-a-nag on the 5th of the month (UET 3 1015). An Ur III reference to the *abum* festival from a tablet dated to Š35 (no month) (MVN 11 p. 38) includes 8 sheep as provisions for the *abum* (*ni-daḅ5-a-bu-um-ma*) and 3 sheep as additional (supplies) (*daḅ-ḫu-a-bu-um-ma*).

1. Vincente no. 124 (19th *Ajarum*), no. 137 (25th *Mana*).

2. Vincente no. 134 (23rd *Mammītum*).

3. Many tablets include the phrase *ina waraḫ šadduttim*, "in the month of debt collection" (CAD S 47; Greengus, *op. cit.* 219 with references), probably designating an event rather than being the actual name of a month in the calendar. This is supported by the many occurrences of *ina šadduttim* without the month determinative.

The orthography *a-BU-um* does not enable us to determine whether the month was *Abum* or *Apum*. The month name *a-pa-um* attested as the fourth month of an unidentified calendar (5R pl. 43) may be an orthography for our month. At Emar the month in which the *ab/pum* observance was held was written *a-ba-i* or *a-bi-ḫé/KĀM*. There are several references to a term *ab/pum* which may be related to the *Ab/pum* festival:<sup>1</sup>

- In two Assyrian rituals the *apu* (*a-pi*) was the conduit to the dead wherein the offering meal was placed: "he will go and collect the blood in the *apu*, pour honey and oil into the *apu*" (KAR 146 r. i); "(the king) presents food to the spirits of the dead, (the singer) removes (the meal from the table), places it in the *apu*, he pours honey, oil, beer, and wine over it, the singer fills the *apu*, the king puts his foot over the *apu*, kisses [the ground?]" (KAR 146 r. ii).
- According to a text from Šubat-Enlil there were special observances to Bēlet-apim and Nergal on the 14th of the month *Abum*: *i-nu-ma a-na dNIN-a-pi u dNē-eri-11-gal LUGAL iq-qū-qū*.<sup>2</sup> Šubat-Enlil/Šeḫna was the capital of an area called *māt apim*,<sup>3</sup> whose goddess was Bēlet-apim. Bēlet-apim might have been considered another form of the queen of the netherworld, Nergal's spouse, Ereškigal. This may have derived from a play upon the name of the locality referred to as *māt apim* and the *ab/pum*-festival. The wordplay and the identification of Bēlet-apim with Ereškigal may have been based upon a perceived parallel construction of the names of the two goddesses, i.e., *ab/pum* paralleled *ki-gal*. The term *ki-gal* connoted both a raised area for cultic purposes and the netherworld.<sup>4</sup>

1. Langdon *Menologies* assumed that the month *Abum*/*Apum* was named for an aspect of the festival during that month which involved cultic activities for the spirits of the dead. He therefore suggested that the month was named *apu/abu*, "firewood," which alluded to the kindling of firewood to guide the deceased from the darkness of the netherworld. Neither the CAD nor AHw attempts to associate the month name *Abum*/*Apum* with *abum* "father," *apum* "canebrake" or *apum* "hole."

2. Ismail, *op. cit.*, no. 65.

3. J. Eidem, *Marchands, Diplomates, et Empereurs*, 195: "Since Leilan ... was the capital of an area called *māt Apim*, and there is no extant evidence for a town *Apum* ..."; D. Charpin, "Šubat-Enlil et le pays d'Apum," *MARI* 5 (1987), 140: "Dans la mesure où il apparaît qu'Apum est un nom de pays, celui dont Šubat-Enlil/Šeḫna était la capitale."

4. For a discussion of *KI.GAL* as denoting a burial mound, see A. Westenholz, "*berūtum, damtum*, and Old Akkadian *KI.GAL*: Burial of Dead Enemies in Ancient Mesopotamia," *AFO* 23 (1970), wherein Westenholz cites BE I 120 iii 1-4 (a Naram-Sin inscription): "(Naram-Sin) brought about [the defeat of the enemy] and heaped up a *KI.GAL* [over them]." This concept of a mound covering the entrance to the netherworld is evident in the terms *IGI.KUR* and *IGI.KUR.ZA* (CAD E 308) denoting the netherworld. Note that *IGI.KUR* can be pronounced /ḫalib/, *ḫlb* being a West Semitic word for "hill." For names for the underworld, see A. Tsukimoto, *Untersuchungen zur Totenpflege (kispum) im alten Mesopotamien*, AOAT Band 216, 6-11; J. Bottéro, "La mythologie de la Mort en Mésopotamie ancienne," *Mesopotamia* 8 (Copenhagen, 1980), 30; Bottéro *Mesopotamia*, 274.

- An Emar ritual text for the month \**Abu* records the giving of offerings on the 27th of the month *a-na pa-ni a-bi-i ša É dKUR*, *a-na a-bi ša É dA-lál*, *a-na a-bi-i ša É ṭuk-li*.
- An Old Babylonian text from Sippar (YOS 12 345), dated to the fifth month, records: 3 sila *a-na št-ir-pi-tim i-na e-ri-ib a-bi* "3 liters of porridge at the entrance to the *a-bi*."
- Concerning the meaning of the Assyrian month *Ab/p šarrāni*, CAD states: "Since the first element is consistently written *ab* in the O[ld] A[ssyrian] refs., it is unlikely that the month name is composed with *abu*, "father"; the fact that no writings with AD are found in the M[id-dle] A[ssyrian] texts supports this interpretation."<sup>1</sup> Possibly the element *ab/p* in the Assyrian month name may be related to *ab/pum* as in the month and festival name. If true, this month name refers to a yearly observance for the deceased Assyrian kings.

The *ab/pum* was probably a mound placed over a supposed passage to the netherworld through which the dead could return to the land of the living and through which the living could provide for the dead.<sup>2</sup> The term *ab/pum* may not necessarily have referred to actual burial mounds, but perhaps just to a mound (perhaps one per temple as at Emar) constructed not for the purpose of covering the dead, but only as a conduit to the netherworld, i.e., no bodies may have been buried there. Obviously, even if no bodies were buried under the *ab/pum*, the concept surely evolved from the burial mound of dirt and/or rocks which covered the hole in which the deceased was interred. The occurrence of an *ab/pu* in a temple may be somewhat analogous to the Sacred Mound (*du<sub>6</sub>-kù*) at Nippur and other cities, which may also have covered a passageway to the netherworld. Both the Sacred Mound festival of Nippur and the *Abu* at Emar were on the 27th of their respective months, just before the disappearance of the moon—a time of ill omens, when the spirits of the dead may have been most active.

1. CAD A/1 2 sub *ab šarrāni*. J. Lewy, *ArOr* 11 (1939) had accepted *ab* as meaning "father," while rejecting *šarrāni* as "kings" in the OA period, preferring to relate *šarrāni* to *šrn*, "fertility," thus the month of the "father of fertility."

2. For a similar concept cf. W.G. Lambert, "The Theology of Death," *Death in Mesopotamia, Mesopotamia* 8, B. Alster, ed. (Copenhagen, 1980), 61: "The town Enegi is first described [in the Temple Hymns] as "big pipe, pipe of Ereškigal's underworld", where the "pipe" is the clay tube down which offerings to the dead of a liquid kind were poured."

Complicating the interpretation of the term *abum* in the festival and month name is the recent publication of a Drehem tablet which raises the possibility that the month name was *Apum*, from *apum* "canebrake." There is a Drehem reference to the *ezem-gi-gi*, "the festival of the canebrake," on the 1st day of the fourth month (MVN 15 352 [SS2 iv 1]): "1 grain-fed ox for Enlil and 1 grain-fed cow for Suzianna ... provisions for the Festival of the Canebrake." (The references to Enlil and Suzianna suggests that Nippur may have been the site of the observance.) Thus a Festival of the Canebrake was observed during the same month which other cities have called *Abum*/*Apum*, a term for which a translation "canebrake" is possible.

## Ajarum

For a discussion of the meaning of the month name *ajaru*, probably meaning "donkey," see our discussion of the second month of the Standard Mesopotamian calendar.

## <sup>d</sup>Dumu-zi

Although the actual pronunciation of the month name written <sup>d</sup>Dumu-zi is not preserved at many of the sites, at Nuzi the month was pronounced *Tamūzu* according to the orthography in SMN 2212: *ta-mu-ū-zi* and *ta-mu-u[z-...]*.

There is one Old Assyrian tablet which, within the body of the text, uses the month <sup>iti</sup> <sup>d</sup>Dumu-zi.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately the month name in the date formula at the close of the tablet is not preserved. According to Donbaz: "the metrology is according to the Old Assyrian type and the presence of a *limu* shows that it was written in Assyrian territory."

During the fifth month (ne-IZI-gar/*Isin-abi*) at Old Babylonian Sippar there is a reference to the *ūm kimit* <sup>d</sup>Dumu-zi "the day of the captivity of Dumuzi" (YOS 12 427). During the first millennium B.C. this tradition continued, two texts referring to the entire month as the time of Dumuzi's captivity.<sup>2</sup> It is surprising that this cult of Dumuzi did not occur in the fourth month at Sippar, which in the native Sippar calendar was <sup>iti</sup> <sup>d</sup>Dumu-zi. Dumuzi was, further south, the name of the sixth month in Ur III Lagaš and the twelfth month in Ur III Umma. Greengus suggests it may have been the third month at Chagar Bazar and Nērebtum.

The Sumerians composed many works based upon a central Dumuzi myth, adding episodes or changing events. But the core of the narrative told of a Dumuzi who made merry while his ambitious and powerful wife Inanna was held captive by her sister, Ereškigal, in the netherworld. Inanna, released on condition she provide a substitute, saw her husband Dumuzi partying in her absence and, enraged, she instructed the demons to seize her unlucky spouse and drag him to the netherworld in her stead. A favorite theme of the poets was Dumuzi's futile attempts to evade the demons of the netherworld, who finally bound him and dragged him away. According to one account, however, his loyal sister, Geštinanna, agreed to share her brother's fate, the two of them alternating in the netherworld for six months each, a concept which, as Jacobsen notes, was to a large degree based upon the alternation

1. V. Donbaz, "Four Old Assyrian Tablets from the City of Aššur," JCS 26 (1974), 81ff., A.1574=Ass.18799.

2. See CAD K 373 sub *kimitu* and see pp. 315ff.

of the barley and wine-growing seasons, (Dumuzi embodied the grain, Geštinanna the vine).<sup>1</sup>

The god Dumuzi evolved into the most complicated, multi-faceted deity in the Mesopotamian pantheon, becoming a syncretic figure embodying, as Jacobsen observes, the power behind the date-palm (Amašumgalanna), the power in the milk (Dumuzi the shepherd), and the power of the life-giving waters entering the trees as sap (Damu).<sup>2</sup>

Dumuzi/Tammuz was the power in the barley seeds planted in the fall, which ultimately would manifest itself in the bountiful harvest of the spring. Thus from autumn through the first months of spring, Dumuzi—the grain—was growing and prospering. Yet by summer, the fourth month, the grain had been cut down and only the stubble remained—Dumuzi was spent. Thus the summer was the occasion to mourn for the dead Dumuzi, for the power in the seeds and grain which was no more. Jacobsen observes "His [Dumuzi's] death, accordingly, is when the grain is cut at harvest and then brewed into beer which goes into storage underground: that is to say, into the netherworld."<sup>3</sup> The theme of the death of the god embodying the power of the grain at this time of year is also prevalent at Ugarit, as described in the myth of Ba'al.<sup>4</sup>

The kings of Ur identified themselves with Dumuzi the shepherd, for, as the metaphor repeated throughout their inscriptions and prayers reminds us, they were the shepherds of their people. So too there was a strong bond between Ur and the traditions of Uruk, where Dumuzi in ancient times supposedly reigned as king. And this identification persisted after the ruler's death—the dead king was Dumuzi, who had been carried away by the demons. In fact the composition "Inanna and Bilulu," which relates a totally different scenario surrounding the death of Dumuzi, may have been commissioned by Šulgi to mythologize his father Ur-Nammu's tragic death while away on a campaign.<sup>5</sup> It seemed natural that festivals for the deceased Dumuzi should have evolved into festivals for deceased kings.

## Elūnum

Both the CAD and AHw relate the month and festival name *Elūnum* to the month name *Elūlu*. Edzard, *Tell ed-Dēr*, notes that the seventh Sippar month <sup>iti</sup> *Elūlu* should be distinguished from the month designation <sup>ITI</sup> *elūnim*, "the

1. Jacobsen *Treasures*, 62.

2. Jacobsen *Tammuz*, 82ff.

3. Jacobsen *Treasures*, 62.

4. J. C. de Moor, *The Seasonal Pattern in the Ugaritic Myth of Ba'lu*, AOAT 16.

5. See Jacobsen *Tammuz*, 52ff. "The Myth of Inanna and Bilulu" and note M.E. Cohen *Erišemma*, 72 n. 207 for a note on our interpretation of the composition.

month of the *elūnum* festival," at Sippar on the basis of his text no. 117 which contains separate entries for the months ITI *e-lu-ni-im* and ITI *e-lu-li*.<sup>1</sup> The meaning of the name *elūnum* is unclear. See our discussion of the Old Babylonian festivals at Ur for the *elūnum* festival, which occurred in the second month at Ur and Sippar, as well as perhaps the sixth month at Ur. At Tell Rimah, where there was no month *Elūnum*, the *elūnum* festival occurred in the month *Nabrū*, whereas at Ešnunna, Nērebtum and Šaduppum the *elūnum* festival occurred presumably in the month bearing the same name.

### *Kinkum*

The month name *Kinkum* may be a Semitized form of Sumerian (še)-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>. Note that at Ishān Mīzyad the month is written *kin-ku<sub>5</sub>-u[m]*. For further discussion of the relationship of these month names, see p. 122. The *Kinkum* festival of the god Tišpak (*Sumer* 14 49 no. 25:4: *kinkum isin dTišpak*) may well have been a harvest feast. An Old Babylonian Mari text which lists rituals spanning several months, beginning with the twelfth month, refers to a "day of the *gi-im-ki-im*" which Birot suggests might be related to the *kinkum*-festival: "on the day when ... the ... are performed(?), one donkey will be killed."<sup>2</sup>

### *Kinūnum*

Three pre-Sargonic calendars contain months referring to the kindling of fires: *iti-ne-gir<sub>x</sub>*(UM) at Ur, *iti-ne-IZI-gar* at Nippur, and *iti-gu<sub>4</sub>-rā-IZI-mū-mū* at Lagaš. The Nippur and Lagaš months occurred in the summer or spring; the Ur month cannot be seasonally positioned. The Brazier Festival (*kinūnu*), a winter observance probably based upon the need to combat the cold and early darkness, is attested as occurring in the seventh month in the Old Babylonian period at Mari, Ešnunna, and Tell Rimah and in the ninth month at Nuzi. Thus it is quite possible that the eighth Ebla month *iti-NE.GAR* is named for the observance of a festival similar in nature to the Brazier festival—perhaps this Ebla month was actually pronounced *Kinūnu*. The orthography NE.GAR may have been read *ne-gar*, being parallel to the Old Sumerian Ur month *iti-ne-gir<sub>x</sub>*(UM), meaning "brazier," rather than reading *izi-gar*, "to light a fire." Note the entry: 2 *giš-pèš* NE-gar lugal ("2 fig trees for the *brazier*(?) of the king") on a pre-Sargonic tablet from Mari dating to the sixth month.<sup>3</sup>

1. Edzard *Tell ed-Dēr*, 141f. and see pp. 397-399 for further discussion of the *elūnum*.

2. M. Birot, "Fragment de rituel de Mari relatif au *kispu*," *CRR* 26, 142: *ūm gimkim qirsū išakkanu* 1 ANSE *iddāk*.

3. D. Charpin, "Tablettes présargoniques de Mari," *MARI* 5 (1987), 79 no. 19.

There is a reference to the "day" or "time" (UD) of the NE.GAR observance in an Ebla text.<sup>1</sup>

As noted by Gelb, the earliest reference to a month or festival called *kinū-nu* ("brazier") is probably the personal name *Gi/Ki-nu-na*, "(born in the month) *Kinūnum*" or "(born during) the *kinūnum*-(festival)," attested in Ur III documents.<sup>2</sup> However, among the documents from the Sumerian cities during this period there are no references to an actual *kinūnu* festival. From the Old Babylonian period on, when the documentation from many of the more northerly sites becomes plentiful, there are references to a month and festival *kinūnu*. *Kinūnum*, the "festival of the brazier," provided the name for the ninth month at Nuzi, and the seventh month at Mari, Ešnunna and Tell Rimah.

For a full discussion of the *kinūnum* festival, see pp. 392-394.

### *Kiskisum*

This month is also the eleventh month at Mari.<sup>3</sup>

### *Magrattum/Magrānum*

The month of the "threshing floor."

### *Mammūtum/dMammi*

The month of the goddess Mammi. For a discussion of the relationship of the names of Nergal's spouse: Mamma, Mammi, and Mammūtum, see W.G. Lambert, *BiOr* 30 (1973), 357 with references to previous discussions.

### *Mana*

Note the Sargonic name Šu-Ma-na, perhaps referring to one born in the month *Mana*.<sup>4</sup>

1. Pettinato *Archives*, 257.

2. *MAD* 3 148; some references are YOS 4 254, PDT 1 216, PDT 2 nos. 903 and 1333.

3. For a possibly similar Akkadian construction note the word *kakkakabu* in the Akkadian composition "Sargon, King of Battle" line 61 (translation Foster *Before the Muses*, 103): "(But) many stars (*kakkakabu*) came out and were set towards the enemy," about which Foster (*Before the Muses*, 105) suggests: "perhaps an intentional reduplication to indicate a large number, otherwise a dittography." For another duplicated form note the hymn "The Terrors of Nergal" 19: "Valorous courier, fleet of foot (*birbiri*)" about which Foster states: "called for by the meter, may be a reduplicated form for emphatic effect, not dittography."

4. Roberts *Pantheon*, 45. For the possible relationship between the orthographies *iū-ma-na* and *iū-mā-an-na* see Greengus, *BiMes* 19, 45.

### Nabrûm

The month of the *nabrû* festival. For a discussion of the *nabrû* festival, see pp. 394-395.

### Niggallum

The month of the "sickle." The reading is established based on the variants *itiNi-ga-lim* and *itiNi-ga-li*.<sup>1</sup> The Sumerian equivalent is *uruduKIN* and *uruduSU.KIN*; however, neither Sumerian term is attested in place of the Akkadian when designating the month name. The month of the "sickle" denotes the harvest time and Greengus suggests that the month *itiŠE.KIN.KU<sub>5</sub>* at Tell Rimah may, in fact, be *Niggallum*, proposing an unattested equivalency *\*še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>* = *niggallum*.<sup>2</sup> Both CAD N/2 214 and AHw 792b relate the Alalakh month *NI-qa-LIM* to *niggallum*, "sickle." However, the occurrence of the orthography *li-iq-qa-še* at Alalakh raises the possibility that *NI-qa-LIM* at Alalakh is to be read *li-qa-ši* (perhaps related to *lqš*, "late planting," as in the Gezer calendar). At Ugarit a month *nql* and at Emar *Niqalu* are attested.

### Niqumum

For West Semitic *niqmu* "revenge," see CAD N/2 251 sub *niqmu* B.

### Qerrētu

The month of "the banquet" occurs at Nērebtum and Šaduppum.

### Šaḥarātum

Note M. Ellis, JCS 31 (1979), 46 for *itišà-ḥa*, which Ellis suggests may be hypocoristic for *itiŠaḥarātum* (which has an attested orthography *Šà-ḥa-ra-tum* [CAD S 36]). CAD S 38 sub *saḥāru* does not relate the month name *Šaḥarātum* to the verb *saḥāru*. However, noting the term *saḥār ūme*, "evening," literally "turning of the day," and the use of *saḥāru* as indicating temporal points in the day,<sup>3</sup> perhaps the month name *Šaḥarātum* denoted a month which marked a major change in the year, the month of "the turning (of the year)," thus the seventh month of the year (cf. *ʿqūfat haššānā* [Exodus 34:22]).

### Tamḥīrum

The month of the "tamḥīru-offering."

1. For references see CAD N/2 213.

2. Greengus, *op. cit.*, 225.

3. See CAD S 36 sub *saḥār ūme*.

### Tīrum

For a possible interpretation of this month name, which occurs as early as the Sargonic period, see our discussion above of the calendar at Ešnunna. AHw 1344 suggests that the month name *Teritum*, which is attested in the Hana region, may be related to the month name *Tīrum*.

### dÛ-gul-la

*dÛ-gul-la* was the wife of Tišpak and thus it is quite fitting that this month occur in Nērebtum and Šaduppum wherein the *kinkum* festival to her spouse Tišpak was observed. For *dÛ-gul-la* as the spouse of Tišpak, note AN = *Anum* V 273-276:

|  |           |
|--|-----------|
| <i>d</i> Tišpak                          | <i>SU</i> |
| <i>d</i> Û-kul-lá                        | <i>SU</i> |
| <i>d</i> Û-gù-lá                         | <i>SU</i> |
| [2 dam]- <i>d</i> Tišpak-ke <sub>4</sub> |           |

### Zibnum

According to the CAD (Z 104): "the word [*zibnum*] possibly refers to a fenced-in seasonal encampment for the purpose of pasturing cattle, as well as to the month in which settling in such encampments was important."

### Other Festivals

The Agušaya hymn to Ištar alludes to a whirling dance (*guštu*) performed as part of a festival to commemorate the encounter of Šaltu with Ištar. Foster (*Before the Muses*, 87 n. 1) notes: "though this seems to be an etiology for a holiday accompanied by dancing, the passage is obscure" (translation Foster, p. 82):

Ea made ready to speak and said to Agushaya, hero of the gods:  
 "As soon as you said it, then I certainly did it.  
 "You cheer(?) me and cause delight at your having done with it.  
 "The reason Šaltu was made and created is  
 "That, people of future days might know about us.  
 "Let it be yearly,  
 "Let a whirling dance take place in the ... of the year.  
 "Look about at all the people!  
 "Let them dance in the street,  
 "Hear their clamor!  
 "See for yourself the intelligent things they do,  
 "Learn (now) their motivation."

During the Old Babylonian the term *namritu* is either the name of a specific festival in cities such as Isin and Kisurra, or is a generic term for "festival."<sup>1</sup> Two Kisurra texts mention cattle and grain for *namritum*. One letter refers to Gula attending the *namritum* at Isin, another to the *namritum* of Marduk. An Old Babylonian Mari tablet contains the entry <sup>iti</sup>*Hi-biṣ-tim na-am-ri*, which Boyer and the CAD have interpreted as being a form of the month name.<sup>2</sup> However, the implication of the term *namru* in regard to the meaning of the month name *Hibirtum* is unclear. Perhaps this reference is related to the above usage of *namritum*.<sup>3</sup>

1. For references see CAD N/1 239 sub *namritu*.

2. Boyer, ARMT 8 no. 25; CAD N/1 242.

3. There is an Old Babylonian reference from Sippar (Van Lerberghe and Voet *Sippar* no. 32) to the term *na-ab-ra-tum*: "From the 4th month, the 9th day until the 8th month, the sixth day ... each time 6 quarts of beer, registered in 1 note. After that 5 "festival" days [*u<sub>4</sub>-mi na-ab-ra-tum*] and 2 "deductible" days [*u<sub>4</sub>-mi u<sub>4</sub>-gid-da*] have been deducted." Van Lerberghe and Voet (*ibid.*, 50) suggest that this unusual term *na-ab-ra-tum* may be related to *namritum* "festival(?)," rather than to the *nabru*-festival.

## THE EARLY SECOND MILLENNIUM B.C.

### Sippar

Sippar was situated on the border of two calendrical spheres of influence, below the span of cities utilizing the semitic Amorite calendars and north of the cities which had constituted the old Sumerian city-states, a region that utilized the Southern-Mesopotamian Sumerian calendar. Perhaps as a result of this positioning, Sippar scribes simultaneously utilized two calendrical systems in the Old Babylonian period up through the reign of Samsuiluna of Babylon (1749–1712 B.C.). One calendar was the Southern-Mesopotamia Sumerian calendar, the other a calendar which was an amalgam of a Nippur/Sumerian month (*Gusisi*), a month from the Sargonic period (*Tirum*), month names from the Amorite calendars (*Nabrûm*, *Mammîtum*, *Ajarum* and *Tamḫirum*), unique month names (*Sibûṭ šattim* [although note *Sibûtu*/*Šibûtu* at Susa], *Qāti-eršetim*, *Elûlum* and *Isin-<sup>d</sup>Adad*), and months common throughout Mesopotamia (<sup>d</sup>DUMU.ZI and *Isin-abi* [although this latter month name is a unique form of the common month name *Abum*]). Both calendrical systems are attested on the same Sippar tablet,<sup>1</sup> indicating that there was no clear division governing the circumstances which dictated the usage of a particular calendar. Beginning in the 22nd year of the reign of Samsuiluna, only the Southern-Mesopotamia Sumerian calendar was used by the scribes at Sippar.

Greengus suggests that the Southern-Mesopotamian Sumerian calendar was introduced into Sippar by the kings of Babylon.<sup>2</sup> Greengus has gathered the earliest references to each calendar at Sippar,<sup>3</sup> and although Sumuabum (1894–1881 B.C.) and Sumulael of Babylon (1880–1845 B.C.) were the first kings of Babylon known to control Sippar,<sup>4</sup> the Southern-Mesopotamian Sumerian calendar is first attested at Sippar during the reign of Sabium (1844–1831 B.C.) (CT 8 42a), whereas the native Sippar calendar is attested slightly earlier at the time of Immerum and Sumulael.<sup>5</sup> Greengus, however,

1. E.g. CT 7 pl. 41a: <sup>iti</sup>*el-lu-li* and <sup>iti</sup>*kin<sup>d</sup>Inanna* and CT 47 29, <sup>iti</sup>*el-lu-li* and <sup>iti</sup>*dug-kù*; VAS 9 56: <sup>iti</sup>*EZEM-a-bi* and <sup>iti</sup>*apin-dug-a*.

2. "The Akkadian Calendar at Sippar," JAOs 107 (1987), 211.

3. *Ibidem*, 213 n. 16.

4. Harris *Sippar*, 1: "his [Sumu-abum] control over Sippar was at best short-lived and ephemeral ..." In the 29th year of Sumulael (1838 B.C.) Babylon gained continuous control over Sippar.

5. PBS 8/2 195 and CT 4 50a.

notes that the Southern-Mesopotamian calendar's use at Kish predates Sumuabum and therefore "these kingdoms [Kish and Dilbat] appear to have taken over the use of the Nippur [=Southern-Mesopotamian Sumerian] calendar independent of any initiatives by the kings of Babylon."<sup>1</sup> The same may be true at Sippar. Rather than being imposed by Babylon, the Southern-Mesopotamian Sumerian calendar probably moved northward into Sippar with the merchants and scribes after Išbi-Erra (2017–1985 B.C.) had imposed this calendar over the cities under his control.

Greengus has reconstructed the order of the months of the Semitic calendar at Sippar, assuming that the calendar began in the spring with *Sibūt šattim*.<sup>2</sup> W.G. Lambert advocates a translation "seventh" for the month name *Sibūtu* and suggests that, if indeed the translation "seventh" is correct, then the Sippar calendar at some period had commenced in the autumn with *Elūli* as the first month.<sup>3</sup> The concept of a beginning of the year can take three forms: (1) the starting point for counting and naming years; (2) the start of the fiscal year (i.e., closing year-end accounting and beginning the next year's accounting); and (3) the start of the religious/agricultural year's cycle (which may be entirely psychological unless there is an actual New Year's celebration). There is no evidence from Old Babylonian Sippar that the naming of years began in the autumn. Moreover, since Sippar maintained the Southern-Mesopotamian calendar as well, which began in the spring, it is difficult to imagine a situation in which different year names would be used to date the tablet depending upon the calendar used. Nor is there year-end accounting during the months *Tirum* or *kin-dInanna*, which would be the case were *Elūli* the first month. Lastly, there is no evidence of a New Year's festival in either the first or seventh months, *Sibūt šattim* or *Elūli*. However, the month *Sibūt šattim* was the occasion for the initiation of a young girl as a *naditu*, a cloistered woman dedicated to the god pair Šamaš and Aja.<sup>4</sup> This could be understood as intentionally beginning the service of a *naditu* at the beginning of the year.

Thus the Sippar calendar in the Old Babylonian period probably began in the spring. However, the naming of a month as "seventh" (if Lambert is correct) raises the possibility that an earlier Sippar calendar may have begun in the autumn. However, this month name may have been appropriated from another calendar (as with *Gusisi*) where it was, indeed, the seventh month and placed in a different position at Sippar, unrelated to its true meaning.

1. *Op. cit.*, 213 n. 16.

2. The occurrence of *Sibūt šattim* in the spring is proved by VAS 9 139 and 140, wherein the tablet is dated to the month *Sibūt šattim* and the envelope to *ibāra-zag-gar*.

3. NABU 1989/4, 64; D. Charpin, NABU 1987/4, 66 concurs with Lambert's observation.

4. PBS 8/2 183; edited by R. Harris, "The Naditu Woman," *Studies Oppenheim*, 110ff.

In conclusion, by the beginning of the second millennium, both calendars used at Sippar began in the spring. However, there may well have been an earlier (though no longer adhered to) tradition, pre-dating the imposition of the Southern-Mesopotamian calendar and the integration of Amorite month names (*Nabrūm*, *Mammūtum*, *Ajarum* and *Tamḫirum*), in which the year began in the autumn. The month name *Sibūt šattim* (as well as the other unique Sippar month names: *Qāti-eršetim*, *Elūlum* and *Isin-dAdad*) may be vestiges of this older, third millennium, Sippar tradition.

The following is the local calendar at Sippar in the Old Babylonian period according to Greengus' reconstruction:

- i. *Sibūtum*
- ii. *Gusisi*
- iii. *Qāti-eršetim*
- iv. *dDUMU.ZI*
- v. *Isin-abi*
- vi. *Tirum*
- vii. *Elūlum*
- viii. *Tamḫirum*<sup>1</sup>
- ix. *Nabrūm*
- x. *Mammūtum*
- xi. *Isin-dAdad*
- xii. *Ajarum*

Tablets have been unearthed from Tell ed-Dēr, a small suburb of ancient Sippar, containing the following month names: *Abu*, *Bibbulum*, *dDUMU.ZI*, *Elūlum*, *Elūnum*, *Isin-dAdad*, *Kinātum*, *Kinūnum*, *Lismum*, *Nabrūm*, *Sibūtum*, *Tirum*, and an intercalary month *Watrum*.<sup>2</sup> Although no intercalary months are attested in the native Semitic Sippar calendar, intercalary (or MIN) months do occur in those documents using the Southern-Mesopotamian Sumerian calendar: *bāra-zag-gar*, *kin-dInanna*, and *še-kin-kuš*.

The months unique to Sippar (and/or Tell ed-Dēr) are:

#### *Elūlum*

Edzard, *Tell ed-Dēr*, notes that this month name should be distinguished from the month designation *ITI elūnim*, "the month of the *elūnum* festival,"

1. Greengus is unsure about the eighth month at Sippar, but notes Leemans' suggested restoration of VAS 8 81/82:13 as *Tám-ḫi-ri* (Leemans SSB II 245 n. 31a). *Tamḫirum* occurs as the eighth month at Tell ed-Dēr and Greengus states: "We feel, however, that it is more than likely that Sippar and its suburb, Tell ed-Dēr, shared the same calendar tradition."

2. Edzard *Tell ed-Dēr*, 140.



on the basis of his text no. 117 which contains separate entries for the months ITI *e-lu-ni-im* and ITI *e-lu-li*.<sup>1</sup>

### Gusisi

This month name is a semitized form of the second month of the Southern-Mesopotamian Sumerian calendar, gu<sub>4</sub>-si-su/sá. This unusual appropriation for the Sippar calendar may reflect the celebration of the *gusisu*-celebration at Sippar, a Nippur festival marking the start of preparations for seeding.<sup>2</sup>

### Qūti-eršetim

The month name may mean "demons of the netherworld," (for ŠU *eršeti* see Labat TDP 100 i 6, 220:30). This interpretation of the month name was proposed by Landsberger (LSS 6 1/2, 86), Lewy (ArOr [1939] 11, 43), and Langdon, *Menologies*, 30: "month of the hand of the earth (nether world)," a name obviously given to one of the winter months as a time of danger from demons." Actually, this month is the last month of spring and any relationship between the season and the month name is not apparent.

### Sibūtu/Sibūt šattim

The month name occurs as either <sup>iti</sup>*Sibūtu* or <sup>iti</sup>*Sibūt šattim*. At Nuzi a similar month name occurs, *warah Sabūti* or *warah ša Sabūti*; in Elam a variant *Šebu-ti* is attested. CAD S 233 states regarding the derivation of the month name: "The etymology of the word is uncertain; since according to the calendar in use in Elam, *Sibūtu* is the seventh month, it is possible that the month name is to be connected with "seven," ... in spite of the occasional spellings with the *zi*-sign in OB. Whether the OB festival *sibūt šattim* and the Nuzi month *Sibūtu/Sabūtu* are to be connected with beer-brewing, as suggested by Landsberger ... is uncertain."<sup>3</sup> Greengus has placed this month first in the Sippar calendar mainly on his assumption that the Sippar calendar began in the spring and on the basis of VAS 9 139 (tablet) and VAS 9 140 (case), dating the tablet to <sup>iti</sup>*Si-lu-tim*, the case to <sup>iti</sup>*bāra-zag-gar*. As noted above, W.G. Lambert accepts the meaning "seventh," and suggests that this indicates that Sippar's calendar, at some earlier time, began in the autumn (see discussion above).

1. For a discussion of the *elūnum* festival, see pp. 397-399.

2. For other semitized Nippur month names, see p. 226.

3. Harris *Sippar*, 200, following Oppenheim's interpretation, translates this month name as "the month of the beer-brewing season."

### Isin<sup>d</sup>Adad

The reading *Isin<sup>d</sup>Adad* rather than \**ezem<sup>d</sup>Iškur* is based on the orthography <sup>iti</sup>*I-si-in<sup>d</sup>IM* (JCS 11 [1957], 17 CUA 86) and on this basis the fifth month is then read *Isin-abi*. A festival of Adad is also mentioned in a letter from Šaduppum.<sup>1</sup>

In addition to these standard Sippar month names, additional names or events used to designate certain months are found on several tablets from Sippar or Tell ed-Dēr.<sup>2</sup>

### Bibbulum

Tell ed-Dēr; *warah bibbulum* "month of the flood" (Edzard *Tell ed-Dēr* no. 15). Cf. the Mari month name *ebirtu* "(month of) the overflowing."

### Elūnum

Sippar and Tell ed-Dēr; the expression ITI *e-lu-nim* is attested on a tablet to stipulate the month when a loan is to be repaid, but the date at the end of the document is according to the Southern-Mesopotamian Sumerian calendar (VAS 8 86). Moreover, this same situation occurs with ITI *sadduttim*, which in some instances is missing ITI entirely in the expression *i-na ša-du-tim i-lā-e* (VAS 8 128). Thus these are probably not month names, but should be translated "in the month of the *elūnum* festival" or "in the month of the collection."

### Humtum

Sippar; see below.

1. *Sumer* 14 (1958), 38 no. 17.

2. Greengus, *op. cit.*, 219 n. 49, following Landsberger's observation (LSS 6 1/2, 85), considers the reference to *iti-ezem* as probably a shortened form of <sup>iti</sup>*ezem-a-bi* and thus the passages VAS 8 28:8 and 29:8 <sup>iti</sup>*ezem<sup>iti</sup>ne-IZI-gar* would synchronize the two Sippar calendars. However, CAD I 196 interprets the phrase *iti-ezem* as merely a generic designation of a festival in the month <sup>iti</sup>*ne-IZI-gar*. We agree with CAD's interpretation on the basis of VAS 8 nos. 47 and 48, wherein the tablet contains ITI *re-iš<sup>iti</sup> dDUMU.ZI*, the same type of formation as VAS 8 28 and 29 above, but the case omits the first ITI, *re-iš<sup>iti</sup> dDUMU.ZI*. Based on content and the absence of ITI in the case, it is clear that ITI *re-iš* refers to the month <sup>iti</sup>*dDUMU.ZI*. Greengus, *op. cit.* 219 cites one reference (BE 6/2 123:16) to a Sippar month: <sup>iti</sup>*gi<sub>6</sub>-a*. A month <sup>iti</sup>*gi<sub>6</sub>-a* is attested in pre-Sargonic Lagaš and note the Mari month *Lilūtum*, which also means "night." However this Sippar reference should probably be read <sup>iti</sup>*sig<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup>-a*. Greengus also lists a month *kū-ga* under unplaced Sumerian month names. However, the two references are probably to <sup>iti</sup>*du<sub>6</sub>-kū-ga*, not \* <sup>iti</sup>*kū-ga*. (CT 33 39:18 should be read <sup>iti</sup>*<du<sub>6</sub>>-kū-ga*, there being clearly an unusual gap on the copy where the *du<sub>6</sub>*-sign should be.)

### *Kinātum*

Tell ed-Dēr; perhaps to be associated with the Assyrian month *ša kinātim*.

### *Lismum*

Tell ed-Dēr; *waraḥ lismim* "month of the footrace"; probably used to refer to an event rather than being the actual name of a month in the calendar. The tablet which contains this month name also includes *Bibbulum* (Edzard *Tell ed-Dēr* no. 15).<sup>1</sup>

### *Sadduttum*

Sippar; many tablets refer to the time of repayment of loans as *ITI šadduttim*, "the month of collection," (see CAD Š 218), for which see our comment to *elūnum* above.

### ITI.ŠUKU.BI

A Sippar list of harvesters dating to the first year of Ammišaduqa is dated ITI ŠUKU.BI (Van Lerberghe and Voet *Sippar* p. 78 no. 53). Van Lerberghe and Voet suggest that this may not be a month name, but perhaps: "one month, their sustenance." (Note the third millennium month at Ebla: <sup>iii</sup>ŠUKU [p. 32]).

### *The Festivals*

Several texts from Sippar mention festivals observed throughout the year. Harris observes:

Most references to festivals of Šamaš are found in cloister records and are receipts for the *piqittu* ("assignment") which each *naditu*-woman and cloister official is required to bring to the Šamaš temple for festivals. ... The *naditu*-woman might delegate her obligations to a person to whom she has leased a house or field. Thus in almost all the lease contracts of the *naditu*-women, the lessee, in addition to rent, is responsible for supplying to the *naditu* the *piqittu* for usually three, but even as many as six festivals of Šamaš.<sup>2</sup>

A festival of Šamaš is mentioned in an Old Babylonian letter from Sippar: "There is a festival of Šamaš [EZEM <sup>d</sup>UTU], who loves my lord, and you, my lord, being occupied, they did not *transfer* that barley into ..."<sup>3</sup> A festival of

1. For footraces as part of cultic celebrations, see p. 333.

2. Harris *Sippar*, 199.

3. M. Stol, AbB 11 123.

Šamaš may perhaps be referenced in another passage: "PN owes Šamaš x .... (and?) a sun disk worth one-third shekel, when he regains his health, he will place the sun disk on his (Šamaš's) neck at the ... festival(?)"<sup>1</sup> Harris notes: "An account [CT 8 36c] from the time of Ammi-ditana mentions the 'festival of Šamaš of Sippar' for which 10 GUR of sesame for the needs of the festival are brought to Sippar-Jahrurum from the city of Luḫaja by way of the Araḫ-tum canal to be given to the oil presser for processing. The account, dated to the 28th day of the 3rd month, suggests a festival in the fourth month."<sup>2</sup> And there is a reference to offerings brought to the Šamaš temples for the first, fourth and eighth months.<sup>3</sup> Quite possibly these texts do not refer to annual festivals of Šamaš, but rather to the monthly festival of Šamaš which occurred on the 18th of each month throughout much of Mesopotamia. A Mari text from the fourth month, *Abum*, records provisions for a festival of Šamaš (*i-si-in dŠamaš*) on the 18th of the month.<sup>4</sup> A festival of Šamaš on the 18th is also attested during the month *Kinūnum* at Mari. Bottéro (ARMT 7 p. 198) observes that according to the series *Inbu*, the 18th and 20th of each month, at least in some areas of Mesopotamia, was the time of a festival of Šamaš (cf. Landsberger, LSS 6 1/2, 136).<sup>5</sup>

Two Sippar texts list festivals in months 2(?) (*elūnum*), 9 (*nabrūm*) and 12 (*ajarum*).<sup>6</sup> And the *ḫumṭum* festival occurred probably during the twelfth month. In addition, the Sippar month names themselves indicate the observance of the *abum* festival in month 5 and a festival of Adad in month 11. A Sippar text records offerings for the *sibūt šattim* (festival) (no month determinative), and offerings for the months *šu-numun* (4), *ab-è-a* (5), *duḡ-kù* (7), and for the month (of) the *ḫumṭum* (festival).<sup>7</sup>

Four tablets from Sippar mention a month ITI *Kinūnu*.<sup>8</sup> An Old Babylonian tablet from Tell ed-Dēr refers to the *kinūnum* of Ištar (Dēr 163). However, this reference may refer simply to the brazier of Ištar, rather than to an actual brazier-festival of Ištar.<sup>9</sup> In the late first millennium there is a refer-

1. CAD Š 338, YOS 12 15:2 and 8.

2. Harris *Sippar*, 201, where Harris also cites references to festivals occurring during the fifth month.

3. TCL 1 228.

4. ARM 7 no. 13.

5. For a monthly festival of Šamaš at Sippar around the 20th, see Harris *Sippar*, 200.

6. Harris *Sippar*, 200: "In one contract a lessee is 'to hand over to her (the *naditu*) a basket (of food) and a piglet at the festival of *Elūnu* for the first day of the festival, and the *nabrū* ceremony' [CT 33 43 20]. In another contract [Cig-Kizilyay-Kraus *Nippur* 161 r. 3] the lessee is to hand over 'a basket at the *Elūnu* festival, the *nabrū* festival and the *Ajaru* festival'."

7. VAS 9 191a. Unexpectedly, the order of the months <sup>iii</sup>duḡ-kù (month 7) and <sup>iii</sup>šu-numun (month 4) are in reverse order. This unexpected order is already noted by Kugler, SSB II 245.

8. For references see CAD K 395. For a full discussion of the *kinūnum* festival, see pp. 392-394.

9. *Tell ed-Dēr* no. 183 records grain for the 20th of the month: *iš-tu u<sub>4</sub>-mi iš-ri-im ša ITI* [...], which Edzard *Tell ed-Dēr*, 184 suggests may possibly denote a festival to be held on that day.

ence to a ritual performed in Sippar with the *kinūnum*-brazier (Camb. 126:4): aromatic matter "for the braziers of Šamaš, Aja, Bunene, and the (other) gods of Sippar." However, it is unclear whether this refers to the brazier festival or to regular brazier usage.

There are a few scattered references indicating the observance of an *akitu*-festival at Sippar. However, there is no information as to the time of year the observance occurred or the deity around whom the festival was centered.<sup>1</sup>

A tablet from Tell ed-Dēr lists ten ovens for Dēr to be used *ana tašritim* "for the *tašritum* festival," a term which provided the name for the seventh month in the Standard Mesopotamian calendar.<sup>2</sup>

At a minimum, the Sippar festival cycle consisted of:

- i. the *sibūt šattim* festival
- ii. the *elūnum* festival of Šamaš
- v. the *abum* observance
- ix. the *nabrūm* festival
- xi. the festival of Adad
- xii. the *hūmṭum/ajarum* festival of Šamaš

#### month i: the *sibūt šattim* observance

The month is named *Sibūtu*, "seventh," or *Sibūt šattim*, "seventh (month) of the year." The term *sibūt šattim* occurs also without the month determinative, raising the possibility that the term *sibūt šattim* may refer to a specific observance during that month, as noted in the phraseology: *ūm sibūt šattim* (PBS 8/2 183:27). However, the designation *isinnu*, "festival" is never applied to *sibūt šattim*.<sup>3</sup>

According to one Sippar text, dated to the month *Sibūt šattim*, the *sibūt šattim* observance was the occasion for the initiation of a young girl as a *nadītu*, a cloistered woman dedicated to the god pair Šamaš and Aja.<sup>4</sup> The festival was a three day affair, the first day marking her entrance into the cloister (*ūm šuhārtum irubam*), the second day a memorial day for deceased *nadītu*'s (*ūm šimtim ša nadātīm*), and the third day was called *ūm [(x)]*.AB.Ē.A *ša nadiātīm*, the significance of which is unclear.

1. Note the personal name *Mar-a-ki-tum* (YOS 13 200). Harris *Sippar*, 20 notes references to an *akitu* chapel (BM 81143: Ē.GAL *akītim*) and an *akitu* street (BE 6/1 82: 18 SILA *a-ki-tim*).

2. Edzard *Tell ed-Dēr* no. 198. For a discussion of the term *tašritum* and the month name, see p. 326.

3. For the observance of the 7th Day of the 7th Month, see pp. 391-392.

4. PBS 8/2 183; edited by R. Harris, "The Naditu Woman," *Studies Oppenheim*, 110ff.

#### month ii: the *elūnum* festival

Both the CAD and AHW relate the month and festival name *elūnum* to the month name *elūlum*, presumably on the basis of two Old Babylonian references to an *elūlum* observance, as well as the apparent similarity between the month names *iiElūnum* and *iiElūlum*.<sup>1</sup> Edzard *Tell ed-Dēr* notes that the seventh Sippar month, *iiElūlum*, should be distinguished from the month designation ITI *elūnim* "the month of the *elūnum* festival" at Sippar on the basis of his text no. 117 which contains separate entries for the months ITI *e-lu-nim* and ITI *e-lu-li*.

Greengus demonstrates the likelihood that the contract VAS 8 36 indicates that the *elūnum* observance was held during the second month at Sippar.<sup>2</sup> An Old Babylonian reference indicates that at Sippar an *elūnum* observance occurred in the temple of Šamaš, the sun-god and chief deity of Sippar.<sup>3</sup>

For a full discussion of this festival at Sippar and elsewhere, see pp. 397-399.

#### month v: the *abum* festival

In the fifth month the *abum* festival was observed at Sippar. However, in those cities using an Amorite calendar the *abum* festival occurred in the fourth month.<sup>4</sup> Only at Susa is the month *Abum* also the fifth month during this period. A festival is mentioned in VAS 8 28/29 (*ezem iiine-IZI-gar*) as occurring in this month, perhaps referring to the *abum* festival. The placement at Sippar of the *abum* festival in the fifth month (rather than in the fourth month as in the more northerly cities) may have been a conscious rearrangement to enable the *abum* and the *ne-IZI-gar* ceremonies to merge into one major observance for the dead. Sippar was strongly influenced by the southern Sumerian cities as witnessed by its parallel usage of the Southern-Mesopotamian Sumerian calendar. There may have been a division among the Sippar population, some elements observing the *ne-IZI-gar* paternalia from the south, others the *abum* festival from the north. To resolve the issue the Sippar calendar may have been altered by moving *abum* one month later to coincide with the paternalia of the fifth month in the Southern-Mesopotamian Sumerian calendar.

1. U<sub>4</sub>.SAKAR<sub>x</sub> *ša e-lu-li-[x] ša* <sup>4</sup>Inanna URU.AN.NA (MDP 10, 36 no. 24) and *kima tidu e-lu-lu qurrubu ZIZ.AN.NA ana šakān kurummatija ul išu*, "as you know, the (days of the) *elulu*-festival are approaching and there is no emmer-wheat for the presentation of my food offering" (PBS 7 120, translation CAD E 136 sub *elūlu*).

2. *Op. cit.*, 220.

3. YOS 10 1.

4. For a discussion of the meaning of the month name *Abum*, see pp. 259-261.

There are various references to funerary offerings (*ki-si-ga/ kispu*) to the dead being provided in the fifth month in Sippar: "a one year old calf for the funerary offering for the month ne-IZI-gar" (CT 48 100); "turtles and tortoises are needed for the funerary offering for the month ne-IZI-gar" (VAS 16 51); and "milk and ghee will be needed for the funerary offering of the month ne-IZI-gar" (TCL 1 7). A reference probably to the *abum* festival at Sippar is YOS 12 345, dated to the fifth month, which records: 3 sila *a-na ši-ir-pi-tim i-na e-ri-ib a-bi* "3 liters of porridge at the entrance to the *abi*."

During this month there is a reference to the *ūm kimūt*<sup>d</sup>DUMU.ZI "the day of the captivity of Dumuzi" (YOS 12 427). At Mari and in the first millennium, the fourth month was considered as the time of Dumuzi's captivity.<sup>1</sup> However, this difference may be related to our hypothesized repositioning at Sippar of the *abum* festival from the fourth month to the fifth month in order to align the *abum* and ne-IZI-gar observances.

The next month at Sippar was named *Tirum*, which may be related to *tāru*, "to return," (as with *tiru*, *tirānu*, "twisting"). In the fourth month at Ešnunna, when the *abum* observance was held, there was the day of the *elum* followed by the day of *tirum*<sup>2</sup>—the day of arising from the netherworld followed by the day of the return to the netherworld, or the day of going up (to the mountain, i.e., the netherworld) followed by the return to the land of the living. Since at Old Babylonian Sippar the month *Isin-abi* preceded the month *Tirum*, there may have been a similar concept at Sippar.

#### month ix: the *nabrūm* festival

This festival is attested in the Old Babylonian period at Sippar, Nērebtum, Šubat-Enlil, Chagar Bazar, Mari, Kish, Šaduppum, and Tell Rimah. The term *nabrū* may be a derivative of *barū*, "to observe omens," in which case the festival might be a special occasion for determining the destiny of the city for the coming year.<sup>3</sup> For a discussion of this festival, see pp. 394-395.

#### month xi: the festival of Adad

There is no information regarding this observance at Sippar. However see our discussion of the calendar at Šaduppum (p. 255) for Old Babylonian references to a festival of Adad.

1. See pp. 315ff.

2. See p. 253.

3. Langdon *Menologies*, 30 also assumed the root *barū*, but interpreted the festival name as meaning 'manifestation', corresponding to the winter display of lights in honor of the resurrection of the sun-god at the winter solstice.

#### month xii: the *humtum* festival

In the Old Babylonian period there are several references to the *humtum* festival of Šamaš, some from Sippar, which have been collected and analyzed by Greengus.<sup>1</sup> In a tablet of transactions (VAS 9 191a) the following months occur in the following order: *Sibūt Sattim*, *duḡ-kù*, *šu-numun-a*, *ab-è*,<sup>iti</sup> *Hu-um-tum*. As Greengus and Kugler<sup>2</sup> have observed, the known months are out of order if this truly represents transactions from the same year. Goetze cites a Sippar contract concerning the hiring of harvesters in advance of the harvest in *Humtum*.<sup>3</sup> This would support placing *Humtum* at the end of the year.

The *humtum* festival to Šamaš seems to have occurred in the twelfth month of the year. It was celebrated, at a minimum, in Sippar, possibly Ešnunna, and later in Assyria. The twelfth month in Sippar was *Ajaru*. However, the occurrence of the *humtum* festival in this month may have, on occasion, led to the month being called *Humtum*. For a discussion of the *Humtum* festival, see pp. 396-397.

1. *Op. cit.*, 219.

2. SSB II 245.

3. JCS 11 (1957), 29 no. 17.

## Mari

From the pre-Sargonic period to some point during the last two centuries of the third millennium, the city of Mari utilized the Early Semitic calendar, which was adopted by much of northern and central Mesopotamia.<sup>1</sup> In the subsequent period, the period of the *šakkanaku*'s (military governors) at Mari, coinciding to a large degree with the Ur III empire, Mari adopted a native calendar, paralleling a similar development at Ebla, where again a native calendar replaced the Early Semitic calendar. Twelve month names (along with an intercalary month *ITI taš-ni-tim*) which comprised this local Mari calendar during the period of the *šakkanaku*'s are attested, although the order of the months cannot be reconstructed with certainty.<sup>2</sup>

ITI *a-bi*  
 ITI <sup>d</sup>AMA.KI  
 ITI <sup>d</sup>Da-gan  
 ITI *e-bir<sub>3</sub>-ti*  
 ITI IM.BAR<sub>11</sub>.BAR<sub>11</sub>  
 ITI KIN  
 ITI <sup>d</sup>KUR  
 ITI *lá-ḫi-im*  
 ITI *li-lí-a-tí*  
 ITI *ma-al-kà-né-en*  
 ITI NIG.NI.SAG  
 ITI <sup>d</sup>Nin-ki-gigir  
 ITI *taš-ni-tim*

Five of these month names clearly continued into the Old Babylonian calendar at Mari: *a-bi*, <sup>d</sup>*Da-gan*, *e-bir<sub>3</sub>-ti*, *lá-ḫi-im*, and *li-lí-a-tí*. And the month <sup>d</sup>KUR quite likely evolved into <sup>d</sup>IGI.KUR in the Old Babylonian Mari calendar.<sup>3</sup>

1. See the chapter "Early Semitic Calendars" for a discussion of this calendar; for the Mari attestations see D. Charpin, "Mari et le calendrier d'Ebla," RA 76 (1982), 1ff. and see D. Charpin, "Tablettes présargoniques de Mari," MARI 5 (1987), 68ff.

2. These texts were published in Jestin, RA 46 (1952), 185ff., in ARMT 19 and a few in ARM 22/1 (nos. 100 and 138). Note also ARMT 19 no. 45: *iti<sub>3</sub>ma(?)*.

3. J.-M. Durand, "Trois études sur Mari," MARI 5 (1987), 160 also suggests that the Ur III month and the Old Babylonian month are probably related.

The deity <sup>d</sup>KUR occurs in an Ur III period god-list from Mari, being positioned between <sup>d</sup>Ga-ma-šu-um-tum and <sup>d</sup>Nin-ki-gigir, the latter also having a month at Mari named for her.<sup>1</sup>

In addition to the month ITI <sup>d</sup>KUR, a month ITI <sup>d</sup>AMA.KI is attested. We are unaware of any references to a deity <sup>d</sup>AMA.KI. According to AN = *Anum* V 229-233 both <sup>d</sup>KUR and <sup>d</sup>KI are representations of netherworld deities and both may be pronounced /amma/:

|                         |   |
|-------------------------|---|
| d am-ma KUR             | " (= <i>er-še-tum</i> <sup>d</sup> Al-la-tum) |
| d "(=am-ma) KI          | "   |
| <sup>d</sup> Ir-kal-la  | "   |
| <sup>d</sup> IGI.KUR.ZA | "   |
| <sup>d</sup> IGI.KUR    | "   |

Perhaps at Mari the orthography <sup>d</sup>AMA.KI should actually be transliterated d amaAmma<sub>x</sub>(=KI), the AMA-sign being a pronunciation gloss.<sup>2</sup> J.-M. Durand in his discussion of <sup>d</sup>KUR and <sup>d</sup>IGI.KUR observes that (1) the name <sup>d</sup>KUR may also be read /raman/ in Assyrian and Babylonian texts; (2) has been understood by some as an orthography for Dagan, or (3) might even be related to the Ebla god <sup>d</sup>ku-ra.<sup>3</sup> Perhaps at Mari the orthography <sup>d</sup>KUR is also to be read <sup>d</sup>Amma<sub>x</sub> (as in AN = *Anum* cited above) and therefore <sup>d</sup>AMA.KI and <sup>d</sup>KUR might refer to the same month. However, not only would it be extremely unusual for the same month to be written in two such distinctly different ways, but, if these are orthographies for the same month, this would leave only eleven month names attested at Mari during this period. Thus, the month names probably designate separate months, but both may refer to cults of netherworld deities.

Possibly <sup>d</sup>Nin-ki-gigir (attested in the aforementioned Ur III period god-list from Mari) is to be identified with the goddess in the Middle Assyrian god-lists: <sup>d</sup>Nin-DU-gigir<sub>2</sub>-ra (KAV 64 ii 29).

In the month name NIG.NI.SAG, "(the month of) the festival(?) of the first-offerings," the element níg- may be a variant for ezem-, a variant-form that occurs in two Keš month names: *iti<sub>3</sub>níg-a-dara<sub>4</sub>* / *iti<sub>3</sub>ezem-a-dara<sub>4</sub>* and *iti<sub>3</sub>níg-e-ga* / *iti<sub>3</sub>ezem-a-ga*.<sup>4</sup> If this Sumerian orthography was only a written device to express a Semitic month name, perhaps the actual month name was \**warah<sub>3</sub> isin nisanni* or \**warah<sub>3</sub> ša nisanni*.

1. G. Dossin, "Un <<Pantheon>> d'Ur III a Mari," RA 61 (1967), 99; D. O. Edzard, "Pantheon und Kult in Mari," CRRA 15 (1967), 57-58.

2. For the reading of the entry <sup>d</sup>am-ma KUR see W.G. Lambert, "Surrejoinder to P. Steinkeller (ZA 80 [1990] 53-59)," who reads <sup>d</sup>am-ma<sub>x</sub>KUR against Steinkeller's suggested emendation <sup>d</sup>Am-gal(!)-kur.

3. J.-M. Durand, "Trois études sur Mari," MARI 5 (1987), 160-161.

4. See p. 208.

CAD E 14 suggests that the month *ebirtu* is to be connected with *ebēru* A, "to overflow," thus "the month of overflowing of the rivers" (cf. at Sippar ITI *bibbulim* "month of the flood"). Despite the absence of the determinative DINGIR, this month may derive from the pre-Sargonic god Abirtu occurring in texts from Mari.<sup>1</sup> Note also the existence of a goddess <sup>d</sup>NIN-e-birṣ-tum.<sup>2</sup> In the Old Babylonian period the month was called *Hibirtum* and there was a god in Mari called <sup>d</sup>Hi-bi-ir-tu, presumably the deification of the same phenomenon.<sup>3</sup>

In early economic documents the Sumerian term im-BAR<sub>11</sub>.BAR<sub>11</sub> denoted a specific mineral. In later lexical and bilingual texts the term im-babbar is equated to Akkadian *gaššu*, "gypsum."<sup>4</sup> However, it is unclear if the month name is related to this mineral's name. There is a later Mari tablet dated to Yaḥdun-Lim also with this month name.<sup>5</sup>

The orthography <sup>iti</sup>KIN corresponded to a Semitic month name whose meaning may have indicated the harvest time. In the Old Babylonian Mari calendar the twelfth month was *Ebūru*, "harvest."

The order of the Old Babylonian Mari calendar during the reigns of Yaḥdun-Lim, Sumu-Yamam, Šamši-Adad, Yasmaḥ-Adad, and Zimri-Lim is well established:<sup>6</sup>

i. *Urāḫum*

ii. *Malkānum*

In the Ur III period the dual form ITI *Ma-al-kū-né-en* is used to designate the month. W. von Soden (AHw 595) has suggested that the term is related to *maliku*, "prince," while the CAD offers no suggestion as to the origin of this month name.

iii. *Lahḫum*

This month occurs on tablets found at Elam (see CAD L 41).

1. MARI 5 (1987), 73 no. 8 and p. 88 no. 36; see D.O. Edzard, "Pantheon und Kult in Mari," CRRA 15 (1967), 54, who has suggested this connection between the deity's name and the month name.

2. RA 61 (1967), 99.

3. 11466, D. Charpin, MARI 3 (1984), 103 no. 132.

4. CAD G 54 sub *gaššu*. The term IM.UD also means "cloud" as in Cooper *Curse of Agade*, 58 line 175: IM.UD sir-da la-ba-šeg "The gathered clouds did not rain."

5. See Limet, ARMT 19, 13 n. 36.

6. F. Thureau-Dangin, RA 33 (1936), 175 n. 3; Kupper, *Symbolae Böhl*, 266-270 (=ARM 22 276); Limet, ARMT, 10-14 and Kupper, MARI 3 (1984), 182; J. Sasson, *Dated Texts from Mari: A Tabulation* (Malibu, 1980), 8.

iv. *Abum*

The month of the *abum* festival. The *ab/pum* was a mound erected over an opening leading to the netherworld.<sup>1</sup>

v. *Hibirtum*

This month is presumably an evolved form of the Ur III month *Ebirtum*, discussed above. An Old Babylonian tablet contains the entry <sup>iti</sup>Hi-birṣ-tim *na-am-ri*, which Boyer and the CAD have interpreted as being a form of the month name.<sup>2</sup> However, the implication of the term *namru* in regard to the meaning of the month name *Hibirtum* is unclear.<sup>3</sup>

vi. <sup>d</sup>IGI.KUR<sup>4</sup>

Variant orthographies <sup>iti</sup> <sup>d</sup>IGI.KUR.ZA and <sup>iti</sup> <sup>d</sup>IGI.ZA.KUR are attested.<sup>5</sup> Both terms IGI.KUR and IGI.KUR.ZA can designate the netherworld. Noting that *Hubur* also designates the netherworld, that *Hubur* is a month name in Assyria (which had a great cultural impact on Mari), and that the terms *mu-ut-ḫa/ḫu-bur* and *mu-ut-<sup>d</sup>IGI.KUR* are both attested at Mari, Durand has suggested that the months <sup>d</sup>KUR and <sup>d</sup>IGI.KUR may designate the *Hubur* river, which is identified with the netherworld.

Both <sup>d</sup>IGI.KUR and <sup>d</sup>IGI.KUR.ZA share a pronunciation /ganzer/ (see CAD I 177 sub *irkallu*).<sup>6</sup> The signs IGI.KUR may also be read /ḫilib/ or /ḫalib/, which may be related to West Semitic *ḫlb*, "hill" (thus <sup>iti</sup> <sup>d</sup>ḫilib).<sup>7</sup>

vii. *Kinūnum*

The "festival of the brazier" provided the name for the ninth month at Nuzi and for the seventh month in the Amorite calendars. See pp. 392-394 for discussion of the *kinūnu* festival.

viii. <sup>d</sup>Dagan

1. For a discussion of the month name *Abum*, see pp. 259-261.

2. Boyer, ARMT 8 no. 25; CAD N/1 242.

3. For the term *namritum* referring possibly to a festival, see p. 268.

4. The deity <sup>d</sup>IGI.KUR has been treated by J.-M. Durand, "Trois études sur Mari," MARI 5 (1987), 160-161. Durand notes the Old Babylonian proper name AN-ku-ra-ta-nu, perhaps to be read <sup>d</sup>Kura-tanu, in a list of proper names edited by W.G. Lambert, RA 74 (1980), 74.

5. For this orthography note Talon, ARM 24 7 and Durand, MARI 5 (1987), 161.

6. See CAD I 177 sub *irkallu* for IGI.KUR also having a pronunciation ḫa-li-ib, ḫi-li-ib, and [x]-lu-ku.

7. There is no known attestation of IGI.KUR.ZA with a reading /ḫilib/.

ix. *Liliātu*

"Night"; note the occurrence of a month <sup>iti</sup>gi<sub>6</sub>-a in pre-Sargonic Lagaš.<sup>1</sup>

x. *<sup>d</sup>Bēlet-bīri*

CAD B 265: "The divine name <sup>d</sup>Bēlet-bi-ri ... seems to be a secondary interpretation of the name Bēlet-Erum "Lady of GN," the writing B<sub>1</sub>RU (reading ERIM) in this name standing for the geographical name Erum."

xi. *Kiskissum*

This month is also the eleventh month at Ešnunna.

xii. *Ebūrum*

"Harvest.

According to Greengus: "The Mari calendar appears to begin in the spring. Kupper was able to show this from the fact that most silver loans were due in *Abum* (IV) and from the fact that deliveries of grain from off the threshing floor (*maškānum*) took place in *Malkānum* and *Lahḫum* (II-III). Correspondingly, sesame was harvested in *Kinūnum* (VII) and delivered in *Lilijātum* (IX) while sheep were plucked in *Ebūrum* (XII)."<sup>2</sup> Therefore *Uraḫum* and *Malkānum* occurred in the spring. However, as Greengus observes, no particular month can be said to coincide with *Nisannu* and thus the placement of *Uraḫum* as the first month is tentative.

Of these twelve month names in the Old Babylonian Mari calendar, Greengus has identified six of these Mari months after which an intercalary MIN-month was named: *Malkānum* II, *Lahḫum* II, *Abum* II, *Ḫibirtum* II, <sup>d</sup>IG<sub>1</sub>KUR II and *Ebūrum* II, indicating that an intercalary month was added most probably when it was quite apparent that a particular season was no longer synchronous with the calendar<sup>3</sup> or as Sasson notes: "intercalation at Mari was arrived at on an *ad hoc* basis."<sup>4</sup>

Larsen observes that under Yasmaḫ-Adad, the son of Šamši-Adad I, king of Assyria, and later Zimri-Lim, the native Mari calendar was used for admin-

1. See p. 61.

2. S. Greengus, "The Akkadian Calendar at Sippar," JAOS 107 (1987), 221.

3. Greengus, *op. cit.*, 212.

4. J. Sasson, *Dated Texts from Mari: A Tabulation* (Malibu, 1980), 8.

istrative purposes.<sup>1</sup> However, the correspondence of Yasmaḫ-Adad utilized the calendar of Šubat-Enlil.<sup>2</sup>

Other months found on tablets from Mari include:<sup>3</sup>

*Adnātum*

The term *adnātu* is attested in Standard Babylonian as a plural tantum "world" (CAD A/1 128). No Old Babylonian references are extant. The tablet containing this month name was probably written in Carchemish.<sup>4</sup>

*Ajarum*

This month is attested in the calendars from Sippar, Šubat-Enlil, and Tell Rimah. See our discussion of the month *Ajaru* in the Standard Mesopotamian calendar, where we discuss its possible relationship with the month and festival *ḫijaru*.

*apin-duḡ*

This month from the Southern-Mesopotamian calendar is attested during the rule of Sumu-Yamam.<sup>5</sup>

*<sup>d</sup>Birikkum*

The *birikkum* was a structure identified with the cults of various deities at Mari. One text connects it with the cult of Dagan (ARM 23 p. 261 no. 284): "5 rams as an offering in the *birikkum* of Dagan." Another text refers to the *birikkum* of Ḫibirtum (ARM 21 no. 34). The texts are dated to the 6th and 7th of the eleventh month respectively. A text dating to the 12th day of the eleventh month mentions the *birikkum* of Sin (ARM 23 p. 263 no. 290). A

1. "Unusual Eponymy-Datings from Mari and Assyria," RA 68 (1974), 16; J. Sasson, *op. cit.*, 9.

2. For the calendar of Šubat-Enlil, see pp. 255ff.

3. See Greengus, *op. cit.*, 221-222 for text sources for each month and references to the discussions summarized below. Greengus p. 222 draws attention to J. Sasson, *apud* J. M. Durand, MARI 2 (1982) 220, who reads ITI *i-bi-ib-m[a]* instead of a month named *I-bi-ib-[tum]* as read by CAD I/J 2 in the Mari text Syria 19 (1938) 115 no. 3. In addition, months from the Southern-Mesopotamian calendar are also attested in Mari, sometimes occurring on the same tablet as a Mari month name (particularly in the contractual phrase regarding the time of loan repayment: e.g. <sup>iti</sup>ne-IZI-gar kù-babbar ù mās-bi i-lá-e [ARM 8 nos. 23, 24, and 26]).

4. ARM 8 no. 78: *ša Kar-su-um*<sup>ki</sup>.

5. For references see Sasson, *op. cit.*, 9-10. Sasson mentions the possibility that the intercalary month *Ebūrum* II during the date-formula *Saggaratum* II may indicate that "this intercalation is regarded as preceding a new year, rather than ending an old one."

sheep is offered at the garden/orchard of the *birikkum* of Adad at Emar, as part of a ritual for the 15th of a month.<sup>1</sup>

### *Birizarrum*

A festival called *birizaru* is attested in the Ur III period at Mari on the 30th of the month <sup>iti</sup>KIN (ARMT 19 no. 248: *iš bi-ri-iz-zi-ri-im*) and in the Old Babylonian period where it is used to identify the month: ITI *bi-ri-za-ar-ri* (ARM 9 no. 13) and ITI *bi-ri-za-ri-im* (ARM 9 no. 245). This month is also attested at Ḫana/Terqa.<sup>2</sup> Podany suggests that "the name *Birizarrum* may have been peculiar to Terqa even during the kingdom of Mari; all texts that mention that name possibly originated in Terqa."

### *Kinūnātum*

ARM 9 38; a plural of the common month name *Kinūnum*, "brazier."

### *Magrānum*

Probably to be identified with *Magrattum* from Ešnunna and Šaduppum.

### *Mammītum*

This month is attested also in Sippar, Šubat-Enlil, Tell Rimah, Ešnunna, Ishchali (*warah* <sup>d</sup>Mammi), and Šaduppum.<sup>3</sup>

### *Mana*

This month is attested at Tell Rimah and at Šubat-Enlil where it is the eleventh month. As noted below, a Mari document dated to the month *Mana* mentions the festival of Diritum, a festival otherwise attested at Mari in *Kiskissum*, the eleventh month.

### *Nabrû*

For the month and festival *nabrû*, see pp. 394-395.

### *ne-IZI-gar*

This month from the Southern-Mesopotamian Sumerian calendar is attested on a Mari tablet (M.11264; published by Charpin, MARI 6, 256) from the reign of Yaḫdun-Lim, which also contains the Mari month <sup>iti</sup> <sup>d</sup>IGI.KUR.

### *Niqmun*

This month, which means "revenge," is attested as the seventh month in the Ešnunna calendar.

### *Tamḫīrum*

This month, which refers to a type of offering, is the eighth month in Ešnunna and the ninth in Elam.

### *Tīrum*

This month is the sixth month in Sippar and Tell Ed-Dēr<sup>1</sup>

### <sup>d</sup>DUMU.ZI

This month is the fourth month in Sippar and tell Ed-Dēr and the third month at Šubat-Enlil, Tell Rimah and Ishchali.

### *še-kin-kuš*

In the Old Babylonian period this month is attested in the calendars at Sippar, Tell Rimah and Ešnunna.

It is extremely difficult to place these additional thirteen months in their proper order in the Mari calendar. Perhaps the best opportunity to try to discern a pattern would seem to be from the archive of oil disbursement texts published by Charpin which span only a few *limu*-years.<sup>2</sup> The tablets dating to the *limu*-year of Nimer-Sin contain all the standard months with the exceptions of <sup>d</sup>IGI.KUR and *Malkānum*, while utilizing three other month names: *Mammītum*, *Mana*, and *Magrānum*. Yet the tablets from the *limu*-year of Adad-bani contain both <sup>d</sup>IGI.KUR and *Malkānum*, as well as *Magrānum*. Thus, even within this small archive, alternate month names seem to have been used freely.

1. Emar VI/3 no. 446 49'. For this month see also 11949, D. Charpin, MARI 3 (1984), 88 no. 27; see J.-M. Durand ARMT 21 26 n. 28.

2. A. Podany, *The Chronology and History of the Ḫana Period*, diss., UCLA (1988), 189-191.

3. For a discussion of the relationship of the names of Nergal's spouse: Mamma, Mammi, and Mammītum, see W.G. Lambert, BiOr 30 (1973), 357.

1. For a discussion of this month name, see p. 253.

2. "Documents du bureau de l'huile," MARI 3 (1984), 84ff. and "Nouveaux documents du bureau de l'huile," MARI 5 (1987), 597ff.



*The Festivals*<sup>1</sup>

The *nabrû* and *birizarru* festivals are attested from Ur III Mari. A festival called *birizarru* is attested in the Ur III period at Mari on the 30th of the month <sup>iti</sup>KIN (ARMT 19 no. 248: *iš bi-ri-iz-za-ri'-im*) and in the Old Babylonian period where it is used to identify the month: ITI *bi-ri-za-ar-ri* (ARM 9 no. 13) and ITI *bi-ri-za-ri-im* (ARM 9 no. 245). The *nabrû* festival is attested at Ur III Mari: *a-mu-wa-tim sá na-ab-ri-i*<sup>2</sup> and 1 UDU in *na-ab-ri-i[m]* PN [ta]m<sup>hur</sup>, "PN received one sheep for the *nabrû*-festival" (ARMT 19 324). The term *nabrû* may be a derivative of *barû*, "to observe omens," in which case the festival might be a special occasion for determining the destiny of the city for the coming year.<sup>3</sup> This tentative hypothesis fits well with the Ur III Mari reference: *a-mu-wa-tim sá na-ab-ri-i* "the omina of the *nabrû*-(festival)."<sup>4</sup>

From the Mari tablets of the second millennium B.C. there are accounts of expended supplies, particularly oil, which were provided for special occasions and rites. Many of these occasions and rites are dated to more than one month during the year, indicating that these are monthly or periodic rituals.<sup>5</sup> Among these monthly or periodic rituals and observances at Old Babylonian Mari were the *gibbum*, *liptum*, *kispum*,<sup>6</sup> *mālikū*, *nīš ilim*, *teliltum*, *taqribtum*, *iēbibtum*, *teršum*, *tuhimatum*, and *zura'um* rites.

The following schedule of annual festivals can be discerned for Mari:

i. *Urāḫum*

On the 25th day of the first month oil was disbursed *a-na ḫa-a[l-lī]*.<sup>7</sup> Perhaps this is related to the *ḫulīlu* festival: *ana dNa-ni UD ḫu-li-li* "(Perfumes,

1. The calendar and festivals of Mari have been analyzed by J. Sasson, "The Calendar and Festivals of Mari During the Reign of Zimri Lim," *Studies Jones*, 119ff.; J. Bottéro, ARMT 7, 198ff.

2. Jean, RA 46 (1952), pl. i no. 5 = ARMT 19 no. 311 (wherein *a-mu-wa-tim* has been translated "omina"). I.J. Gelb, RA 50 (1956), 8 interprets *a-mu-wa-tum* as the plural of *amūtum*, "liver," "omen."

3. Langdon *Menologies*, 30 also assumed the root *barû*, but interpreted the festival name as meaning "manifestation," corresponding to the winter display of lights in honor of the resurrection of the sun-god at the winter solstice.

4. For further discussion of the *nabrû*-festival, see pp. 394-395.

5. These monthly or periodic rites during the reign of Zimri-Lim have been methodically collected and analyzed by Sasson, *op. cit.*, and for documents bearing the seal of Asqudum for months nine through twelve, see J.-M. Durand, "Correspondence administrative d'Asqudum," ARM 25 (1988), 193ff. For some of these rites see also J. Bottéro, ARMT 7, 199.

6. Sasson, *op. cit.*, 127 observes: "... the *kispum* of the O.B. period took place mostly during the month of Abum. At Zimri-Lim's Mari, we know of no month in which it is not attested at least once ... the *kispu*/*mālikū* rituals of Mari may have blended with ceremonies connected with the lunar cycle, celebrations of the type well-documented by Limet for the Neo-Sumerian dynasty of Ur." The detailed ritual of the *kispu* ceremony for the twelfth month is recorded in M. Birot, "Fragment de rituel de Mari relatif au *kispu*," CRRA 26, 139ff.

7. 11433, D. Charpin, MARI 3 (1984), 96 no. 86.

etc.) for Nani on the day of the *ḫulīlu* festival."<sup>1</sup>

Greengus observes: "Mari texts from the reigns of Šamši-Adad and Zimri-Lim attest to a ritual wherein 'the king caused a *ḫumtum* to enter into the temple of Dagan'."<sup>2</sup> However, this term does not appear to be related to the *ḫumtum* festival, not only based on usage, but on the orthography *ḫu-um-ta-am*. This same ritual is mentioned in a tablet recording the disbursement of oil on the 18th day of the first month (*a-na ḫu-um-tim*).<sup>3</sup>

iii. *Lahḫum*

One Mari text dated to the 6th day of the third month, *Lahḫum*, records a reference to a possible festival or ritual involving Ninḫursag: *a-na ku-li-li ša dNin-ḫur-sag i-nu-ma wa-ra-di-ša*, "for the diadem(?) of Ninḫursag at the moment of her descent."<sup>4</sup> Another document refers to the procession (*ina alākīša*) of the goddess Ḫišametum on the 24th of *Lahḫum*, (for whom also a *kuṭīlu* diadem(?) was provided).<sup>5</sup>

iv. *Abum*

The fourth month at Mari marked the time for special observances in honor of Dumuzi. One text (dated to Zimri-Lim 4) records oil for the washing of the statue of Ištar and *ana temrim* for the statue of Dumuzi on the 19th of the month.<sup>6</sup> Kutscher suggests that this text is recording preparations for the rites described in ARM 9 175, dated to the fourth month in year 6, which records a large quantity of grain for female mourners (*ba-ki-tim*).<sup>7</sup> A Mari tablet dated to the 9th day of the fifth month records the disbursement of oil *a-na dDumu-zi i-nu-ma i-tu-[ru]*, "for Dumuzi when he returns," apparently alluding to a journey of Dumuzi's statue. Another Mari text (date not preserved) includes the information "when Dumuzi enters the temple of Bēlet-

1. ARM 7 43:3; see J.-M. Durand, MARI 5 (1987), 135 n. 36 who suggests the possibility that the term *ḫulīlum* might possibly be related to *elīlu* (*ḫil*), "to be pure." J. Bottéro, ARMT 7 p. 200 suggests that the term may be related to *ḫalālu*, "to pipe," and thus refer to musical accompaniment at a festival.

2. For further discussion of this passage, as well as the term *ḫumtum*, see pp. 396-397.

3. TH 92.87, Charpin, MARI 3 (1984), 91 no. 49.

4. ARM 25 125; for the goddess Ninḫursag attested at Mari as early as pre-Sargonic times, see D.O. Edzard, "Pantheon und Kult in Mari," CRRA 15 (1967), 53. A *kuṭīlu* diadem(?) is provided for Ninḫursag also on the 4th day of the eighth month (ARM 7 no. 118).

5. See Sasson, *op. cit.*, 132.

6. Dossin, "Tablettes de Mari," RA 69 (1975), 24 no. 4.

7. "The Cult of Dumuzi," *Bar-Ilan Studies*, 40. For further discussion on the festivals for Dumuzi, see pp. 476ff.

ekallim.<sup>1</sup> But whether this visit to Bēlet-ekallim is related to the previous reference, regarding the return of Dumuzi, cannot be determined.

On the 26th of the third month and the 2nd and 4th of the fourth month oil for anointing was disbursed for the 'going out of Annunītum' (*wa-ši an-nu-ni-i[im]* and *a-na pa-ša-aš an-nu-ni-tim i-nu-ma wa-ši-ša*)<sup>2</sup> and on the 17th(?) oil for the *wa-ši ša* DINGIR is recorded (though this latter reference may not refer to Annunītum).<sup>3</sup> This observance is reminiscent of the *ezem-ku<sub>4</sub>-ku<sub>4</sub>-An-nu-ni-tum*, "the *kuku* festival of Annunītum" at Ur III Ur,<sup>4</sup> which also frequently occurred around the beginning of the fourth month. Oil is recorded as having been disbursed on the 6th of the fourth month for the bathing of Ea (*a-na ri-im-ki ša é-a*).<sup>5</sup> Another tablet lists oil for the ablution (*rumuk DN*) of the goddesses Ninḫursag, Dirītum, Annunītum, Bēlet-ekallim, Ištar, and Nin[...] on a day after the third of the month. It is unclear whether this bathing of the goddesses is part of a festival or merely standard ritual.<sup>6</sup> (In Assyria during the first millennium B.C. special ablution days, called *rimkāni*, for Adad and Anu were performed on certain days of months eleven through one.)<sup>7</sup> Another text records provisions for a festival of Šamaš (*i-si-in dŠamaš*) on the 18th of the month (ARM 7 no. 13). A festival of Šamaš on the 18th is also attested during the month *Kinūnum*. Bottéro, ARMT 7 p. 198 notes that according to the series *Inbu*, the 18th and 20th of each month, at least in some areas of Mesopotamia, was a festival of Šamaš (see Landsberger, LSS 6 1/2, 136).<sup>8</sup>

#### v. *Hibirtum*

On the 2nd of the month oil was provided to the singers (*zammeru*) entering the *bīt kupri*. It is unclear whether this is an isolated ritual or part of an established, recurring festival.

#### vi. *dIGLUR*

On the 7th day of the month *Magrānum* cedar oil was furnished for Dagan "at the time of the boat" (*ana dDa-gan i-nu-ma i-le-ep-pi*). A somewhat parallel text dated to the 7th of the sixth month records oil for Dagan of Terqa when

1. See Charpin, MARI 5 (1987), 599 commentary to no. 14.

2. 11476 and 12398, Charpin, MARI 3 (1984), 88 no. 23 and p. 91 no. 47; ARM 7 1.

3. 12396, Charpin, MARI 3 (1984), 88 no. 28.

4. For this festival, see pp. 138ff.

5. TH 82.105, Charpin, MARI 3 (1984), 87 no. 24.

6. Dossin, "Tablettes de Mari," RA 69 (1975), 24 no. 1.

7. See pp. 337ff.

8. See pp. 274-275 for references to festivals of Šamaš at Sippar, which may well have referred to this monthly festival on the 18th.

the offering boat was dispatched."<sup>1</sup> For the festival of the divine Lance of Ištar of Tubâ on the 19th of the month note A. Catagnoti, "Le royaume de Tubâ et ses cultes," *Mémoires de N.A.B.U.*, (Paris, 1992), 23f. (M.15077) and (M.15109): "when the queen made the sacrifice of the lance (*dSa-ap-pi-im*) of Ištar of Tubâ in the residence."

Based upon a possible interpretation of this month name, there may have been a festival concerning the netherworld.

#### vii. *Kinūnum*

The seventh month was named after the *kinūnu*, the Brazier Festival, observed throughout much of Mesopotamia. The Mari references to the *kinūnu* festival span from the 8th to the 18th of the seventh month. In one Mari reference the festival is called the *kinūnum* of Dagan (ARM 3 72). Documents refer also to the *kinūnu* festival or brazier of Bēlet-ekallim on the eighth or ninth of the month.<sup>2</sup> Another text records oil being disbursed for the *kinūnu* festival on the 12th day of the seventh month.<sup>3</sup> A Mari text records oil disbursed on the 18th of the seventh month "for the anointing of Šamaš during the festival and the *kinūnu*" (*i-nu-ma i-si-nim ù ki-nu-nim*).<sup>4</sup> The unnamed festival in this document probably refers to the monthly festival of Šamaš. A festival of Šamaš is also mentioned in another Mari document which lists oil being disbursed "for the anointing of the personnel on the occasion of the festival of Šamaš (*isin dŠamaš*)."<sup>5</sup>

At Mari the 7th day of the 7th month (*sibūt sebīm*), the day before the *kinūnu* festival, was a special day.<sup>6</sup> One Mari text, dated to the 7th of *Kinūnum*, lists a special distribution of clothing for the day and another, dated to the 6th of *Kinūnum*, records oils for divine lustrations.<sup>7</sup> For a discussion of the observance of the 7th Day of the 7th Month, see pp. 391-392.

#### viii. *dDagan*

Oil for a festival or ritual called *islūtu* is recorded for the 9th, 20th and 30th of the eighth month. J. Bottéro has suggested that the term may be related to *sullū*, "to pray," and thus indicates a time of special prayer.<sup>8</sup>

1. 12152, Charpin, MARI 3 (1984), 86 no. 18.

2. ARM 7 66 (8th); ARM 23 350 (9th: oil for the anointing of the men (*lú-lú-meš*) *inūma kinūn Bēlet-ekallim*).

3. TH 82.105, Charpin, MARI 3 (1984), 87 no. 21.

4. 11453, Charpin, MARI 3 (1984), 90 no. 44.

5. ARM 7 13:7, quoted CAD S 49 sub *šābu*. For a discussion of the *kinūnum* festival, see pp. 392-394.

6. Discussed by D. Charpin, NABU (1989)/4, 66.

7. ARM 22 113 and ARM 23 351, both cited by Charpin *ibidem*.

8. ARMT 7 p. 200.

ix. *Lilātu*

The 5th and 7th days of the ninth month *Lilātu* involved a festival for the chariot (<sup>8</sup>mar-gid-da) of Nergal, which included offerings for Ištar.<sup>1</sup> Sasson notes that during the reign of Zimri-Lim large quantities of provisions were supplied for meal-sharing on the 7th of the month, likely for the festival of Nergal. Bottéro suggests that this chariot transported the statue of Nergal during a procession.<sup>2</sup> In the Standard Babylonian calendar the ninth month, *Kissilimu*, was marked by footraces around the city walls to commemorate Ninurta's vanquishing of the *anzû*-bird. This Mari festival of the ninth month involving the chariot of Nergal may somehow be related to this same mythical motif used as a basis for a festival celebrated throughout much of Mesopotamia.

Several references indicate special observances for Ištar during this month. One document records oil for the entrance of Ištar into the palace on the second day (ARM 9 no. 90), another text mentions oil for Ištar on the 30th of the month (ARM 23 no. 20), and a third (dated to the 7th of the month) mentions provisions for the sacrifices for Ištar (ARM 9 no. 131). And, as mentioned above, special offerings were made to Ištar as part of the festival of Nergal during this month. Sasson, compiling references to the days of meal-sharing, concludes: "As a rule of thumb, we might think that the early days of the first week of Liliatum were dedicated to Ištar, while the last ones were consecrated to Nergal."<sup>3</sup>

Thus the first week of the month involved either a festival to Nergal, which included special offerings to Ištar, or two separate festivals, Ištar's on the 2nd (or first few days) of the month and Nergal's around the 7th. This ordering of Ištar's festival before that of Nergal may be noted in a letter sent to Yasmah-Adad (translation Sasson):<sup>4</sup>

Concerning the 'sacrifices for Nergal's chariot', heaven forbid that the *muškēnu*-citizenry of the villages decide to set it for the next month. May my lord instruct Šamaš-ellassu that he should notify the villages to change the date of the sacrifices and schedule it to follow (those of) Ištar.

In addition to the Mari reference from the Ur III period previously cited, the *nabrûm* festival is mentioned in Old Babylonian Mari texts.<sup>5</sup> Dossin has suggested that the *nabrûm* festival may be attested at Mari in another undated tablet: "silver and ebony ... which he purchased at the *nabrûm* house."<sup>6</sup>

1. ARM 5 25; ARMT 7 198ff.; ARM 9 no. 209 (no date) and no. 212.

2. ARMT 7 p. 198.

3. Sasson, *op. cit.*, 133.

4. ARM 5 no. 25 treated by Sasson, *op. cit.*, 134.

5. See Greengus, *op. cit.*, 222 for references and add ARM 23 no. 595 for <sup>iti</sup>na-ab-ri-i.

6. RA 64 (1970), 27 no. 13: *i-na É [na]-ab-ri-im [i-3] a-mu*.

We are unaware, however, of any attestation of a special *nabrûm* house and thus this restoration is questionable. Perhaps the passage should be restored [*ana na*]-*ab-ri-im*, "for the *nabrû* festival." The Mari references to the *nabrû* festival do not indicate the month. However, elsewhere throughout Old Babylonian Mesopotamia, the *nabrû* festival frequently occurred in the ninth month. Perhaps the references to a festival of Ištar might, in fact, be for the *nabrû* festival.

On the 20th oil was provided for the anointing of the throne of Šamaš. On the 24th day of the ninth month oil was disbursed for the "sprinkling of the palace" (*a-na za-ra-aq é-kál-lim*).<sup>1</sup>

xi. *Kiskissum*

One document dating to the month *Mana*, (which was the eleventh month at Tell Rimah), records that oil was provided for *i-nu-ma* [<sup>d</sup>*Di-r*] *i-tim*, possibly referring to a festival of the goddess.<sup>2</sup> Regarding the festival of Dirītum, Sasson states: "The 'day' of Dirītum was recognized as a major festival in Mari, one which was connected with sacrifices offered to the (obscure) *p/budat* LUGAL.MEŠ. ... These rites took place in the cult center Dēr, probably simultaneously in Mari ... and, possibly, in Zurubban, a town not far from Terqa."<sup>3</sup> A letter from the king of Mari (written on the 8th of *Kiskissum*) instructs the queen to prepare for the upcoming festival of Dirītum in Mari, which, Sasson observes, occurred probably on or after the 16th of the month.<sup>4</sup> At Dēr the festival lasted three days.<sup>5</sup>

ARM 11 2 indicates a festival of Ištar during this month. Sasson suggests that during the 'Assyrian' period of Mari, the Ištar festival, usually observed in the ninth month, was celebrated in the eleventh month. This, speculates Sasson, might be the background to the above quoted letter (ARM 5 no. 25).

xii. *Ebûrum*

Oils for the lustration of Adad are recorded during this month.<sup>6</sup> At Sagarātum there is a *ûm erēšim* [*ša*] <sup>d</sup>*Adad* (ARM 10 no. 88).

1. TH 82.63, Charpin, MARI 3 (1984), 96 no. 88.

2. 12124, Charpin, MARI 3 (1984), 94 no. 73.

3. Sasson, *op. cit.*, 131.

4. ARM 10 142 discussed by Sasson, *op. cit.*, 131.

5. Birot, RA 66 (1972), 135 and Sasson, *op. cit.*, 131.

6. Dossin, "Tablettes de Mari," RA 69 (1975), 24 no. 2.

### Other Possible Festivals

A letter (ARMT 13 111) mentions that two gods, Lāgamāl and Ikšudam, had arrived in Terqa from Mari. However, as Edzard notes, we do not know if this is a festival procession and if so, whether the gods and the festival are native to Mari, Terqa, or a third city. Sasson, noting that the letter mentions that it subsequently rained, suggests that this letter refers not to a festival, but to a special ceremony for bringing rain.<sup>1</sup>

There are references to *qilāsātu*: “six gur of malt for the meal of Ištar and for the *qilāsātu* of Itūr-Mēr” (ARM 7 263 i 7 and cf. ARMT 11 68:8 [in the month *Ebūrum*] and ARM 18 42:7). However, this may well be another instance of a monthly or periodic ritual, not an annual festival.

On the 3rd of Mammītum there were offerings (*sízkur-re*) for Ištar.<sup>2</sup>

There is no clear evidence of a special festival for Dagan at Mari, though it is quite likely that such a festival was observed.<sup>3</sup> However, as Sasson notes, evidence does indicate that at Terqa, Tuttul, and Saggarātum festivals for Dagan were celebrated. One text mentions that (the statue of) Dagan entered Tuttul, assuredly a reference to a festival procession (ARM 6 no. 73). At Terqa and Saggarātum offerings were made to Dagan for the “day of the *pagrū*.”<sup>4</sup> At Ugarit a month (perhaps the twelfth month) was named *yrh pgrm* and at Alalakh there was a month *pagru*. C. Gordon quotes Virolleaud who suggests the Ugaritic month means ‘corpses’, and refers to funerary activities. Birot has suggested a similar meaning for the Mari reference.<sup>5</sup>

An Old Babylonian Mari text which lists rituals spanning several months, beginning with the twelfth month, refers to the “day of the *gi-im-ki-im*” which Birot suggests might be related to the *kinkum*-festival: “on the day when ... the ... are performed(?), one donkey will be killed.”<sup>6</sup> This same text records a ritual involving the king and the term *hu-um-tim*, which Birot believes is related to the *humtum* festival: “[...] to the *humtu* [...]. The king takes the front(?) of the *humtu* and brings it into the temple of Dagan.”<sup>7</sup> The orthography *humtim* and *humtam*, instead of *humtim* and *humtam*, may indicate that this ritual is unrelated to the *humtu* festival.<sup>8</sup>

1. Edzard, *op. cit.*, 62; Sasson, *op. cit.*, 132.

2. 12167, Charpin, MARI 3 (1984), 100 no. 112.

3. See Sasson, *op. cit.*, 130 for references at Mari which hint at observances for Dagan.

4. For references see Sasson, *op. cit.*, 131.

5. Gordon *Ugaritic Textbook*, 466 *apud* Virolleaud, CRAIBL (1952), 230; Birot, ARMT 14 p. 217.

6. M. Birot, “Fragment de rituel de Mari relatif au *kispu*,” CRRA 26, 142: *ūm gimkim qirsū iššakkanu l ANSE iddāk*.

7. Birot, *op. cit.*, 143: [...] *ana humtim* [...] *šarrum ana pān humtim išabbatma humtam ana bit Dagan ušerrib*.

8. For the *humtum* festival, see pp. 396-397.

## THE SECOND AND FIRST MILLENNIA B.C.

*Never get married during a festival.*

The Instructions  
of Šuruppak

## The Standard Mesopotamian Calendar

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When, at the close of the third millennium B.C., the Southern-Mesopotamian Sumerian calendar was imposed throughout southern Mesopotamia as a *Reichskalender* (perhaps by Išbi-Erra of Isin), the written Sumerian month names were not mere logograms for Semitic calendar month names. This Southern-Mesopotamian Sumerian calendar was an adaptation of the Sumerian Nippur calendar at the time of Išbi-Erra's rise. Since Sumerian calendars had been in use in Sumer during the preceding Ur III period, and since the month names found in Sumer during this subsequent period were Sumerian, it is reasonable to suggest that this use of the Nippur Sumerian month names indicates the continuance of a written and oral Sumerian calendar tradition in southern-most Mesopotamia. Further north, Amorite calendars were in use, while at Sippar, positioned on the border of the two cultural spheres, both Sumerian and Semitic calendars were used interchangeably. However, during the reign of Samsuiluna of Babylon (1749–1712 B.C.) the Amorite calendars entirely disappeared from use and, from then on, the documents from southern and central Mesopotamia were dated with the Sumerian month designations of the Southern-Mesopotamian Sumerian calendar.

Eventually the Southern-Mesopotamian Sumerian month names became relegated to logograms to represent month names from the Standard Mesopotamian calendar. Unfortunately, the almost total lack of occurrences of actual Standard Mesopotamian month names in most periods has created a great deal of speculation as to when the introduction and spread of this calendar occurred. The *terminus a quo* for the introduction of the Standard Mesopotamian calendar is most likely the reign of Samsuiluna, since hereafter the Amorite calendar month names cease to be written on tablets.

The earliest bilingual attestation of the Standard Mesopotamian month names in the lexical series HAR-ra = *hubullu* probably dates from the end of the second millennium B.C.:<sup>1</sup>

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1. For discussion of the dates of the recensions of this section of the series, see Greengus, "The Akkadian Calendar at Sippar," JAOS 107 (1987), 211 n. 15. See MSL 5 25-26; a unilingual version from Emar (*Emar VI* /4, 43) exists with variants <sup>i</sup>u-ne-IZI and <sup>i</sup>u-gan-gan-ne. A menology published in *Emar VI*/4, 210 contains the orthography <sup>i</sup>u-gan-a-n[a].

|  |                       |
|--|-----------------------|
| iti bára-zag-gar                           | ni-sa-an-nu           |
| iti gu <sub>4</sub> -si-sá                 | a-a-ru                |
| iti sig <sub>4</sub> -ga                   | si-ma-nu              |
| iti šu-numun-na                            | du-ú-zu               |
| iti ne-IZI-gar                             | a-bu                  |
| iti kin. <sup>d</sup> Inanna <sup>na</sup> | ú-lu-lu               |
| iti du <sub>6</sub> -kù                    | taš-ri-tú             |
| iti apin-dug-a                             | a-ra-aḥ-sam-na        |
| iti gan-gan-na                             | ki-si-li-mi           |
| iti ab-ba-è                                | še-bi-tu <sub>4</sub> |
| iti udra                                   | šá-ba-lu              |
| iti še-kin-ku <sub>5</sub>                 | ad-da-ru              |
| iti-diri še-kin-ku <sub>5</sub>            | ár-ḥu al-ru šá MIN    |

Aside from this lexical series, six of the month names occur as part of personal names in the Kassite or post-Kassite period in the form "(born in the month) MN," all these references appearing in Babylonian documents. (When similar personal names were recorded in Assyrian texts, the scribes [with but one exception noted below] utilized the Southern-Mesopotamian Sumerian sign for the month [e.g. <sup>iti</sup>SIG<sub>4</sub>-a-a]—the Standard Mesopotamian months were never written syllabically. The Babylonian attestations are:

|            |                    |   |
|------------|--------------------|---|
| Nisannu:   | Ni-sa-ni-tum       | s.v. CAD N/2 266;   |
| Ajaru:     | A-a-ri-tum         | Kaštiliaš, s.v. CAD A/1 230;  |
|            | A-a-ri             | BE 17/1, p. 145;  |
| Simānu:    | Si-ma-ni-[tum]     | s.v. CAD S 271;   |
| Ulūlu:     | Ú-lu-li-tum        | BE 15 p. 50, PBS 2/2 p. 83; CBS 3638 ii' 1';<br>Ni. 373 ii 25' <sup>1</sup> ; |
| Kissilimu: | Ki-is-si-li-mi-tum | s.v. Brinkman MSKH 1, p. 398 n. 4;  |
| Addaru:    | A-da-ri-t[um]      | PBS 2/2 142:8;  |
|            | A-da-ri-ti         | BE 14 110:10 (Kadašman-turgu); PBS 2/2<br>95:25; Ni. 9150:8'. <sup>2</sup>    |

Texts from the Neo-Assyrian period indicate that the Assyrians, in some periods, replaced at least some of the Standard Mesopotamian month names with others or at least used alternative names as well as the standard month names:

1. These last two references are courtesy of J.A. Brinkman. In the Neo-Assyrian period Babylonian and Assyrian texts refer to the Assyrian monarch Shalmaneser V as *Ú-lu-la-a-a*.

2. Reference courtesy of J.A. Brinkman.

- In some Neo-Assyrian scholarly texts the Elamite month *Sililitu* replaced the eleventh month *Šabātu*<sup>1</sup>;
- The Elamite month BARSAG.SAG (also equated with the month *Šabātu*) occurs in the inscriptions of Sennacherib<sup>2</sup>;
- An inscription of Sargon's contains a month <sup>iti</sup>*Šitas*<sup>3</sup>;
- The tenth month at some period may have been called *Kanunu*. The Neo-Assyrian eponym lists in which the eponym for the year 671 B.C. (and probably to be restored for 666 B.C.) is written <sup>iti</sup>*AB-a-a* in some texts, but written *Ka-nun-a-a* in others.

The month names in Assyria were probably the same as those in Babylonia at the time of adoption of the Standard Mesopotamian calendar by Tiglath-Pileser I (1114–1076 B.C.). During the Neo-Assyrian period, particularly during the reign of Sennacherib (704–681 B.C.), there was a great deal of Assyrian hostility and jealousy directed towards Babylon.<sup>4</sup> Perhaps this was the impetus for substituting new or foreign month names for Standard Mesopotamian month names used in Babylonia—a demonstration of Assyrian independence from the dominating Babylonian culture. Elam was revered as another ancient, cultured society, which may have been the reason for utilizing Elamite month names (*Sililitu* and BARSAG.SAG)—this was intended to show Babylon it was not the only great culture.

At some period during or after the Judean exile in Babylonia, the Judeans adopted the Standard Mesopotamian calendar, as did the Nabateans, the Palmyrans, and other Aramaic-speaking peoples.

| Standard Mesopotamian            | Judean | Palmyran |
|----------------------------------|--------|----------|
| Nisannu                          | nysn   | nysn     |
| Ajaru                            | 'yr    | 'yr      |
| Simānu                           | syvn   | syvn     |
| Du'uzu/Tam(m)uzu                 | tmuz   | qnyn     |
| Abu                              | 'b     | 'b       |
| Ulūlu/Elūlu                      | 'lul   | 'lul     |
| Tašritu                          | tšry   | tšry     |
| Arašsamna/*Markašan <sup>5</sup> | mrhšvn | knun     |

1. See CAD S 262 and Villard in *Marchands, Diplomates, et Empereurs*, 131.

2. E. Reiner, "Inscription from a Royal Elamite Tomb," *Excursus: The names of the months in Elam*, AfO 24 (1973), 101 note 21.

3. Lyon Sar 9:57, quoted CAD S 215 and see p. 314.

4. Cf. P. Machinist, "The Assyrians and their Babylonian Problem: Some Reflections," *Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin Jahrbuch* (1984/85), 352-364.

5. For a discussion of the pronunciation and derivation of the eighth month of the Standard Mesopotamian calendar, see pp. 330-331.

|                            |             |              |
|----------------------------|-------------|--------------|
| <i>Kis(si)limu</i>         | <i>kslv</i> | <i>kslul</i> |
| <i>Ṭebētu</i>              | <i>ṭbt</i>  | <i>ṭbt</i>   |
| <i>Šabātu</i>              | <i>šbt</i>  | <i>šbt</i>   |
| <i>Addaru</i> <sup>1</sup> | <i>'dr</i>  | <i>'dr</i>   |

There are two differences between the Judean and the Palmyran adaptation of the Standard Mesopotamian calendar. The Judean months *tmuz* and *mrḥšvn* are not attested at Palmyra,<sup>2</sup> whereas the months *qnyn*, "lamenting," and *knun* "brazier" occur at Palmyra, but not in the Judean calendar. Presumably *qnyn* was the counterpart to Judean *tmuz*, the fourth month. Based on Mesopotamian occurrences, the brazier festival was a winter festival and therefore *knun* probably was the eighth month at Palmyra, instead of *mrḥšvn*, as in Judea. The later Syriac calendar named months 10 and 11 *knun*, which supports the positioning of *knun* at Palmyra as the eighth month rather than as the fourth.<sup>3</sup>

The almost total lack of writing of the Standard Mesopotamian month names impedes determining precisely when this calendar was first introduced into Mesopotamia. A significant factor for narrowing the timeframe for the introduction of the Standard Mesopotamian calendar (within the seven hundred year span between 1750 [the reign of Samsuiluna] and 1000 B.C.) is the abandonment of the native Assyrian calendar in favor of writing the Southern-Mesopotamian Sumerian calendar month names (undoubtedly an indication of their adoption of the Standard Babylonian calendar) around the year 1100 B.C. A Middle Assyrian chronological document, referred to as the Broken Obelisk, contains a month by month list of events, the scribe using the notation of the Southern-Mesopotamian Sumerian calendar. Although the name of the monarch during whose reign the document was composed is not preserved, the general view is that it dates near the reign of Aššur-bēl-kala (1073–1056 B.C.).<sup>4</sup> Several slightly earlier economic documents from the reign of Tiglath-Pileser (1114–1076 B.C.) used double-dating, i.e., the scribe recorded both the Assyrian month name and the Southern-Mesopotamian Sumerian month, indicating that a change of calendars was occurring, this double-dating ensuring there would not be any contractual problems arising from a confusion as one calendar replaced the other.<sup>5</sup> One

1. The month *'dr* occurs in a Samaria papyrus from 335 B.C. found at Wādē ed-Dāliyah (F.M. Cross, *Eretz Israel* 18 [1985]).

2. An Aramaic text (Donner and Röllig *Inchriften* no. 253) contains the month *mrḥšvn*, although not from Palmyra.

3. The Syriac calendar replaced *Simānu* with *Ḥaziran* and named months seven and eight *šry*.

4. Brinkman PKB, 383ff.

5. The earliest attestation of double-dating with month names to reflect a calendrical change was in the 30th year of Sulgi of Ur (ca. 2065 B.C.), when a new month was introduced. The tablet is dated both to the Lagaš/Girsu month and to the new Ur month name (see p. 182).

historical inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I also uses double-dating. Two of his inscriptions are dated to the month *Kuzallu* of the Assyrian calendar.<sup>1</sup> However, a third is dated to both the Assyrian month *Hubur* and to the Southern-Mesopotamian Sumerian month <sup>iti</sup>GAN: <sup>iti</sup>*Hubur ša tar-ši* <sup>iti</sup>GAN "the month *Ḥibur* which is equated with *Kissilimu*. (= <sup>iti</sup>GAN)." <sup>2</sup> The inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser's successors, however, utilize only the Southern-Mesopotamian Sumerian month names, i.e., the Standard Mesopotamian calendar. Thus the introduction of the new calendar occurred during the reign of Tiglath-pileser.<sup>3</sup>

It is more likely that this Assyrian reform was not the adoption of the Southern-Mesopotamian Sumerian calendar, a calendar which would have been spoken in a language totally alien to the Assyrian populace, but rather the adoption of a calendar which employed month names from language groups more familiar to them, i.e., the Standard Mesopotamian calendar. But the scribes, who probably had at least a minimal familiarity with the Sumerian language, used the Southern-Mesopotamian Sumerian month names, as did scribes throughout Mesopotamia. The impetus for the Assyrian adoption of the calendar was probably the desire to abandon a calendrical system which had no intercalary month and thus was out of phase not only with nature but with the calendars of those areas with which the Assyrians conducted business. The Assyrians were never able to equate permanently a foreign month with an Assyrian month, and this may have led to difficulties in international contracting. Therefore, it is likely that Tiglath-pileser, an internationalist in outlook, mandated the calendrical reform, one which took several years until complete acceptance and compliance. Thus this Standard Mesopotamian calendar, which used the Southern-Mesopotamian Sumerian month notation, had to have had wide acceptance already by 1100 B.C. in order for the Assyrians to have made such a reform.

The western city of Emar maintained its own calendar, yet by the reign of the Kassite king Me-li-ši-ḪU (1188–1174 B.C.) Southern-Mesopotamian Sumerian month names were in use.<sup>4</sup> Assuming, as previously in our discussion of the Assyrian abandonment of its native calendar, that it is highly unlikely that in the middle of the second millennium a population without a Sumerian tradition would have adopted a Sumerian calendar, the use of Southern-Mesopotamian Sumerian month names at Emar indicates that the Standard Mesopotamian calendar was adopted at Emar no later than approximately 1200 B.C.

1. RIM 2 Tiglath-Pileser texts nos. 1 and 3.

2. RIM 2 Tiglath-Pileser text no 4.

3. This conclusion has already been reached by J. Lewy, *ArOr* 11 (1939), 46.

4. See pp. 343-361 for the calendar at Emar.

The introduction of the Standard Mesopotamian calendar can be dated at least another century earlier. As noted above, the female name *A-da-ri-tum*, "(born in the month) *Addaru*," is attested during the reign of Kadašman-Turgu (1297–1280 B.C.). Although a month *Addaru* was attested at Susa, this more likely refers to the Standard Mesopotamian month.

An even earlier significant period in dating the introduction of the Standard Mesopotamian calendar in the west is that of Alalakh level IV, approximately 1500 B.C. Tablets from the earlier Alalakh level VII are dated according to a local calendar. However, whereas some scribes of the later level IV continued to use the Alalakh calendar, others used the Southern-Mesopotamian Sumerian month names. The Sumerian designations differed, however, from those used earlier in Southern Mesopotamia in that only the first Sumerian sign of the month name was written on the tablet (i.e., *še* instead of *še-kin-ku5*). Thus 1500 B.C. at Alalakh was a period of calendrical transition. It is unlikely that a Sumerian calendar, in this late period, replaced a local calendar in the far west at Alalakh. Rather, the calendar adopted at Alalakh level IV was, in all likelihood, the Standard Mesopotamian calendar. Thus the Standard Mesopotamian calendar was introduced in the far west by 1500 B.C.

Thus the *terminus a quo* is 1750 B.C. for the introduction of the Standard Mesopotamian calendar and the *terminus ante quem* is 1500 B.C. The two most likely defining moments within this two-hundred fifty year time span in Babylonia for the introduction of the calendar would be the disappearance of the Amorite calendars during the reign of Samsuiluna and the invasion of the Kassites, who assumed control of Babylonia in 1595 B.C., after a Hittite razzia by Muṣliṣ ended the rule of the First Dynasty of Babylon.

A factor which must be considered in further defining the date of introduction of the Standard Mesopotamian calendar is the nature of the Standard Mesopotamian calendar itself.

The eighth month of the Old Persian calendar was *Markašan*, remarkably similar to the eighth month *Marḥešvan* in the Judean adaptation of the Standard Mesopotamian calendar. It has often been assumed that this Judean pronunciation was simply a corruption of the eighth month of the Standard Mesopotamian calendar *araḥsamnu*, which supposedly meant "eighth month." However, borrowing almost certainly did not occur from the Standard Mesopotamian calendar to the Old Persian calendar, rather, borrowing must have occurred in the other direction—from Old Persian to the Standard Mesopotamian calendar—along with a folk or scholarly etymology "eighth month."<sup>1</sup>

Possible origins of other Standard Mesopotamian months can be suggested, increasing the likelihood that the entire Standard Mesopotamian calen-

1. For further discussion on the name *araḥsamnu*, see pp. 330-331.

dar was a completely 'manufactured' calendar, not the natural reflection of local cultic and agricultural practices.

The hybrid nature of this new calendar is apparent. Months twelve and one of the Susa calendar (*Šabāḫu* and *Addaru*) became months eleven and twelve of the new Standard Mesopotamian calendar. The month *Abu* was a widely used month name, though only at Susa and Sippar was it the fifth month. The placement of *Du'uzu* as the fourth month and *Abu* as the fifth month (though this might have been Elamite influence as well), and the inclusion of *Ajaru* and *Ulūlu/Elūlu*, all indicate the influence of the Sippar calendar. The month *Ajaru* is also probably related to the Alalakh and Emar month *Ḫiari* and to the Nuzi month *Iarati*. The month *Tašritu* is attested in the calendar at Emar, although this may reflect usage of the Standard Mesopotamian calendar. And, as just stated, the eighth month (*\*Araḥsamnu*) was appropriated from the Old Persian calendar. Moreover, the month name *Kissilimu* is not Semitic, another indication of foreign origin. And the month *Nisannu* may have western origins.<sup>1</sup>

|       | STANDARD<br>MESOPOTAMIAN | POSSIBLE CALENDAR(S)<br>OF ORIGIN                                |
|-------|--------------------------|--|
| i.    | <i>Nisannu</i>           | Ugarit(?), Mari(?)   |
| ii.   | <i>Ajaru</i>             | Sippar, Alalakh, Emar, Nuzi,<br>Ugarit, Tell Rimah, Chagar Bazar |
| iii.  | <i>Simānu</i>            |  |
| iv.   | <i>Tamūzu</i>            | throughout Mesopotamia   |
| v.    | <i>Abu</i>               | throughout Mesopotamia   |
| vi.   | <i>Elūlu, Ulūlu</i>      | Sippar(?), Nuzi  |
| vii.  | <i>Tašritu</i>           | Emar(?)  |
| viii. | <i>Araḥsamnu</i>         | Old Persian  |
| ix.   | <i>Kissilimu</i>         |  |
| x.    | <i>Ṭebētu</i>            |  |
| xi.   | <i>Šabāḫu</i>            | Susa   |
| xii.  | <i>Addaru</i>            | Susa, Anšan  |

Based on the peculiarities of this calendar, the Standard Mesopotamian calendar may have been an artificial creation, a means to unify a divergent empire. It may have been difficult to perpetuate the use of a Sumerian calendar outside of southern Mesopotamia. However, the economic and political advantages of a single, standard calendar were as obvious in the second millennium B.C. as they had been on a smaller scale hundreds of years earlier to Išbi-Erra of Isin. So, rather than select one particular city's calendar as the

1. See pp. 377ff. for a discussion of the calendar at Ugarit and p. 281 for the possible use of the term *nisannu* in the Mari calendar.



new *Reichskalender*—a move which might have alienated those cities on whom another city's calendar would have been imposed—the Babylonian administration invented a hybrid *Reichskalender*, culling months from various calendars throughout the realm and beyond, thereby hoping to gain international acceptance. The use of Southern-Mesopotamian Sumerian month names as logograms for this new calendar is a clear signal that there was something “unnatural” about the development and imposition of this new calendar. The retention of the Southern-Mesopotamian Sumerian month names on written documents may have been a negotiating point to gain the acceptance of the former Sumerian cities and of their proud scribes. Total imposition of non-Sumerian month names (written as well as spoken) on the scribes using the Southern-Mesopotamian calendar could have been counter-productive. The continuation of a written calendrical tradition that could be traced back to venerated Nippur may have been important to the scribal community, which was proud of its eclectic and ancient position in society.

The incorporation of month names from the Old Persian, Susan, and Anšan calendars might suggest Kassite authorship, since the Kassites had originally migrated from the east. However, this would allow a maximum of ninety-five years for the introduction of the calendar and its peaceful acceptance in the west (1500 B.C. at Alalakh). And although a new international calendar might have served to unify the new Kassite empire, the forced abandonment of native Babylonian calendars might have initially been counter-productive to the Kassites gaining control of the country's administration and economy. Lastly, based on other historical models, it is likely that the conquerors were overwhelmed by the superior culture of the conquered and for there to have been an initial period wherein the Kassites succumbed to the Babylonian culture—most likely excluding the sudden imposition of a new calendar upon the Babylonians.<sup>1</sup>

Moreover, if the influence of the Old Babylonian Sippar calendar on the Standard Mesopotamian calendar (as demonstrated above) is acknowledged, the hypothesis that Samsuiluna, not the Kassites, developed the Standard Mesopotamian calendar is more likely. By the time the Kassites had invaded Babylon, the Sippar calendar had been in disuse for one hundred and fifty years—hardly in a position to influence the Kassites in a supposed formulation of a new calendar.

1. Cf. N. Yoffee in *The Collapse of Ancient States and Civilizations*, N. Yoffee and G. Cowgill, eds., (Tucson, 1991), 65: “Amorites and Kassites, for example, having taken political power, adopted venerable Mesopotamian cultural institutions—indeed, conservatively preserved them—precisely because in so doing they could legitimize their participation in the society, especially in the arena of political struggle.”

In summary, the Standard Mesopotamian calendar may have been introduced by Samsuiluna, who sensed the urgency of fostering a sense of nationhood among the cities of his empire which had recently rebelled against him.<sup>1</sup> During his reign the Amorite calendars fell into disuse, only the Sumerian months of the Southern-Mesopotamian Sumerian calendar continued to be used. It is more likely that the Semitic speaking cities north of Sumer adopted a non-Sumerian calendar (the Standard Mesopotamian calendar), rather than a Sumerian calendar (the Southern-Mesopotamian Sumerian calendar) during Samsuiluna's reign. Use of this new calendar spread without the use of military conquest—probably international commerce and contracting were the catalysts for the Standard Mesopotamian calendar's wide-spread acceptance in places not under Babylonian control, such as Alalakh and Assyria.

## *The Months*<sup>2</sup>

### i. *Nisannu*

The name of the first month of the calendar probably derives from Sumerian *nesag*, “first.”<sup>3</sup> The earliest attestation of the month name is from 14th century Ugarit, in which the first Southern-Mesopotamian Sumerian month *itibāra-zag-gar* is rendered into Akkadian as *nisannu* (although not with the month determinative).<sup>4</sup> If the Mari month *itūni-ni-sag* is a Sumerian orthography intended only as a written device to express a Semitic month name, perhaps the Mari month name was *\*warah isin nisanni* or *\*warah ša nisanni* (“the month of the first-offerings [of barley?]”). From the Kassite period there is a reference to the female personal name *Ni-sa-ni-tum*, “she born in *Nisannu*” (see CAD N/2 266 for references). There are a few attestations of this month name written syllabically and prefixed with the month determi-

1. For details of the rebellions against Samsuiluna, see, for example, CAH<sup>3</sup> 220f. and *The Near East: The Early Civilizations*, Delacorte World History II, J. Bottéro, et al., eds. (New York, 1967), 221ff.

2. The following presentation of festival observances includes only those festivals whose months can be ascertained. For additional Assyrian observances from unknown months, see Van Driel *Aššur*, 147ff. McEwan, *Priest and Temple*, 169ff. details the cultic calendar of Babylon and Uruk in the first millennium B.C. and includes a detailed listing of monthly ritual activities, which we have omitted in our discussion.

3. J. Lewy, “The Assyrian Calendar,” *ArOr* 11 (1939), 39 suggested “*nisānu* may be considered as a typically Amorite derivation from a word *\*nis*, which is identical with Aramaic *ns*’ and Hebrew *ns*’ “banner”, “flag”, “standard” ... [thus the] “month of the standard.”

4. See pp. 380-381.

native: VAT 17889:12 ITI *ni-sa-nu* (652 B.C.)<sup>1</sup>; IM 57953:10 ITI *ni-sa-na* (633 B.C.)<sup>2</sup>; and YBC 16813: ITI.1.KAM *Nu-šá-an-na*(!?)<sup>3</sup>.

According to Assyrian Astrolabe B the month of *Nisannu* was the month of the moon-god Sin<sup>4</sup>: "The month *Nisannu*, Pegasus, the dais of An, the king is installed and invested (with authority); a good ... for Anu and Enlil; the month of Nanna-Suen, the first-born of Enlil." And an incantation from Nimrud reiterates this theme: "May the month *Nisannu*, (the month) of Anu and Enlil, absolve!"<sup>5</sup>—the first month belonged to the first of the gods.

Astrolabe B states that during this month there was an installation of the king. The first month was the occasion of one of the two yearly *akitu*-festivals, at which time the chief god grandly marched into his city from the *akitu*-house, reenacting the god's original entry into the city and his assumption of suzerainty there. Thus, this illusion to the "installation of the king" may refer to a god, perhaps Anu in Uruk or Aššur in Assyria, assuming kingship of the city during the *akitu*-festival.

Another interpretation is that the "installation of the king" refers to a mortal monarch. During the Kassite period, the king was frequently in Nippur for the New Year celebration. Brinkman has gathered twenty references, most of which occur in year formulae, of the expressions *elē šarri* and/or *arād šarri* the "coming/going up and coming/going down of the king."<sup>6</sup> Brinkman accepts Biggs' interpretation,<sup>7</sup> stating: "There he [Biggs] perceptively translated the phrase, known at that time from three published Nippur texts, as the "coming up" of the king and deduced from its use (in dates only at the very end or beginning of years) that the king was in Nippur for the New Year festival."<sup>8</sup> (In the Ur III period the New Year's celebration in Nippur was observed in the Tummal temple.) Brinkman notes that two of the references bear dates of Nazi-Maruttaš (1323–1298 B.C.), five date to Kudur-Enlil (1264–

1. Jacob-Rost, *Forschungen und Berichte* 10 (1968), 48–49 no. 10.

2. Collated by J.A. Brinkman who cites the text in JCS 35 (1983), 24 under J.33.

3. C.E. Jones and M. Stolper, "Two Late Elamite Tablets at Yale," *Fragmenta Historiae Aelamicae*, *Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations* (1986), 249 (YBC 16813): it.1.kam *Nu-šá-an-na*(!?) and p. 251: "Hinz's suggestion (personal communication) that this spelling renders Babylonian *Nisannu* or Aramaic *Nisan* is entirely plausible."

4. KAV 218; K.2920 (BA 5 704-705); Sm 755; for more duplicates see most recently G. Çağırkan, "Three More Duplicates to Astrolabe B," *Belleten* 48 (1985), 404–405. The Astrolabe is a bilingual text in very poor and terse Sumerian, with an inexact Akkadian translation. In fact, it is not clear whether the Sumerian was composed to accompany the Akkadian or vice versa. Our interpretation of the Astrolabe is based upon our belief that the contents do not reflect the cult for one city (such as Aššur) in one period, but rather a conglomeration of festivals and rituals spanning time and place.

5. D.J. Wiseman, "A Lipšur Litany from Nimrud," *Iraq* 31 (1969), 175ff.; cf. 4R 33 (K.2049 and K.129).

6. J.A. Brinkman MSKH, 411–414.

7. R. Biggs, JCS 19 (1965), 96 n. 11.

8. Brinkman MSKH, 411.

1256 B.C.), and "the rest are dated between year 6 and year 25 of an unspecified king or kings... The *arād šarri* references, with two exceptions ... tend to cluster in months XI and/or XII... The *elē šarri* texts are all dated between XII-29 and I-2, with one text dated simply XII."<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the presence of the king in Nippur was part of a special installation ritual for the king, which may be alluded to in the phrase "installation of the king" in Astrolabe B. (Later, during the Neo-Babylonian period, the great king was dragged in and humbled before Marduk, at which time he swore he had fulfilled his obligations as ruler and vowed to continue fulfilling them in the coming year. This ritual may have evolved from this possible installation ritual at Nippur at New Years during the Kassite period.)

The *akitu*-festival, the major religious observance of the year, occurred during the first eleven days of the month in Babylon, Uruk, and in Assyria, as well as during the first days of the seventh month.<sup>2</sup> Several *akitu*-festivals were observed at Nippur during the first month.

A ritual for the New Year festival is described in the Cuthean Legend of Naram-Sin, a composition authored in the second millennium B.C. (Foster *Before the Muses*, 257ff.):

When New Year of the fourth year arrived,  
At the prayer to Ea, [sage] of the great gods,  
[When I offered] the holy offerings of New Year,  
I [received] the holy instructions.  
I summoned the diviners and [charged them],  
Seven upon seven extispicies I performed.  
I set up holy reed altars,  
I inquired of the great gods:  
Ishtar, Ilaba(?), Zababa, Annunitum,  
[Shullat and Hanish, Shamash the warrior].

Another ritual for the first days of the month is mentioned in the incantation series Šurpu: "the pure quay, the horn-like soap-plant, the pure water he [Enki] gave you, to perform correctly the New Year (festival) for seven days."<sup>3</sup>

The *akitu*-festival of the first month in Aššur was a festival for the god Aššur.<sup>4</sup> According to a ritual description, Aššur left his temple for the *akitu*-house in a chariot drawn by white horses on the 2nd of *Nisannu*, having par-

1. Brinkman MSKH, 414.

2. A Sippar text, probably Neo-Babylonian, contains a reference to New Years (zag-mu) in Babylon during the Ur III period, the historical accuracy of which is extremely doubtful (F. Al-Rawi, "Tablets from the Sippar Library," *Iraq* 52 [1990], 10 line 30): "Amar-Suen, his [Šulgi's] son, altered the great bulls and the (sheep) sacrifices of the New Year festival of the Esagil."

3. E. Reiner, *Šurpu*, AFO Beiheft 11 (1958), 47:65–66.

4. Frankena *Takultu*, Chapter VI suggests that the *takultu* observance was part of the *akitu*-festival in Assyria. Van Driel *Aššur*, 164 sees no evidence to support Frankena's thesis and concludes that without further evidence the connection of the two observances is uncertain.

taken of a ritual meal.<sup>1</sup> Van Driel suggests: "Probably he [Aššur] was back on the 4th, or perhaps even on the 3rd—or even on the 2nd itself—if the *mūšu ša UD.4.KAM* of BM 121206 VII 20' is the night between the 3rd and the 4th, which is rather certain, when the king visited the cult-room and the chapel of Ninlil, a visit without much purpose if the gods were not present."<sup>2</sup> Another text indicates that Aššur stayed in the *akītu*-house on the 8th of the month.<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately the name of the month is not preserved and thus it is unclear whether this ritual is the *Nisannu akītu*-festival. A Neo-Assyrian commentary mentions gifts: "the gifts that are given in the month of *Nisannu* from the 6th to the 12th day," possibly a custom related to the *akītu*-festival.<sup>4</sup> It is unclear whether the gifts were presented to the gods or whether there may have been an Assyrian custom of exchanging gifts among the populace at this time of year.

In Assyria the three month period of *Šabātu*, *Addaru* and *Nisannu* appears to have been a time of intense religious observance.<sup>5</sup> In Assyria a special ritual occurred on the night of the 4th of *Nisannu*, involving the deities Ninlil and Šerua. During the rite the king entered the temple of Aššur, then the temple of Ninlil, and finally returned to his palace.<sup>6</sup> An Assyrian record of the distribution of wine for various occasions throughout the year notes that the 7th day of the first month was a special festival, although the name or nature of the occasion is not mentioned.<sup>7</sup> Special ablutions (*rimkāni*) were held on the 4th to Sin, on the 7th to Adad and another to Aššur on an unknown date. A kettledrum performance (*ilissāti*) before the gods occurred on the 8th.<sup>8</sup>

The schedule of events at Babylon for the *akītu*-festival in *Nisannu* can partially be reconstructed based upon ritual texts, commentaries and historical inscriptions. However, large gaps in our knowledge of events remain.<sup>9</sup> This festival, which spanned eleven days, may have evolved from separate *akītu*-festivals for Nabû and Marduk.

The preserved ritual instructions for the *akītu*-festival of the first month at Uruk afford us a somewhat different perspective on the events than those described in the ritual texts for the *akītu*-festival of the seventh month at Uruk.<sup>10</sup> First, Ištar is more prominently portrayed, ritually being treated as

1. VAT 13596.

2. Van Driel *Aššur*, 145.

3. Ph 4123 (see Van Driel *Aššur*, 164).

4. CT 13 32 r. 6.

5. First noted by E. Weidner, "Der Tag des Stadtgottes," AFO 14 (1941/44), 340ff., reiterated by Van Driel *Aššur*, 140ff. and Menzel, *Assyrische Tempel*, Studia Pohl 10/1, 49.

6. BM 121206 (Van Driel *Aššur*, 90).

7. KAV 79.

8. BM 121206 vii (Van Driel *Aššur*, 90).

9. For an analysis of the *akītu* at Babylon as well as translations of pertinent texts, see pp. 437ff.

Antu's equal. Secondly, the text describes the procession order of the gods and chariots as they journey from the Rēš-temple to the *akītu*-house. And thirdly, the text provides ritual instructions for events at the *akītu*-house. The number of days over which these events occurred is not preserved. However, if it is assumed that the *akītu* of the first month paralleled that of the seventh month, then all the events described in this Uruk ritual tablet pertained to the first day of the festival.

One section of a first millennium B.C. scholarly work called "The Nippur Compendium" deals with months and Nippur festivals. Unfortunately many of the cultic references are obscure, nor is it clear as to which month some of these rituals apply. The following portion applies to the first month (translation George *Topographical Texts*, 155):

In the month Nisan festivals are celebrated:

|                                     |                                   |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| the Akītu of Marduk:                | for his supreme divinity;         |
| the Akītu of Ninurta:               | for his father Enlil;             |
| the Akītu of Ištar, Queen of Nippur | (or,) of Ninurta;                 |
| the Akītu of Sin:                   | for Ninurta, the net of the gods; |
| as many Akītu's as there are:       | for Ninurta, the net of the gods; |

It is unclear whether the following entry applies to the first or second month at Nippur<sup>1</sup>:

Battlefield (15th day)                      Battle;

A festival of Nabû at Palmyra is attested on the seventh of the month.<sup>2</sup>

## ii. *Ajaru*

*Ajaru* was the name of the twelfth month in the Old Babylonian Sippar calendar and in the Amorite calendar at Tell Rimah. For *ajaru*, "rosette," see CAD A/1 229 sub *ajaru* A, and as "young man," CAD A/1 230 sub *ajaru* D. CAD A/1 230 sub *ajaru* C, however, states regarding the month *ajaru*: "no etymological connection between this word and its homophones can be proposed." At Alalakh there was a month *Īi-ia-re-e* as well as a festival *hijaru*: 3 UDU *ina ūm Īi-ia-ri-i* <sup>4</sup>ES<sub>4</sub>+DAR "three sheep on the day of the *hijaru* festival of Ištar"<sup>3</sup> and at Emar a festival *hijari* is attested: *i-na u<sub>4</sub>-mi ša Īi-ia-ri*, "on the day of the *hijaru* (festival)" and the *hijaru* of Adad.<sup>4</sup> The Ugaritic and later Phoenician calendars included a month *Īiyar*.<sup>5</sup> The second month at second millennium B.C. Nuzi had a similar sounding month name *Ia-ra-ti: annûtu*

10. For these texts, see our chapter "The Akītu Festival."

1. For the possible significance of this entry for the second month, see p. 324 note 4.

2. See OrNS 45 (1976), 51.

3. Wiseman *Alalakh* 346:2 and 348:2.

4. Emar no. 463.

5. See J.-M. Durand, MARI 1/1, 122 n. 9.

GIG.MEŠ *ana* ITI *Im-pur-an-ni u ana* ITI *Ia-ra-ti ilqû* "they have received these wheat (rations) for the month of *Impur(t)anni* and the month *Jarati*"<sup>1</sup> as well as using the month name *Hijari* for this month at Mari. CAD, discussing the etymology of the month *Jarati*, states: "A variant of the name of the month *Hjari*, which follows *Impurtanni* ... Hence, probably to be connected in some way with the month name *Ajāru*."<sup>2</sup>

The term *hijaru* has been most recently discussed by J.-M. Durand, who argues convincingly that the festival and month name *hijaru* is to be identified with the Mari term *hāru*, *ha'aru*, or *ajaru*, meaning "donkey."<sup>3</sup> Concerning the origin and dispersion of this 'Donkey Festival' Durand observes:

Cette fête, attestée à Alalakh, Ougarit, Alep, Mari, Terqa, Nuzi, est documentée désormais dans les tablettes cunéiformes de Tell Leilan. Il donc est raisonnable de penser qu'elle était commune à toute la région nord du Proche-Orient ancien. Plutôt qu'un phénomène hourrite, commun à l'ouest (Alalakh) et à l'Est (Nuzi) de la zone principale de dispersion de cette ethnie, il serait plus judicieux, vu que *hiyārum* apparaît comme un terme typique du monde ouest-sémitique, de proposer qu'il s'agit en fait d'un rite propre à la Syrie amorrite.

Although the month *Ajaru* at Old Babylonian Sippar was the twelfth month, the Standard Mesopotamian month *Ajaru* was the second month, as was *Hjaru/Jarati* at Nuzi. Thus if the Standard Mesopotamian month *Ajaru* is, indeed, related to the Nuzi month *hijaru*, (as would be the Old Babylonian Amorite month *Ajaru*), then its name derived from the 'Donkey Festival'.<sup>4</sup> (This is not to say, however, that a donkey festival was observed in Babylon as a result of appropriating the month name.)

According to Astrolabe B, *Ajaru* was the month of Ningirsu, who, in tradition, was identified with Ninurta the farmer: "The month *Ajaru*, the Pleiades, the Seven Gods; the opening up of the ground; the oxen are yoked; the land becomes arable; the plows are washed; the month of heroic Ningirsu, the great *ensi* of Enlil." Astrolabe B assuredly is alluding to the ancient *gusisu*-festival of Ninurta during the second month at Nippur, which marked the onset of preparations for the coming plowing and sowing.

1. SMN 710:27' quoted CAD I/J 325.

2. CAD I/J 325.

3. J.-M. Durand, MARI 1/1, 121-122. Durand observes "On trouve en effet ce terme de *hiyārim* remplacé par l'expression «anše dJM», <<l'âne du dieu de l'Orange>>, dans le texte n° 20 [A.2387]."

4. For the *hijaru* festival in the second millennium B.C. see pp. 374-375, CAD A/1 230 sub *ajaru* B cites two first millennium B.C. references to the phrase *ki ajari* and *kima ajari* in the sense of "as happy as *ajari*," which CAD suggests may possibly allude to an *ajaru* festival or one celebrated in the month *ajaru*. Quite possibly this expression refers to the braying of a donkey when it bares its teeth, as if laughing.

A Seleucid Babylon ritual text reiterates this tradition of the month being the month of Ningirsu.<sup>1</sup> This same text states that the beginning of the month marked a special observance involving the marriage of Nabû and Nanâ, followed by Nabû's assumption of kingship:

For the month *Ajaru*, the month of Ningirsu, the *ensi* of Enlil, the valiant, the month the cattle are driven, the open land is cultivated.

(On) the second day (at?) the cattle pen, at the time of the rising of the warrior Šamaš, Nabû in (his) status as bridegroom is dressed in the garment (befitting) his rank as supreme god. Like the moon he shines forth from the Ezida during the night. Like the rising moon he illuminates the darkness. He proceeds directly to the Ehuršaba, parades radiantly, and enters before the goddess; everyone is there for the wedding. Inside the Ehuršaba he creates brightness like daylight. They lie night after night on the nuptial bed in sweet sleep;

On the sixth day he goes out to the garden and shows himself.

On the seventh day he proceeds to the Emeteurur and [is cleansed/rejoices] at the Eanna. He goes out to the garden and when he enters the Garden of Anu he takes his seat. Because he has assumed Anu's kingship ... he wears Anu's crown (and?) the ... of the date palm.

[On] the 17th Nanâ ... from the Ehuršaba, proceeds to the hilly garden [...]; [...] Enlil ... Nippur ... rites [...] at the ... house [...] resides [...] goes out [...] (break)

As detailed in this text, on the 2nd of *Ajaru* Nabû proceeded from his temple in Borsippa to the Ehuršaba in Babylon where he wedded the goddess Nanâ. The two statues remained together in Babylon until the 6th of *Ajaru* when Nabû's statue was displayed in the temple gardens. The 7th day marked Nabû's coronation in Uruk at the Eanna temple, where he assumed the kingship previously held by Anu. Meanwhile, the statue of his bride, Nanâ, made her appearance in Babylon on the 17th of the month. The text is broken, but ritual activity appears then to have moved to Nippur.

This marriage of Nabû during the second month was ritually performed also in the Neo-Assyrian period at Calah, where Nabû's bride was Tašmētum.<sup>2</sup>

*Letter from Arad-Nabû to Esarhaddon.*<sup>3</sup>

On the fourth day of *Ajaru*, Nabû and Tašmetum entered the bedchamber. ... Presently I shall offer their [the crown princes of Assyria and Babylonia] sacrifices before Nabu and Tašmetum in the bedchamber.

1. SBH p. 245.

2. Note that according to an Assyrian hymn on the 5th day of each month there was a procession of Tašmētum (Livingstone *Court Poetry*, 17 KAR 127:8 "on the fifth day, monthly, is the procession of Tašmētum").

3. ABL 113.

*Letter Nabû-nadin-šumi to Esarhaddon:*<sup>1</sup>

The city of Calah will prepare the bed for the god Nabû on the third of the month *Ajaru*. (On that date) the god Nabû enters the bedroom. On the fourth day the return of the god Nabû takes place. My lord the crown prince knows that I am the official in charge of the temple of your god Nabû; I have therefore to go to Calah. The god will set out from the threshing floor of the palace; those who are on the threshing floor of the palace go then to the garden. There a sacrifice will be performed. The chariot driver of the god comes from the gods' stable; he takes the god out and brings him back again; he himself goes on and any priestly apprentice who has a sacrificial animal performs the sacrifice. Anybody who brings an offering of as little as one quart of bread flour may eat in the temple of Nabû.

... Let Bēl and Nabû, who will take part in the ritual of the sacred marriage [*ha-šad-da GAR-nu-u-ni*] in the month *Šabātu*, protect the life of my lord the crown prince.

*Letter from Nergal-šarrani to Esarhaddon:*<sup>2</sup>

The images of Nabû and (his spouse) Tašmētu enter tomorrow, the fourth day, toward evening, the bed chamber (of the temple). On the fifth day one serves them a royal meal; the *ḫazannu*-official (in charge of the temple) will be present; they bring the lion-headed (object) on a bier to the palace. From the fifth to the tenth day the gods stay in their bed chamber and the *ḫazannu*-official remains as guard (at its door). On the 11th Nabû comes out to have some exercise; he goes to the park, kills (there) wild bulls. He (then) returns and takes his (usual) place. He (then) [blesses] the king.

As noted in the second letter, there was another wedding in *Šabātu*, perhaps between Bēl and Bēltiya and between Nabû and Tašmētum.<sup>3</sup>

In Assyria special ablutions (*rimkāni*) during the month are recorded for the 4th of the month for Sin and the 10th of the month for Šamaš and Adad.<sup>4</sup> An Assyrian record of the distribution of wine for various occasions throughout the year notes that the 13th of the month was a festival, although the name or nature of the occasion is not mentioned.<sup>5</sup> However, according to an Assyrian ritual tablet from the reign of Sennacherib, the 13th of the month marked the observance of the *emaš* of Ištar in the *akitu*-house:<sup>6</sup>

On the 13th of *Ajaru* the *e-maš* of Ištar within the town in the *akitu*-house they make; Aššur, Ninlil, Ninurta and Adad go to the *akitu*-feast; he arranges the tables, slaughters the sheep, offers the cooked meat, ... bread, a fattened sheep is brought, an unblemished one year old goat, *kamānu*-cake, burnt cy-noglossum, a *ḫariu*-pot [...] he gives the Sibitti to eat [...]. He finishes the

1. ABL 65, translation according to Oppenheim *Letters*, 168.

2. ABL 366, translation according to Oppenheim *Letters*, 168-169.

3. See p. 337.

4. BM 121206 vii (Van Driel *Aššur*, 90).

5. KAV 79.

6. BM 121206 (Van Driel *Aššur*, 89).

*pagulu*-container [...] two singers, one sings [...], the other sings [...]. When they have finished the [...], they place two necks in the [...] of the bread, the *sangû* [...]. Before the god he raises three times [...]. They raise their arms before [...]. They pass the [...]. They heap up the aromatics [...]. The gods start to move, in [...]. The whole town in the [...] house [...] they enter, the chariot of [...] before the father of the gods [...].

The above reference to Adad attending the *akitu*-feast may be reflected in a Neo-Assyrian letter which mentions that Adad went to the *akitu*-house on the 6th day of the second month.<sup>1</sup> For an *akitu*-festival involving Ištar in the tenth month, see p. 335 below.

An Assyrian text from Sultantepe mentions a race of Nabû as occurring during this month:<sup>2</sup> "It is the day of the race of Nabû, it is a day [of] *Ajaru*, a favorable month." (In the month *Kissilimu* footraces were also held, those to commemorate Ninurta's vanquishing the *anzu*-bird.)

According to the Religious Chronicle in Babylon, probably during the reign of Simbar-šihû (1024-1007 B.C.), there was a procession for Bēl on the 11th of *Ajaru* followed by four days of sacrifices in the temples of Babylon:<sup>3</sup>

The king arrived on the 11th day of the month *Ajaru*. He *slaughtered* but did not ... the lambs for the procession of Bēl. The sacrifices and table (prepared for) the god which they had [*rec*]eived up to the day of the *Akitu* festival they offered for four days in Esagil and the (other) temples *as in normal times*.

One section of a first millennium B.C. scholarly work called "The Nippur Compendium" deals with months and Nippur festivals. Unfortunately many of the cultic references are obscure, nor is it clear to which month some of these rituals apply. The following portion probably applies to the second and third months (translation George *Topographical Texts*, 155):

|                     |                                   |
|---------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Unclean woman       | Direction(?) of Nippur;           |
| Purification priest | Cleanser;                         |
| Axe and Cudgel      | Weapons against the insubmissive; |

There are no known festivals at Nippur or elsewhere to which these references might apply.

1. ABL 1197. An Old Babylonian letter from Šamši-Adad mentions an *akitu*-festival being observed on the 16th day of the second month (<sup>16</sup>GUD). The use of the Southern-Mesopotamian Sumerian calendar month name, rather than an Amorite month, raises the possibility that this *akitu*-festival, at which envoys from Ešnunna attended, may not have been held in Assyria. (See p. 245 for the text of the letter).

2. Livingstone *Court Poetry*, 25 (STT 87 rev. 8).

3. Translation according to K. Grayson, TCS 5, 134 ii 1-4. Grayson dates this section to Simbar-šihû.

iii. *Simānu*

The actual written month name <sup>iti</sup>*Simanu* is never attested in cuneiform script except in lexical lists. However, note that <sup>iti</sup>SIG<sub>4</sub>, the Sumerian shorthand for the month, is attested as a logogram for *simanu*, "season."<sup>1</sup> The Middle Babylonian female name *Si-ma-ni-[tum]* ("she born in *Simānu*") is attested. (The name \**Simānaja* in the Neo-Assyrian period is written only with the Sumerian sign: SIG<sub>4</sub>-a-a and <sup>iti</sup>SIG<sub>4</sub>-a-a).<sup>2</sup>

The month *Simānu* is written with variants of the Southern-Mesopotamian Sumerian calendar orthography for the third month, <sup>iti</sup>sig<sub>4</sub>, "the month the brick (is placed in the brick mold)" — the original full Nippur month name being a variant of sig<sub>4</sub>-u<sub>5</sub>-šub-ba-gar-ra. And in a Sargon inscription there is a note referring to this month as "the month which is named Month of the Brick God (<sup>d</sup>SIG<sub>4</sub>)."<sup>3</sup> In a few instances an orthography <sup>iti</sup>sig occurs.<sup>4</sup>

An inscription of Sargon's contains a month <sup>iti</sup>Šitaš: *ina* ITI *ši-i-taš* ITI *bi-in* <sup>d</sup>DARA<sub>3</sub>.GAL "the month *Šitaš*, the month of the son of DN."<sup>5</sup> The only other reference to this month is from a Neo-Assyrian tablet which equates the months from six different calendars to the Standard Mesopotamian months.<sup>6</sup> Curiously the third month of the Ur III Ur calendar, which should be <sup>iti</sup>u<sub>5</sub>-bī-gu<sub>7</sub>, is listed instead as <sup>iti</sup>[*ši*]-i-taš and is equated to <sup>iti</sup>sig<sub>4</sub>-ga.<sup>7</sup>

According to Assyrian Astrolabe B, during this hot month the king symbolically placed a brick in the brick mold, to begin the brick making for construction of houses: "The month *Simanu*, Jawbone-of-an-Ox or the Crown-of-Anu; this star is equal to Girra; the month of the brick mold of the king; the king uses the brick mold; all lands build their houses; the month of the parching(?) of the land."<sup>8</sup>

Rituals for brick making during this month were observed at Uruk, as well. During this month there were special observances at the Eanna in Uruk on

1. 4R 61 i 10, quoted CAD S 269.

2. For references see CAD S 271 sub \**simānu* and add K. 1535 for <sup>iti</sup>SIG<sub>4</sub>-a-a.

3. Winckler Sar pl. 43:58, quoted CAD N/1 34.

4. For references see CAD S 271 sub *simānu* A mng. d).

5. Lyon Sar 9:57, quoted CAD S 215.

6. 5R 43.

7. Langdon *Menologies*, 116 suggests that the author of this compendium may have been unfamiliar with the old Ur III Ur month names, (for he places the third month (ù-bj<sup>mušen</sup>-gu<sub>7</sub>) as the fourth month), and so not knowing a name for the third Ur month, he substituted the Assyrian month name.

8. Note the wordplay in Astrolabe B between mul-gù and murgu<sub>4</sub> (=SIG<sub>4</sub>). We have interpreted gul-la- as having been used playfully by the scribe for Akkadian *qullū* "parched" or *qalū*, "to parch" (see CAD Q 298 sub *qullū* and p. 69 sub *qalū*): <sup>iti</sup>sig<sub>4</sub> mul-gù-an-na gùr-an-na-ke<sub>4</sub> mul-bi murgu<sub>4</sub> ba-an-sá it<sub>i</sub> ù-šub lugal-ke<sub>4</sub> lugal ù-šub sig<sub>4</sub>-gē kur-kur ē-ne-ne mu-un-dù-a it<sub>i</sub> gul-la-kalam-ma-ke<sub>4</sub> ITI.SIG<sub>4</sub> is *le-e a-gi* <sup>d</sup>A-nim [MU]L.BI <sup>d</sup>BIL.GI *ša-nin* ITI *na-al-ba-an* LUGAL LUGAL *na-al-ba-na i-la-bi-in* KUR.MES É.MES-ši-na ip-pu-šū ITI GULLA *ša ma-a-tim* (var.: [...]-li ša ma-a-ti).

the 1st, 9th, and 15th of the month.<sup>1</sup> The festival on the 9th of the month at the Eanna was a religious rite marking the onset of brick making. The goddess Aškajaitu(?) left her chapel and was then served a meal. A rite was performed at the kiln where bricks were baked, eight sheep were sacrificed at the entrances to the Eanna, and then another rite occurred at the kiln.

In Assyria the month was known as the month of the moon-god Sin, as noted in an incantation: "May the month *Simānu*, (the month) of Sin, foremost son of Enlil, absolve!"<sup>2</sup> as well as in an Aššurbanipal inscription, which also mentions a procession of Bēlet-Babili, the Lady-of-Babylon, on the 25th of the month: "In the month *Simānu*, the month of Sin, the first and foremost son of Enlil, on the 25th day, on which the procession of the Lady-of-Babylon is held."<sup>3</sup>

At Babylon on the 15th of the month there was a festival for the 'Mistress of the Gods' and on the 22nd a ceremony involving Nabū.<sup>4</sup> A Babylonian document from the Arsacid period refers to a festival in the Esabad temple on the 25th of the month.<sup>5</sup>

iv. *Du'uzu / Tam(m)uzu*

The fourth month of the Standard Mesopotamian calendar was named for the god Dumuzi.<sup>6</sup> The Sumerian orthography for the month was <sup>iti</sup>šu(-numun). The scribe of the Neo-Assyrian text 5R 43 wrote the month as *Du-ū-zu* and the Judean calendar called the month *tmuz*. At Nuzi the month was pronounced *tam(m)uzu/i* based upon the Nuzi orthographies in SMN 2212: *ta-mu-ū-zi* and *ta-mu-u[z...]*.

The mythology surrounding Dumuzi in this month is alluded to in Assyrian Astrolabe B: "The month Dumuzi, Orion, (the month) of Papsukkal, the exalted vizier of An and Ištar, the month of heaping up of seed, of sprouting of the early sowing, the cry of Ninrurugu, the month the shepherd Dumuzi was bound." This "binding of Dumuzi" is mentioned also in a Seleucid Babylonian ritual text: ITI *ki-mi-tum* <sup>d</sup>[...] ... *ina* BARA<sub>2</sub> SIPA [...], "the month of the binding, [Dumuzi] ... on the dais the shepherd [...]."<sup>7</sup> One section of a first millennium B.C. scholarly work called "The Nippur Compendium" deals

1. LKU 51 obv. 1-12.

2. D.J. Wiseman, "A Lipšur Litany from Nimrud," *Iraq* 31 (1969), 175ff.; cf. 4R 33 (K.2049 and K.129).

3. Streck, *Aššurbanipal*, 70 cyl A viii 96-98 and K. 2802 vi 19.

4. SBH VIII iii (McEwan, *Priest and Temple*, 179).

5. McEwan, "Arsacid Temple Records," *Iraq* 43 (1981), 141.

6. Surprisingly, the incantation from Nimrud calls this month the month of Ninurta, not the month of Dumuzi (Wiseman, *op. cit.*).

7. SBH p. 245. During the fifth month at Old Babylonian Sippar, the month of the *ab/pum* festival, there is a reference to the *ūm kimīt* <sup>d</sup>DUMU.ZI "the day of the captivity/binding of Dumuzi" (YOS 12 427).

with Nippur festivals and several lines directly before an entry for the *abum* festival allude to an observance in Nippur for the cult of Dumuzi in the fourth month (translation George *Topographical Texts*, 155):

|                           |                       |
|---------------------------|-----------------------|
| Offering of water         | Descent to the grave; |
| Captivity of the shepherd | Opening of the grave; |

In early second millennium Mari the fourth month marked the occasion for a cult of Dumuzi which included female mourners.<sup>1</sup> R. Kutscher cites further first millennium evidence as to the annual observance of the festival of Dumuzi:<sup>2</sup> (1) Gilgameš VI 46-47: "for Dumuzi, the beloved of your youth, you decreed an annual wailing (*ana šatti bitakkā*)"; (2) an incantation against seizure by demons to be performed: "in the month Dumuzi (*iūšu*) when Ištar made the people of the land wail over Dumuzi, her beloved."<sup>3</sup> And Kutscher cites the famous vision of the Hebrew prophet Ezekial who saw the women of Jerusalem mourning over Tammuz.<sup>4</sup>

Jacobsen cites an Aššur incantation in which Dumuzi is asked to take a troublesome ghost along with him to the netherworld and in which the 28th of the month was called the "Day of the Stall."<sup>5</sup> (The sheepfold or stall was the place where Dumuzi was captured by the *galla*-demons who subsequently dragged him to the netherworld.<sup>6</sup>) On the 29th day a couch was erected on which the dead shepherd would lie in state. At Nineveh, Aššur and Calah, where there was wailing for Dumuzi, his statue was displayed from the 26th to 28th while in Arbela it was displayed from the 27th to 29th, as is noted in this letter to the king:<sup>7</sup>

On the 26th the god [...], on the 27th the god [...], on the 28th the god Tam[uzu ...]. On the morning of the 26th they introduce [...] (and) the dis[play] takes place; on the 2[7]th and the 28th they do] in like manner. This is for the city of Assur. On the 26th: the wailing, on the 27th: the redemption, on the 28th: Tamuzu. In this way the display is performed in Nineveh. In Calah, the display (takes place) on the 27th (and) the 28th in like manner. In [Arbe]la, the displays [take place] on the 27th, the 28th (and) the 2[9]th. (*Remainder not preserved*).

The following letter to the king mentions this same observance in Arbela.<sup>8</sup> Parpola suggests that this second letter was "to make sure that the important ceremonies of Arbela would not be performed on the same days as the cor-

1. See p. 289.

2. "The Cult of Dumuzi," *Bar-Ilan Studies in Assyriology*, 42.

3. LKA 69.

4. Ezekial 8:14.

5. "Religious Drama in Ancient Mesopotamia," in *Unity and Diversity*, 71-72.

6. For this motif, cf. Alster *Dumuzi's Dream*, 82 lines 250-261.

7. ABL 1097; translation Parpola AOAT 5/1, 5.

8. ABL 35; translation Parpola AOAT 5/1, 5.

responding ceremonies in the other cities of Assyria, which lasted from Tamuzu 26 to Tamuzu 28."<sup>1</sup>

[As re]gards what the king, my lord, wrote to me: "The present day, [t]omorrow, (and) the day after tomorrow, these are (the days) [of] the displays!", on [the ...]th [day] the king, my lord, said as follows about the old displays: "In Arbela, the display should be arranged from the 27th till the 29th day."

According to Parpola the 'displays' mentioned in this letter refer "to the exhibition of (a statue of) the (dead) god (lying on biers) to his devotees (mourners, sick people hoping for miraculous cure, etc.)."<sup>2</sup>

The capture and death of Dumuzi is mentioned in another ritual text, presumably for this month, as translated by Livingstone, *Court Poetry* no. 38 rev. 2-8):<sup>3</sup>

[...] are [perfor]med until the 30th day.

[The ...th day is] the striking [when ...] goes down [to ...].

[The 26th day] is the day of the screaming, the da[y when] Anu [...].

[The 28th day] Tammuz rises at the request of [...].

His [de]ath is when they burn the roasted barley, which they were casting on Tammuz, on the stones. The burned parts which are produced go up to the upper regions, as it is said. [The image of] your brother which they soak in beer lifts up the body of the brother, as it is said.

Jacobsen (*Unity and Diversity*, 72) translates this passage:

The 26th is the day of the hue and cry, on the 27th he is caught, Anu is ... Dumuzi is interrogated... His death is when they grind the roasted grain that has been thrown on Dumuzi on the millstones. The ... of roasted grain that is placed there (means): He ascended to the upper regions according to what they say... your brother which they moisten with beer (means): they install the brother in office according to what they say.

Jacobsen notes "The rite generally survived into Medieval times, when, we are told, the women of Harran celebrated a rite called "the rattle" at which they wept for Ta'uz i.e., Tammuz or Dumuzi, whose master cruelly ground his bones in a mill. The women during this celebration also abstain from all milled foods."<sup>4</sup>

A Neo-Assyrian letter mentions: "The substitute figure (*šalam pūḫi*) exercised its function in the town of Akkad from the 14th of *Tamuzu* to the 5th of *Abu*."<sup>5</sup> But whether this ritual is related to the Dumuzi motif is uncertain.

1. Parpola, AOAT 5/2, 8-9.

2. Parpola, AOAT 5/2, 9. For substitution as a cure, see Bottéro *Mesopotamia*, 138-155.

3. LKA 72; see Livingstone, *Court Poetry* no. 38 for a full edition of this text as well as references to other treatments of this text.

4. Jacobsen, "Religious Drama in Ancient Mesopotamia," *Unity and Diversity*, 72.

5. ABL 46:8, quoted CAD A/2 391.

The death of Dumuzi was observed on the 27th of the month at Uruk, where the *kalû*-priest attempted to revive the dead god by whispering prayers into his ears:<sup>1</sup>

On the 27th day Aškayaitu returns to the E[*h̄ilšu*]. A (wooden) figurine of Dumuzi is brought out and is cast down by the main gate. [The figurine(?)] is brought in before The-Lady-of-Uruk. The *kalû*-priest whispers (the prayer) *nī-šu-īl-še* into the right ear and into the left ear of the piece of wood which has been cast down.

A possible reference to this particular annual wailing over Dumuzi may occur at the conclusion of the Akkadian composition "Ištar's Descent to the Netherworld" (lines 136ff., translation Foster, *Before the Muses*, 403ff.):

On the day Tammuz (says) "hurrahl,"  
the lapis flute and carnelian ring (say) "hurrahl!"  
With him (say) "hurrahl!" the wailing men and wailing women,  
Let the dead come up and smell the incense.

Two other observances are described for this month at Uruk. On the 1st of the month there was an elaborate festival at the Eanna involving the four goddesses Nanna-amassu, The-Lady-of-Uruk, Nanā, and Aškayaitu. A throne was moved into the E*h̄ilšu* for Aškayaitu, and a quiver was placed in the hands of one of the statues (perhaps that of The-Lady-of-Uruk) as preparation for a procession around the Eanna. Eight sheep were offered by the various entrances to the Eanna-temple as the procession passed each entrance. Actors (*kurgarrū*) donned masks, presumably in costume for a presentation, drums(?) were played for the goddess Nanā, and afterwards Nanā proceeded to the banquet hall. After the meal there was a procession around the zigurat of the Eanna. The rest of the day included the midday and evening meals, accompanied by the playing of the kettledrum.

A Neo-Babylonian report of temple preparations mentions a procession(?) of gods on the 15th of the month: "The bread looks fine, the beer tastes good, the gods have gone on procession(?) [*it-ti-bi*] in ... on the 15th day of Du'uzu."<sup>2</sup>

The 17th of the month at the Eanna involved an apparently simple observance which included the playing of the kettledrum for <sup>d</sup>Palil, a form of Ištar.

A late-Babylonian text describes an interesting ritual to adjust the imbalance between the daytime and night occurring around the solstices:<sup>3</sup>

1. LKU 51 obv. 28-31.

2. D. Weisberg, "A Neo-Babylonian Temple Report," JAOS 87 (1967), 8 lines 9-10.

3. Sp I 131 edited in Unger *Babylon*, 271.

The 11th of Du'uzi is when Šilluštāb and KA.TUN-na,<sup>1</sup> daughters of the Esagil, go to the Ezida and on the 3rd of *Ṭebētu* Gazbaba and Gunisurra, daughters of the Ezida, go to the Esagil. Why do they do this? In *Tammuzi* the nights [are short], so to lengthen the nights the daughters of the Esagil go to the Ezida—the Ezida is the House-of-the-Night. In *Ṭebētu* the daytime is short (so) the daughters of the Ezida go to the Esagil to lengthen the daytime—the Esagil is the House-of-the-Daytime.

This same ritual is mentioned in another Babylonian calendar text for the month *Ṭebētu*:<sup>2</sup>

[The daughters of the Esagil], Šilluštāb and Ištaran—the daughters of the divine queen Arua—and the [daughters] of the Ezida, Gazbaba and Gunisurra—the daughters of Nanā—pass by each other (as) they walk along the path. They proceed and ...; they enter [their] temples.

This shifting of goddesses to correct the imbalance, i.e., to mark the movement towards the equinoxes, may derive from astronomical observances which marked the onset of the solstices.<sup>3</sup>

At Palmyra the fourth month was named *ḡnyn*, "lamenting," presumably referring to the wailing associated with the cult of Tammuz.

#### v. Abu

The month name *Ab/pum* derives from the *ab/pum* festival for the dead. The *ab/pum* was a mound placed over a supposed passage to the netherworld through which the dead could return to the land of the living and through which the living could provide for the dead.<sup>4</sup>

The Assyrian Astrolabe B for this month mentions activities associated with observances for the dead: "The month *Abu*, ... of Ninurta, braziers are kindled, a torch is raised to the Anunna-gods, Girra comes down from the sky and rivals the sun, the month of Gilgameš, for nine days men contest in

1. The two goddesses Šilluštāb and KA.TUN-na are listed as hairdressers (*šu-i*) of Marduk's wife, Šarpanītim, in the god list AN = *Anum* (II 260-261), wherein the gloss *šil-lu!-[u3-f] a-ab* provides the pronunciation for the goddess' name. A god-list from Emar (*Emar* VI no. 4 p. 34) lists Šilluštāb and Ištaran sequentially in a group of six goddesses identified with or as servants of Nabū's wife, Tašmētum. There was a shrine for Šilluštāb and KA.TUN-na in the Erabirri, the temple of Madānu in the Esagil complex (see George *Topographical Texts*, 106).

2. SBH no. viii col. iv 44-47. The god-list AN = *Anum* (IV 274-275) lists a deity <sup>d</sup>Gaz-ba or <sup>d</sup>Gaz-ba-a. In SBH viii *Gaz-ba-ba* is identified as one of the daughters of Arua, rather than of Nanā (Sp. 131). In AN = *Anum* the entry for *Gaz-ba* occurs soon after the entry for Arua—thus the *Gaz-ba* of AN = *Anum* and the *Gaz-ba-ba* of our ritual texts are probably the same goddess. Note E. Reiner, *Šurpu*, AfO Beiheft 11 (1958), 21:79 *dGaz-ba-ba ša-a-[a]-hi-ti* "Gazbaba, the always laughing one." In another incantation the two goddesses Gazbaba and Cunisura are invoked together (W. Mayer, *Untersuchungen zur Formensprache der Babylonischen "Gebetsbeschwörungen"*, Studia Pohl 5 [Rome, 1976], 538:32').

3. According to a Neo-Assyrian letter the equinox occurred one year during the full moon of *Nisannu*: "on the 15th of *Nisannu* day and night were equal: six double hours of daylight and six double hours of night" (ABL 1428:4).

4. See pp. 259-261.



wrestling and athletics in their city quarters." The kindling of lights during the month was presumably to enable the deceased to find their way at night from the darkness of the netherworld. Gilgameš was one of the overlords of the netherworld and he too joined the land of the living for the festival. According to Astrolabe B, in Gilgameš' honor athletic contests were held, celebrating his legendary physical prowess. A reference to these athletic contests at Nippur during the month occurs in one section of a first millennium B.C. scholarly work called "The Nippur Compendium," which deals with Nippur festivals, and includes an entry for the fifth month (translation George *Topographical Texts*, 155):

Abu Warfare, contest of strength and vigour;

Directly related to this month's preoccupation with the netherworld is the reference in a Nimrud incantation to *Abu* as the month of Ningišzida, lord of the netherworld.<sup>1</sup>

Concomitant with the month of *Abu* being a time of festivals for the dead, it was a time when both benign and malevolent ghosts from the netherworld joined the living. To protect the living from witches and other evil spirits, the rites called *Maqlû*, "burning," were practiced during this month, as noted in a Neo-Assyrian letter to the king, in which a figurine of Gilgameš was used.<sup>2</sup>

At night the king will perform the (ritual) "burning," [*maqlu*] in the morning the king will perform the balance of the ritual. Furthermore: a figurine of Gilgameš will certainly be used in the (periodical) rites of the month *Abu* [which] will be performed on [the ... t]h; should (the rite) be performed for the queen mother? What is it that the king says?

The purpose of the series *Maqlû* was the transformation of the live witch into a ghost and the expulsion of the formerly live witch's ghost as well as ghosts of witches returning from the netherworld outside the universal order, from which they could never again return.<sup>3</sup> Abusch in his analysis of *Maqlû* noted that *Maqlû* was divided into three sections, the first two sections being recited at night (with incantations to the gods Nusku and Girra), and the final section at dawn (involving incantations to Šamaš).<sup>4</sup> Commenting on the use of *Maqlû* rituals in the month *Abu*, Abusch noted a ritual whose

1. D.J. Wiseman, "A Lipšur Litany from Nimrud," *Iraq* 31 (1969), 175ff.; cf. 4R 33 (K.2049 and K.129).

2. ABL 56, translation Parpola, AOAT 5/1, 155. Note also ABL 223: "the rites of the month *Abu* about which the king has written"; also quoted T. Abusch, "Mesopotamian Anti-Witchcraft Literature," *JNES* 33 (1974), 259. For references to the use of figurines of Gilgameš to cure diseases caused by ghosts, see Parpola, AOAT 5/2, 204.

3. T. Abusch, paper delivered to the American Oriental Society, Berkeley CA, 1991 and personal communication.

4. Abusch, "Mesopotamian Anti-Witchcraft Literature," *JNES* 33 (1974), 256ff. According to Abusch's analysis the first section of *Maqlû* involved "judgment, destruction by fire, and expulsion"; the second: "fumigation, protection, and salving"; the third: "washing and retributive reversion."

closing instructions were basically identical to a *Maqlû* ritual, except for adding an instruction to perform the ritual on the 28th of the month *Abu*.<sup>1</sup>

... Thereafter, you recite the incantation "Evil demon, to your steppe" all the way to the outer entrance; then you encircle the entrance with [flour-p]aste. This rite is to be performed on the 28th day of *Abu*, and [he] will [then] recover.

Concerning the likely recitation of *Maqlû* during the month *Abu* Abusch notes:<sup>2</sup>

... the suggestion that *Maqlû* was performed in *Abu* receives further support from the netherworld character of that month; for the cultic-calendrical association of *Abu* with Gilgameš in his netherworld capacity and with the appearance of ghosts and their return to the netherworld would certainly go a long way toward providing a partial explanation for the performances of *Maqlû* in that month. This feature of *Abu* need not, however, be the only factor responsible for its performance in *Abu*, since the existence of a known association between the fire-god and *Abu* and the centrality of the fire-god in the first division of *Maqlû* would now seem to be too much of a coincidence and to suggest further lines of association between *Maqlû* and *Abu*.

*Maqlû* was recited, as Abusch observes, at the end of the month, at the time of the disappearance of the moon, an ominous event—completely in keeping as the time of the month when evil spirits were most likely to cause trouble. For other festivals concerning the spirits of the dead occurring at this time of month, see pp. 454-455.

W.G. Lambert noted an incantation of the *maqlû* type which referred to the 26th of *Abu* with an obscure allusion to the Annunaki gods "and they changed the 26th of *Abu*, the end of the Annunaki's guilt [*šer-tû*]." <sup>3</sup>

#### vi. *Ulûlu* / *Elûlu*

The sixth month was called *Ulûlu* in some areas and *Elûlu* in others. Both month names are attested in the second millennium B.C. in older calendrical systems. Tablets from Nuzi in the second millennium B.C. list the sixth month as either *Arkabinni* or *Ulûlu*. The month *Elûlu* was the seventh month in the Old Babylonian calendar at Sippar. After the adoption of the Standard Mesopotamian calendar both names for the same month are attested. The reverse of an Assyrian tablet recording the monthly distribution of wine at the temple of Aššur during the reign of Sargon II contains a list of months written with the Sumerian notation in the correct order.<sup>4</sup> However, preceding this listing is a note that, in addition to the following special days, seven

1. Translation of UET 6/2 410 according to Abusch, *op. cit.*, 260.

2. Abusch, *op. cit.*, 261 and note 34 for cultic references to the month *Abu*.

3. W.G. Lambert, "An Incantation of the *Maqlû* Type," *AFO* 18 (1957/58), 292 line 44.

4. KAV 79.

liters of wine were to be delivered on the 20th day of each month: "on the 20th of (every) month through the month *Elūlu*" (UD.20.KAM šá ITI<sup>1</sup> ana it<sup>i</sup>*e-lu-lim*).<sup>1</sup> Since the following lines of the document begin the list with the seventh month and conclude with the following sixth month (it<sup>i</sup>*kin*) it would appear justified to follow Landsberger's judgment that it<sup>i</sup>*e-lu-lim* does, in fact, refer to it<sup>i</sup>*kin*, the sixth month. A scribe of the lexical series HAR-ra = *hubullu* writes the month as *ú-lu-lu* (Hh I 226) and the "Nippur Compendium" (George *Topographical Texts*, 154) contains the orthography *ú-lu-lu* for the ritual name. Note the personal name *Ú-lu-li-tum* (BE 15 p. 50; PBS 2/2 p. 83) during the Kassite period. And on rare occasions the Babylonians and Assyrians referred to Shalmaneser V as *Ú-lu-la-a-a*.<sup>2</sup>

The Assyrian Astrolabe B describes the month as: "The month *Elūlu*, the work of the Elamite Istar, the goddesses are purified in the sacred river, they have their annual cleansing." Thus the month apparently involved a series of lustrations of the goddesses throughout the cities. This raises the possibility that the name of the month may have derived from *ullulu*, "to purify," to "consecrate (a deity)." But it may be valid to suggest the opposite, namely, that whatever the real, original meaning of the month *Elūlu*, eventually it was understood as deriving from *ullulu* "to purify" and so a custom of consecrating goddesses evolved during this month. The goddess par excellence was, of course, Istar and the tradition that this was the month of Istar (which was also voiced in the Nimrud incantation) may have derived from the Southern-Mesopotamian Sumerian month used to designate *Elūlu*: kin-<sup>d</sup>Inanna.<sup>4</sup> An entry in the "Nippur Compendium" indicates an actual *ulūlu* (*ú-lu-lu šá i-istar*) ritual of Istar during this month at Nippur.<sup>5</sup>

A Neo-Assyrian letter mentions that "On the 3rd of *Elūlu* there is a dressing of Bēl; on the 4th the opening of the great gate."<sup>6</sup> Another Neo-Assyrian letter mentions that Nabū left his abode on the third of the month and that Nabū and Bēl remained away at least through the sixth of the month or at least the two statues left their temples each day through the sixth of the month.<sup>7</sup>

1. Line 3' read according to Landsberger JNES 8 (1949), 267.

2. See Brinkman, PKB, 62 and 243 n. 1560 for references. Brinkman, personal communication, has identified a contemporary Babylonian text in the British Museum referring to Shalmaneser V as *Ulūlaja*.

3. CAD E 80 sub *elūlu*.

4. For it<sup>i</sup>*kin*-<sup>d</sup>Inanna see pp. 104-106 and see McEwan, *Priest and Temple*, 176 n. 412 for discussion, including his quoting YOS 1 45 i 8: *ina it<sup>i</sup>kin-<sup>d</sup>Innana ... arah šipir i-istarāti<sup>me</sup>*.

5. George *Topographical Texts*, 154. The absence of the month determinative and use of the syllabic Akkadian orthography rather than the standard month logogram as in lines 12' and 33' suggest a festival name, not a month name.

6. ABL 496.

7. ABL 338.

... On the night of the 6th (of *Ulūlu*) Ammu-salām entered Babylon. Before his arrival, on the 3rd, Nabu had gone forth; on the 4th, 5th and 6th the gate was opened for Bēl and Nabu; sacrifices were offered. ...

Parpola, commenting on the parallelism of this ritual to that of the same days of the following month, *Tašritu*, states (AOAT 5/2, 187):

... it cannot thus be doubted that the ceremonies concerned had a fully independent and permanent status in the Babylonian cultic year, different from that of the *Tašritu* festival. However, this statement needs the qualification that both festivals probably *together* formed an integral whole, the former leading directly to the latter (just as Old Year abruptly changes to New) so that it was highly desirable to celebrate them in close succession, without an intervening month.

According to an inscription of Aššurbanipal, a special festival of Aššur was observed in Assyria during the month, although the day is not specified: "In *Ulūlu*, the 'work of the goddesses' (*šipir Istarāle*), the festival (*i-sin-ni*) of exalted Aššur, the month of Sin, the light of heaven and earth."<sup>1</sup>

In Assyria special ablutions (*rimkāni*) during the month are recorded on the 3rd for Anu, the 15th for Adad, the 16th of the month for Sin and Šamaš and the 18th for Aššur. A kettledrum performance (*lilissāti*) before the gods occurred on the 17th.<sup>2</sup> The Assyrian record of the distribution of wine discussed above records that the 14th and 17th days of the month were special festivals, although the name or nature of the occasions is not mentioned.<sup>3</sup>

The Assyrian monarch Aššurnāširpal II (883-859 B.C.) constructed a temple for Ninurta in Calah, stating: "I set his (Ninurta's) festivals in the months *Šabātu* and *Ulūlu*."<sup>4</sup> Presumably, these festivals to Ninurta in Calah continued to be observed thereafter.

Aššurbanipal constructed an *akitu*-house for Istar of Arbela in Milkiya,<sup>5</sup> wherein he celebrated the "festival of the *akitu*-house" on the 17th of *Ulūlu*.<sup>6</sup> And a Neo-Babylonian tablet lists distributions to individuals involved with the *akitu*-festival of the sixth month: it<sup>i</sup>*kin ā-ki-it*.<sup>7</sup>

At the Eanna in Uruk a special observance, including offerings for the mayor of the city, was held on the 2nd day of the month.<sup>8</sup>

1. Streck Asb., 118 Cyl B v 77-79.

2. BM 121206 vii (Van Driel Aššur, 90).

3. KAV 79.

4. Wiseman, "A New Stela of Aššur-našir-pal II," *Iraq* 14 (1952), 31.

5. Streck Asb., 248, Inscription L 7. There is one Neo-Assyrian reference to a festival of the god Kurri celebrated by Aššurbanipal on his Elamite campaign: "I, Aššurbanipal, King of Aššur, brought offerings in Milkiya and celebrated the festival of Kurri (*i-sin-ni* <sup>d</sup>Kūr-ri)."

6. Streck Asb., 320, K. 2637 7; Van Driel Aššur, 149.

7. L. Jakob-Rost and H. Freydunk, VS 20 no. 98.

8. LKU 51, obv. 33-35.

A special festival on the 3rd of the month in Uruk is detailed in a text from Aššurbanipal's library.<sup>1</sup> The statues of Anu and Adad were specially dressed for the occasion. The statues of Nusku and Ninimma marched out of their temples in procession. So too the statue of Kusu left her temple for the Etur-nunna, the temple of Sin, where the gods gathered to take special counsel with Sin and his spouse Ningal. Thereafter there were purification rites for the statues of Anu and Ištar, followed by a sacred marriage ceremony.

A Middle Assyrian text lists individual days of the seventh(?) month, associating with each day a special name based upon a motif of Bēl's usurpation of kingship from Anu.<sup>2</sup> Only traces of the month are preserved. Ebeling reads the month name as <sup>i</sup>ikin, while Menzel reads <sup>i</sup>iziz stating: "auf Grund der Königsrituale mit Angaben von Festdaten kann jedoch die Lesung des Monatsnamen berichtet werden: LKA 73 behandelt die Zeitspanne vom 16.Šabātu bis 9.Addaru, sozusagen die Höhepunkte des neuassyrischen "Kirchenjahres."<sup>3</sup> Livingstone follows Menzel's reading, although admitting: "collation seems to insist on ITI.kin!" Jacobsen apparently assumed that this text refers to the second month on the basis of the reference to the appropriating of Anu's crown of kingship.<sup>4</sup> (This concept of the usurpation of Anu's kingship was also reflected in a ritual for Nabû, wherein on the 7th day of the second month Nabû left for Uruk to assume Anu's crown.)<sup>5</sup> We believe that this text most likely refers to the sixth month. Not only does Livingstone's collation indicate a reading <sup>i</sup>ikin<sup>1</sup>, but the portion of "The Nippur Compendium" after the *abum*-observance references the expulsion (=šūšū) of Anu during the next month, which is <sup>i</sup>ikin (translation George *Topographical Texts*, 155):

Locust(?) of Gula  
Long River Ordeal  
*Ulūlu*  
*Tīru*

Expulsion(?) of Anu;  
Festival of Ištar;  
Of Ištar;  
Of Ea; (or,) [...] (var.: Of Ištar)

1. Weidner *Gestirn-Darstellungen* pl. 11 K.3753; McEwan, *Priest and Temple*, 174ff. We have interpreted the events listed in K. 3753 i 7-22 as all referring to the 3rd day. However, it is possible that these events occurred on different days since the beginnings of lines i 10-22 are destroyed.

2. LKA 73; the text was edited by E. Ebeling, *Tod und Leben*, 38ff.; Menzel, *Assyrische Tempel, Studia Pohl* 10/2, 29ff.; Tsukimoto, *Untersuchungen zur Totenpflege (kispum) im alten Mesopotamien*, AOAT Band 216 (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1985), 221; and A. Livingstone, *Court Poetry* no. 40.

3. Menzel, *op. cit.*, 30.

4. T. Jacobsen, "Religious Drama in Ancient Mesopotamia," *Unity and Diversity*, 74. There is additional support for Jacobsen's assignment of the ritual to the second month. The traces of Ebeling's copy fit a reading <sup>i</sup>gu<sub>4</sub>-si-sá. Moreover, the reference in The Nippur Compendium to "Battlefield on the 15th," (which we have placed in the first month), might actually apply to the second month instead and refer to the battle between Bēl and Anu which would have occurred in the middle of the month.

5. See p. 311 for discussion of this ritual.

Thus, the following ritual text probably describes the sixth month:

In the month *Ulūlu*, on the 16th day, when the king goes to [...], because he defeated Anu.

The 17th day, which they call the 'Entry', is the day Bēl defeated his enemies.

The 18th day, which they call the 'Silence', is when they cast down Kingu and his forty children from the roof. The oil and honey that they pour into the container, they pour in as a representation of their (the slain gods') blood.

The 19th day, which they call the 'Silence', is when he placed in fetters Anu and the 'Seven Gods', the sons of Enmešarra.

The 20th<sup>1</sup> day, (which they call) the 'Wrath', is when he put Anu, the king, in fetters; the day when Marduk, put the king, Anu, in fetters.

The 21st day is (when) he plucked out the eyes of the highest-ranking gods and put them on display.

The 22nd day is (when) Anu went to the Edugani. E means 'house', RAB means 'beating down', GAZ means 'to kill'—'the house where he killed Anu'.

The 23rd day (is the day) that battle calmed his rage.

The 26th is the day Bēl(?) went to that house, the house which Anu had excavated which they call ... who begins [the attack].

The 24th day, the day on which the king put on the crown (is the day) on which Bēl slit the throat of Anu. When he assumed the kingship he bathed and put on the raiment. [The following translation is according to Livingstone, *Court Poetry*] *tamriqātu*, as it is said among the people, (means) "He learned from [my exa]mple (*šamar qātāia*). The leper whom they sink in the river (means) "Anu is leprous" [...].<sup>1</sup>

(The dates are missing from the following fragmentary lines, until the events associated with the 6th to 9th of the following month, for which see our discussion of the month Tašritu.)

Th. Jacobsen<sup>2</sup> has identified this same motif in other Assyrian ritual texts:

This same drama story is the basis of KAR 307 in which a bull and a number of rams are cast down from the roof and thus killed. They represent Kingu and his seven sons whom they slay. A dove, which they cast down, is Tiamat, whom they cast down and kill. ... CT 15 44 is a ritual play: "The king who makes the sangu bounce a loaf of bread baked in ashes with him: They are Marduk and Nabû. Marduk bound Anu and broke him ... the loaf baked in ashes that they bounce is the heart of Anu and he pulled it out with his

1. J. Kinnier-Wilson, "Leprosy in Ancient Mesopotamia," RA 60 (1966), 57 commenting on our passage where he translates the last line as "leper of Anu": "...true leprosy appears to have been taken as peculiarly the result of affliction from the moon-god, Sin. If a "leper of Anu" may thus have been a pellagrin, the purpose of the line will have been to make the proper distinction."

2. Jacobsen, *op. cit.*, 74-75.

hands." LKA 71 and 72: "The drinking bowl, in the opening of which is a *kakkusu* loaf is the skull of the opponent of Anshar, in as much as Bēl prevailed, bound Anu, dragged along his corpse, entrusted it to the Anunnaki (saying): 'Anu is in bonds with you!' As he flayed off his skin and clad his enemy Sipazianna (Orion) in it and put(?) Anu on top of the cut-off head.

The Nippur Compendium (see above) refers to the Locusts(?) of Gula and the Long River Ordeal as occurring at Nippur during this month. Unfortunately there are no other references or allusions to these rituals. The text also lists the *širu* observance of Ea or Ištar during this month. For *širu* as a month name and festival name in the third and second millennia, as well as the term's possible relevance to rituals involving the netherworld, see p. 253.

#### vii. *Tašritu*

The term *tašritum* is probably a derivative of Akkadian *šurrū*, "to begin" and might therefore mean "beginning" or "inauguration."<sup>1</sup> An Old Babylonian tablet lists harvesters for the *ūm tašritim* <sup>itibāra-zag-gar</sup> UD.10.KAM, "the *tašritu* day (on) the tenth day of the first month."<sup>2</sup> Since this phrase was placed at the beginning of the tablet, directly after the field name, it most likely conveyed special information regarding the assignment of the following harvesters. Thus, in this instance, *ūm tašritim* may have referred to the very first day of the harvesting of that particular field, which implied certain initial activities by the harvesters or a ritual performed at the field to ensure the harvest went well. A reference in which *tašritum* may refer to an inauguration ceremony is on an undated Old Babylonian tablet from Tell ed-Dēr, near Sippar, which lists ten ovens to be used *ana tašritim* at Dēr.<sup>3</sup> Another occurrence of this term is *tašrit ekalli* (AHw 1340), which may refer to an inauguration or dedication at (or of) the palace.

A contract from Emar which probably dates to the first half of the twelfth century B.C. (five hundred years after our suggested date for the establishment of the Standard Mesopotamian calendar) mentions the month *Tašritu*: *i-na* ITI.KĀM *ša ta-aš-ri-ti* (Emar VI/3 no. 28) "the month of the *Tašritu* (observance)." This Emar tablet was found along with a tablet dated to the reign of Meliṣiḫū (1188–1174 B.C.) which utilized the Standard Mesopotamian month <sup>itū</sup>kin, as well as with an undated tablet which records another Standard Mesopotamian month, <sup>itū</sup>gan-gan-ē. If this reference is to the proper name of the month, the format ITI.KĀM *ša* would be unique at Emar; all other Emar month constructions are simply: ITI MN. And if so, this Emar form *i-na*

1. See AHw 1285 sub *šurrū(m)* II and AHw 1340 sub *tašritu(m)* "Anfang, Einweihung."

2. Leemans, SLB II no. 94.

3. Edzard *Tell ed-Dēr* no. 198.

ITI.KĀM *ša Ta-aš-ri-ti* suggests that the Standard Mesopotamian month was originally *Ša Tašriti*, ultimately shortened to *Tašritu*. However, it is also possible that this reference is descriptive of the month ("the month of the *tašritum* ceremony") rather than referring to an actual month name.<sup>1</sup>

Cultic events during *Tašritu* were recorded in Assyrian Astrolabe B:<sup>2</sup>

The month *Tašritu*, the yoke-star of Enlil:

- (1) the emblems are purified,<sup>3</sup>
- (2) man and noble cleanse themselves;
- (3) the first-(fruits?) of the year are sanctified;
- (4) the Anunna-gods ... throughout the lands;
- (5) at the entrance to the *apsū* funerary offerings for Lugaldukuga, Enki, and Ninki, the ancestors of Enlil (are placed).

This passage (which we have divided into five parts) may reference, in chronological order, five separate cultic events associated with the seventh month:

- (1) The *akitu* festival at the beginning of the month: the purification of emblems may refer to the *akitu* celebration of the seventh month, when there was a grand procession of the god back into his city (see below). For the use of the emblems in the *akitu* festival at Ur note: <sup>d</sup>Nanna-še 2 šu-nir-an-na ša á-ki-ti á-gi6-sa9-a zi-ga èš-èš-lugal ša è-<sup>d</sup>Nanna-ka u4-6-kam (YBC 11751 [AS5 xii 6]).
- (2) The 7th day of the 7th month: this was a highly unfavorable day and, as another text notes, was a time when men cleansed themselves.<sup>4</sup>
- (3) A harvest celebration of first fruits around the middle of the month: such a festival is unattested elsewhere in cuneiform sources.

1. E. Gordon read a month reference in an Ugaritic list of offerings (Gordon *Ugaritic Textbook* no. 9 = Syria 10 [1929], pl. 67) as *yrh šrt* and suggested that this was not a native Ugaritic month, but rather a reference to the seventh month of the Standard Mesopotamian calendar: "In 9:11 *šrt* is the n[ame] of the 7th Babylonian month" (Gordon, *op. cit.*, 414). However, de Tarragon notes that the text should be read: *yrh šrt l b?* "le mois-où-on-offre-le-dixième-à-Baal" (J.-M. de Tarragon, *Le culte à Ugarit*, *Cahiers de la revue Biblique* 19 [1980], p. 23).

2. This portion of the bilingual Astrolabe B has been treated most recently by Tsukimoto, *Untersuchungen zur Totenpflege (kispum) im alten Mesopotamien*, AOAT Band 216 (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1985), 201ff. The Akkadian does not always agree with the Sumerian, and the Sumerian syntax is quite poor. Therefore, interpretation of sections of this text must be tentative. Our understanding of the significance of these lines differs from that of Tsukimoto, who bases his interpretation on the Akkadian text. Note also that the parallel Akkadian text from a commentary to the series *iqqur ipuṣ* (CT 41 39), edited by Tsukimoto, *op. cit.*, 202, agrees with the Akkadian of our passage.

3. Akkadian variant: "the dwellings (of the gods)" instead of "emblems."

4. See pp. 391-392.

es, but the Hebrews celebrated their fruit harvest festival in the middle of the seventh month.

- (4) A journey of the Anunna-gods: such an event is unattested elsewhere in cuneiform sources.
- (5) The festival of the Sacred Mound on the 27th of the month: this was an ancient festival at Nippur for the ancestors of Enlil at the *du<sub>6</sub>-kù*.

In Assyria special ablutions (*rimkāni*) during the month are recorded for the 1st of the month for Sin, the 2nd of the month for Šamaš, the 6th for Anu, and on an unknown day for Aššur. A kettledrum performance (*lilissātu*) before the gods occurred on the 3rd.<sup>1</sup>

Parpola suggests that an *akitu*-festival of Aššur in the seventh month, *Tašritu*, is mentioned in a Neo-Assyrian letter:<sup>2</sup>

Yesterday, on the 3rd, Aššur (and) Ninlil set out safely (and) entered (the *akitu*-temple) intact; all the gods who set out with Aššur took up their residences safely. The king, my lord, can be happy. ... Now, in the month *Tašritu*, they have filled neither the libation wine nor the vats in front of the god Aššur ...

If Parpola's observation is correct, then presumably these ablutions and kettledrum performances may have been part of the *akitu*-festival.

If the beginning of the Assyrian commentary LKA 73 refers to the month *Elūlu*, then the concluding portion must refer to the 6th through 9th of *Tašritu* (translation A. Livingstone, *Court Poetry* no. 40):

The [6]th day [.....] their rites are established; [.....] are placed [...].

The 7th day, the bath of [.....] is when he *opened* the great gods.

The 8th day, when the king wears the crown, is (when) he took [kingship] and sat on the royal throne.

On the 9th day, having cu[t off] his head and attained [his desire], he bat[hed] in water and donned the (royal) garb.

It is unclear whether the ritual described in this passage was part of the *akitu* festival or completely different ritual.

The beginning of the month was a period of intense cultic activity in Babylonia. The month's ritual activity parallels that of the *akitu* in *Nisannu* as noted in a letter to the Assyrian king:<sup>3</sup>

... [The king, my lo]rd, knows that the god Bēl is dressed (for the festival) [on the 3]rd of *Tašritu*; on the 6th day the gate (of the temple) is kept open,

1. BM 121206 vii (Van Driel *Aššur*, 90).

2. ABL 42 translation Parpola, AOAT 5/1, 267.

3. ABL 956, translation Parpola, AOAT 5/1, 143.

(and) the procession of Bēl sets out like in the month *Nisa[nnu]*. [The ceremonies] of the city of Der are conducted in the same way.

Regarding this Babylonian observance in *Tašritu* Parpola states:<sup>1</sup>

The *Tašritu* festival of Babylon referred to in the letter has remained very imperfectly known up to the present date. According to private communication by W.G. Lambert, there exists in the collections of the British Museum a large tablet doubtless forming part of the "Festkalender" of Babylon, which gives in several columns detailed instructions about the cultic ceremonies performed in Babylon both in *Tašritu* and the immediately preceding and following months. This tablet, which unfortunately remains unpublished, fixes the dressing ritual of Bēl, also mentioned in the present letter, on the 7th of *Tašritu* and the subsequent opening of the gate on the 8th. The text then goes on to state that a great meal was offered to Bēl following the opening of the gate, and a couple of lines later tells that sections from *Enūma Eliš* were recited to Bēl by a chanter (*nāru*) on the same day. The general outline of the ceremonies thus indeed resembled those of the New Year's festival of *Nisannu*; and as pointed out in Rev.6, even the procession of Bēl to the *akitu* house took place exactly on the same day (the 8th) as in *Nisannu*.

Thus there seems to have been an *akitu*-observance in the seventh month at Babylon, as well as at first-millennium B.C. Uruk.

The preserved ritual instructions for the *akitu*-festival of the seventh month at Uruk describe activity as occurring in the Rēš-temple of Anu and Antu (with the possible exception of a sacred marriage the first day in the Eanna(?)).<sup>2</sup>

The only mention of the *akitu*-house is two short notations, i.e., Anu's two chariots, accompanied by musicians, travel back and forth to the *akitu*-house the first seven days and on the seventh day there are "processions, barques and the *akitu*." The *Nisannu* ritual account of the *akitu*-festival describes the ceremonies at the *akitu*-house. But no similar instructions occur for this festival. Rather the intent of these documents is to instruct the High Priest on the conduct of that part of the festival which occurred in the Rēš-temple only. This is the reason that the ritual instructions for the first seven days are either lacking or greatly abbreviated.

The festival lasted eleven days. During the first seven days Anu resided in the *akitu*-house outside the city wall of Uruk. The two chariots of Anu apparently transported meals and other ritual necessities to the *akitu*-house during these seven days. The omission of any mention of Anu or of any other gods as going to the *akitu*-house with the chariots suggests that Anu remained at

1. AOAT 5/2, 186.

2. Marriage rites are performed in the Eḫilikuga, the bed chamber(?) of the Eḫiliana, the temple of Nanā. In the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian periods this temple of Nanā was part of the Eanna complex in Uruk. Falkenstein *Topographie* 41 raises the question as to whether it might have been moved to the new Rēš-temple during the Seleucid period. For a translation of these Uruk ritual texts, see the chapter "The *Akitu* Festival."

the *akītu*-house during this entire period, rather than returning at the end of each day. At the end of the 7th day the great *akītu*-procession occurred (referred to in the ritual text as "processions, barques and the *akītu*"), returning from the *akītu*-house to the Rēš-temple inside the walled city. This was the great moment of the festival, the recreation of Anu's mythical entry into Uruk and his assumption of suzerainty. From the 8th to the 11th days all activity occurred back at the Rēš-temple, which contained the sanctuary of Anu and Antu.

During the last four days of the festival, at the Rēš-temple, Anu performed all the functions expected of a ruler who has just entered his new domain. He met with his council of gods who would help him rule, determined the destiny of his subjects, and bestowed plenipotentiary power upon the king, his servant.

The Eanna at Uruk observed a special occasion also at the beginning of the month, although there is no indication whether it in any way was related to the *akītu* festival nearby at the Rēš-temple. Offering tables were set up and three silver censers were set out. Rams were sacrificed and the kettledrum was played.<sup>1</sup> The 19th seems also to have been a special day at the Eanna temple.

An Assyrian record of the distribution of wine for various occasions throughout the year notes that the 8th day of the month was the "day of the bringing of water."<sup>2</sup> The same observance may be referenced in a tablet from Sultantepe:<sup>3</sup> "in the month *Tašritu* I took the *šigūšu*-plant in my hand and I celebrated the feast of the 8th of *Tašritu* merrily."

The Nippur Compendium has two entries of which at least the first probably applies to the seventh month at first-millennium B.C. Nippur (translation George *Topographical Texts*, 155):

|  |                          |
|--|--------------------------|
| Chariot of Enlil   | For the rising of Samaš; |
| Foremost Weapon of Enlil (or,) Weapon of Ninurta and Enlil | Renewal;                 |

viii. *Arašsamna* / \**Markašan*

The reading of this month name is based upon a lexical text wherein the variant orthographies *a-ra-aš-sa-am-nu*, *a-ra-aš-sam-na*, and [*a-ra-aš-s*] *a-man* occur.<sup>4</sup> In the Judean calendar, however, a seemingly corrupted form *mrššun* was used. Standard explanations have assumed that the Judean month was a corrupted variant of the pristine Standard Babylonian month name, which meant "eighth month" (*arḫu* = "month," *samnu* = "eighth"). But this meaning is totally out of keeping with the other month names in the Standard Meso-

1. LKU 51 rev. 3-11.

2. KAV 79.

3. STT 44, translation Van Driel *Aššur*, 146-147.

4. Hb II 228, quoted CAD A/2 221.

potamian calendar, as well as with other Mesopotamian Semitic calendars, none of which are named for its numeric position. We have previously stated our hypothesis that the Standard Mesopotamian calendar was a deliberate attempt by the Old Babylonian ruler Samsuiluna to create a universally acceptable calendar by selecting months from other calendars. E. Gordon noted the similarity between the eighth month of the Old Persian calendar, *Markašan(aš)*, and the eighth month names *Marḫešwān* and *Arašsamnu* and brought this to the attention of R.T. Hallock, who in turn noted in his volume *Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, OIP 92 p. 74 n. 11: "It was put to me by Dr. Edmund Gordon that *Markašanaš* should derive (via OP) from the Semitic name of the eighth month: Akk. *Arašsamnu*, Aram. *Marḫešwān*. No doubt everyone concerned with the subject has considered this possibility and rejected it as implausible (since no other OP month name has a Semitic derivation). But the choice must be plainly stated: either we accept the derivation, or we face a staggering coincidence." This "staggering coincidence," as well as the fact that the naming of a month as "Eighth Month" in the Standard Mesopotamian calendar is unusual, does indeed indicate a relationship between the Old Persian and Standard Mesopotamian months. Noting that no other Old Persian months seem to have Semitic derivations, it is more likely that the Old Persian month name *Markašan(aš)* was the original month name and that the Standard Babylonian month name was borrowed from the Old Persian, a direction opposite to that which has been postulated. *Arašsamnu* would then be a false, popular or scholarly etymology of an Old Persian month name, whose true meaning was no longer known to the Babylonians. In fact, it is quite likely that the month was not originally (or perhaps ever) pronounced \**arašsamnu* by the Babylonians and Kassites but something closer to its original Old Persian pronunciation *Markašan(aš)*. (It should be remembered that the writing *arašsamnu* occurs only in one lexical context and nowhere else!) This would explain the Judean month name being so dissimilar to the lexical entry *arašsamnu*, yet so much closer in pronunciation to the Old Persian name.

There is a reference in the Assyrian Astrolabe B to an *akītu*-festival during the eighth month: "The month *Arašsamna*, the releasing of the plow, the hoe and plow hold a disputation in the field, the *akītu*-festival of the seeding (season) is celebrated, the month of Adad, the canal inspector of heaven and earth." The *akītu*-festival called *a-ki-tu ur* seems to have evolved from *á-ki-ti-šu-numun*, "the *akītu*-festival of (the month) of seeding."<sup>1</sup>

Astrolabe B also mentions the recitation of a dialogue between the hoe and the plow as part of the agricultural rites performed during the month, presumably the Sumerian disputation that fortunately has been preserved.

1. Sumerian *ur* in *á-ki-tu ur* (rendered into Akkadian as *a-ki-it e-re-ši*) is a variant for *uru<sub>4</sub> e-ri-šu*.

In this Sumerian disputation the hoe brags (lines 107-109): *u<sub>4</sub>-zag-mu iti-12-àm u<sub>4</sub>-gub-ba-zu iti-4-àm u<sub>4</sub>-záb-zu iti-8-àm* "My full term is 12 months. Your period of service is but 4 months. The time you're hidden away is 8 months." This line, which reflects actual agricultural practice, indicates that the plow was used in months 4, 5, 6 and 7. And in the eighth month the plow was hung from a beam and stored away until next year.<sup>1</sup> This is exactly the name of the eighth month at Nippur and in the Southern-Mesopotamian Sumerian calendar: *iti gi<sup>is</sup>-apin-dug-a*, "the month the seed-plow is let go" (*dug=pa<sup>taru</sup>*, "to release, to let go").

Since the *akitu*-festival involved a procession in which the deity returned back to his home city (after his temporary stay in the *akitu*-house), perhaps the Astrolabe reference to an *akitu* of the seeding season, might refer to the plow returning to its "home" (i.e., the shed, where it hung until next year).

In Assyria special ablutions (*rimkāni*) during the month are recorded for the 15th of the month for Sin, the 16th for Adad, and the 17th of the month for Šamaš.<sup>2</sup>

An Assyrian hemerology for the month *Arašsamna* cites various ceremonies and festivals for certain days of the month.<sup>3</sup> However, a hemerology for the intercalary month *Ulūlu* lists the same calendar of events.<sup>4</sup> Landsberger had suggested that these tablets from the series called *Inbu*, listed observances conducted each month.<sup>5</sup> However Van Driel suggests that this series may have combined various observances in different cities, creating a generalized schema for the month. If such is the case, notes Van Driel, "the *inbu*-series would lose much of its value for the reconstruction of the cultic calendar."

In Uruk there was a procession involving Mišarri from the Ehenunna temple to the temple of Adad on the 5th of the month.<sup>6</sup>

In the Palmyran calendar of the first century B.C. the eighth month was named for the brazier festival: *knun*, which was the name of the seventh month at Old Babylonian Ešnunna, Tell Rimah, and Chagar Bazar. The Brazier Festival was celebrated during the ninth month at first millennium B.C. Uruk and at second millennium B.C. Nuzi.<sup>7</sup> It is uncertain whether the nam-

1. Note Civil, "The Song of the Plowing Ox," *Studies Sjöberg*, 89 124-125: "Once you have taken down your sacred plow, which was hanging from a beam (*gi<sup>is</sup>-dal-a lá-a-ba*), your master carpenter must tighten (its) bonds."

2. BM 121206 vii (Van Driel *Aššur*, 90).

3. 4R pl. 33\*.

4. 4R pl. 32-33.

5. LSS 6 1/2, 128-129.

6. K. 3753 ii (Weidner *Gestirn-Darstellungen* pl. 11; McEwan, *Priest and Temple*, 174ff.) and RAcc., 93.

7. K. 3753 ii (Weidner *Gestirn-Darstellungen* pl. 11; McEwan, *Priest and Temple*, 174ff.) may refer to the festival activities for the month *Arašsamna* (the month name is partially destroyed) at Uruk. However, the text is too broken to understand the events originally listed. Line ii 7 may refer to the lighting of the brazier; as noted this was the month of the Brazier Festival in Uruk (see pp. 392-394).

ing of the eighth month *knun* is a late development in certain areas (Judea maintained *Marḥešwan*) or indicates that certain areas of the Near East had called the eighth month *kinūnu* at a much earlier period.

#### ix. *Kissilimu*

The reading of the month as *Kissilimu* is based upon the lexical entry *Ki-si-li-mu* and the personal name *Ki-is-si-li-mi-tum*.<sup>1</sup> The lexical lists include the variant *Ki-is-li-mu*. The earliest occurrence of this month name, aside from personal names, is from an alphabetic-script tablet from Hana, possibly dating to the last centuries of the second millennium B.C.: *yrh kslm* (Syria [1980], 352 no. Hani 78/14).

Throughout Mesopotamia during this month there was the running of footraces. According to an Assyrian ritual these races reenacted Ninurta's conquest of the *anzū*-bird (lines 57-64):<sup>2</sup>

(The origin) of the race which in *Kissilimu* is held before Bēl around each of the cult centers is:

When Aššur sent for Ninurta on account of his conquest of *anzū*, ... [...] said to Aššur, "The *anzū* is vanquished!" Aššur [said] to [(the god) ...] "Go and inform all the gods!" and he did inform them. And they [...]. The entire tale, which has been memorized by the singers, [...] (including) the violence committed against him and their (attempt) to overthrow him, the gods, his fathers ...

The dog which runs about the Esabad is a messenger. Gula has sent it on account of him. The sandal which they bring to the temple of the Lady-of-Babylon is (his) symbol. He sends it to her.

Another version of this explanation is preserved in a parallel text which adds Ninurta's triumphs over the *asakku*-demon and Kingu (Tī'amat's spouse):<sup>3</sup>

[The race which in *Kissilimu* is held before Bēl] and around each of the cult centers [...]

[When Aššur sent for Ninurta on account of his conquest] of *anzū*, Kingu and the *asakku*-demon [...] said before Aššur, "Anzū, Kingu and the *asakku*-demon [are vanquished!]" Aššur replies to [...] "Go and inform [all the gods]" [...]

Jacobsen suggests that the footrace represents Ninurta's chasing the *anzū* or the *asakku*-demon:<sup>4</sup> "Ninurta is the god of the thunderstorms of spring, and the relief from his temple at Calah actually shows him chasing—in a footrace high up in the air—Anzu or the Asakku, the hailstorm, throwing his

1. BE 15 188 v 34, quoted CAD K 429 sub \**kissilimū*.

2. KAR 143 and KAR 219; for previous editions and interpretations of this text, see Livingstone, *Cult Poetry* no. 34.

3. S.782, K.6359, K.6330+9338.

4. Jacobsen, *Unity and Diversity*, 75.

lightening bolts as he is chasing away winter to issue in spring." Jacobsen, continuing his theme of Ninurta's chasing of the enemy as the basis of the festival, states: "As the footrace rite represents and recreates that chase for the new year, so does the other dramatic presentation: The return of the king, representing Ninurta, in his chariot after his victory."<sup>1</sup>

A passage in the Nippur Compendium may refer to rituals observed sometime during the eighth to tenth month at first-millennium B.C. Nippur (translation George *Topographical Texts*, 155):

|                                |                                |          |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------|
| Foremost Weapon of Enlil (or.) | Weapon of Ninurta and Enlil    | Renewal; |
| Urunakku                       | Reed Hut;                      |          |
| This day Enlil, the herald     | Month of the feast of Nissaba; |          |
| Shepherd's sacrifice           | Month of the feast of Nissaba; |          |

According to Assyrian Astrolabe B the month of *Kissilimu* was known as the month of Nergal: "The month *Kissilimu*, an abundant yield will be heaped up, the mighty hero, Nergal who has arisen from the netherworld, the overwhelming weapon of the two gods, the month of the hero, the noble Nergal." The Nimrud incantation reiterates this as being the month of Nergal: "May the month *Kissilimu*, of the great warrior Nergal, absolve!" The ninth month, *Lilātu*, at Old Babylonian Mari involved a festival for the chariot of Nergal.<sup>2</sup>

In Assyria special ablutions (*rimkāni*) during the month are recorded for the 4th of the month for Aššur and the 20th and KAV 79 indicates that the 20th of the month was a special occasion.<sup>3</sup>

In late first millennium B.C. Uruk the Brazier Festival was observed throughout the temples of the gods. The instructions for the ninth month for the staff of the Eanna complex have been preserved:<sup>4</sup>

In the ninth month on the 1st, 2nd, 6th, 7th, 14th and 15th days the [...] are on duty.<sup>5</sup> He [...] the brazier of The-Lady-of-Uruk, Nanna-amassu, and Aškajaitu. [...] gives drink [...], sits at the side of The-Lady-of-Uruk, and serves the meal. [...] Fire is thrown into the brazier. Nanna-amassu and Aškajaitu [...] the censer ... the brazier of Nanna-amassu and Aškajaitum [...] for The-Lady-of-Uruk along with the braziers of all the other gods [...]

The reference to the braziers of the other gods in the closing line indicates that this was probably the Brazier Festival, and not merely a special ritual in the Eanna.<sup>6</sup> The celebration of the *kinūnu* festival at Babylon in the

1. Jacobsen, *Unity and Diversity*, 75. For the 'day of running/races' cf. MSL 5 24 2 216: u<sub>4</sub>-kas<sub>4</sub>-a = u<sub>4</sub>-mu li-is-mu, which Landsberger correctly identified as referring to the announcement of the new moon since the entry occurs between egir-iū-šè, "month's end," and u<sub>4</sub>-sakar<sub>x</sub>, "new moon."

2. ARMT 7 198ff.

3. Van Driel *Aššur*, 147.

4. LKU 51 rev. 13-18.

5. Probably to be restored as *kašā*-priests, diviners, and musicians.

6. For further discussion on the *kinūnu*-festival see pp. 392-394.

ninth month is probably noted in a ritual text which mentions decorations for the brazier of Lugalasal in Babylon: "on the 8th of *Kissilimu* the brazier of the god Lugalasal will be clad in *nibiḫu*-garments."<sup>1</sup>

For the possibility of the *kinūnu* festival being celebrated in the tenth month in Assyria, see our discussion below of the month *Tebētu*.

#### x. *Tebētu*

There is a possibility that in Assyria, during some periods, the *kinūnu* festival was observed in the tenth month and that the name of the tenth month in Assyria was, in fact, *Kanūnu*.<sup>2</sup> (At Uruk and Babylon the *kinūnu* was observed in the ninth month.) This observation is based upon the Neo-Assyrian eponym lists in which the eponym for the year 671 B.C. (and probably to be restored for 666 B.C.) is written i<sup>u</sup>AB-a-a in some texts, but written *Ka-nun-a-a* in others. It has been suggested that this indicates that the Assyrian name for the tenth month, written i<sup>u</sup>AB, was *Kanūnu*—named for the Brazier Festival—rather than *Tebētu* as in Babylon. A month *Kinūnu* was widely attested in the Old Babylonian period and later at Nuzi. And this tradition was clearly continued at some sites down through the end of the first millennium B.C., as noted at Palmyra, where the eighth month was named *knun*.

Although no text names the month of the Brazier Festival in Assyria, the days of that month are specified:<sup>3</sup> "The days of the brazier (festival) should not be left on the loose! The brazier is on the evening of the 10th. Huge sacrifices will be (performed) on the 11th (and) the 12th day."

The Assyrian Astrolabe B indicates that in this month a major festival for the sky-god Anu was observed: "The month *Tebētu*, the high festival of Anu, the month of the splendor of Ištar, the city elders hold assembly, Išum ... their gates, Šamaš ... throughout the land, this month is affected (?) up to its end."

Unfortunately, there are no other attestations of the high festival of Anu, presumably held in Uruk.<sup>4</sup>

The reference to the "splendor of Ištar" may refer to an astronomical observation of Venus or, perhaps, to Ištar's main role in an *akītu*-festival. There was an *akītu*-festival for Ištar on the 16th of the month in which the king participated:<sup>5</sup> "On the 16th of Tebet is her awakening (?) [*e-ra-šá*], she brightens Emašmaš." "The king is clothed in clean garments." "[To go] to her *Akitu*

1. SBH p. 144:12.

2. CAD K 395 sub *kinūnu*. AHW 482 sub *kinūnu(m)*; the reading *Kanūnaja* instead of *Tebētaja* was noted by Ungnad, RIA 2, 456.

3. ABL 49, translation Parpola AOAT 5/1, 267.

4. See pp. 215ff. for the festival of the Boat of An at Ur III Uruk in the tenth month.

5. Livingstone, *Court Poetry*, 18-19 (ABRT 1 7ff.).



House, she has harnessed [her chariot], too awesome for kings." Perhaps this is the same celebration mentioned in an inscription of Aššurbanipal's recording a festival of the divine queen during this month:<sup>1</sup> "In *Ṭebētu*, the month of the appearance of the Bow Star, of the feast of the revered Queen (*i-sin-ni šar-ra-ti ka-bit-ti*), the daughter of Enlil."

There is a reference to the goddess Ninlil staying in the *akitu*-house on the 21st of the tenth month, *Ṭebetu*.<sup>2</sup>

The 3rd of *Ṭebētu* in Babylon marked a ritual involving the exchange of goddesses in the Ezida and the Esagil to correct the imbalance between day-time and night caused by the solstices (see our discussion of the month *Tammuzu* above for further discussion). This same ritual is mentioned in the same Babylonian cultic calendar text that mentions the weeping for Enmešarra in *Ṭebētu*.<sup>3</sup>

An Assyrian record of the distribution of wine for various occasions throughout the year notes the 6th of *Ṭebetu* as a special day.<sup>4</sup>

The 10th of the month involved special observances at the Eanna temple in Uruk. Aškajaitu left her chapel, the Eḫilšu, was served her midday meal, returned to her chapel, was apparently joined by other goddesses, after which oxen and rams were offered in their presence. Activities then moved to the temple of Nergal (<sup>DU</sup>+GUR).<sup>5</sup>

A Babylonian cultic calendar, describing cultic activities for the tenth month, refers to a ritual weeping for the captured Enmešarra.<sup>6</sup> Jacobsen notes: "So far very unclear are lamentation rites for Enmesharra in Tebet (Feb.). Except for the fact that he is an underworld deity and a remote ancestor of Enlil, little is known about him that could throw light on the rite. Often indeed, he seems to have been considered an enemy power."<sup>7</sup>

The *nabrû*-festival was celebrated throughout much of Mesopotamia in the second millennium B.C., but there are only a few references from the entire first millennium B.C. The *nabrû* may have been a ritual in which omens were examined to determine the fortunes of the coming year.<sup>8</sup> One of the references states that the *nabrû*-festival occurred in the tenth month, *Ṭebētu*

1. AS 5, 64 15-16.

2. Van Driel *Aššur*, 149.

3. SBH no. viii col. iv 44-47.

4. KAV 79.

5. LKU 51 rev. 19-23.

6. SBH no. viii col. iv 35-47 and cf. Unger *Babylon*, 270.

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## xi. *Šabāṭu*

The months *Šabāṭu* and *Addaru* are attested in the Elamite calendar from the Old Babylonian period as the twelfth and first months respectively.

During this month there may have been a double marriage between Bēl and Bēltiya and between Nabû and Tašmētum:<sup>1</sup>

*Nergal-šarrani to Esarhaddon:*

Let Bēl and Nabû, who will take part in the ritual of the sacred marriage in the month *Šabāṭu*, protect the life of my lord the crown prince; may they extend your rule forever.

The explanation of the correspondence between the Elamite month *Sililitu* and the Standard Mesopotamian month *Šabāṭu* refers to a divine marriage in this month (Rm.2, 127 rev. [AFO 24 (1973), 102]): "the (Elamite) month *Sililitu* (corresponds to the Babylonian) month *Šabāṭu*, because in *Šabāṭu* is the marriage of the gods." (A marriage between Nabû and Tašmētum in Calah was celebrated in *Ajaru*, for which see our discussion of *Ajaru* above.)

The Assyrian monarch Aššurnasirpal II (883-859 B.C.) refers to festivals for Ninurta in the months *Šabāṭu* and *Ulûlu*:<sup>2</sup>

I inlaid the shrine of Ninurta my lord with gold and lapis-lazuli; tablets I set up on its right and left, raging serpents made of gold I fixed on its (the shrine's) base. I set his festivals in the months *Šabāṭu* and *Ulûlu*. For his festival in the month *Šabāṭu* I appointed brilliant display, heaping up (of offerings), libation and incense.

The three month period of *Šabāṭu*, *Addaru* and *Nisannu* was a period of intense religious observance.<sup>3</sup> In Assyria special ablutions (*rimkāni*) for Adad and Anu during the month are recorded for the 18th of the month. Kettle-drum performances (*lilissātu*) before the gods occurred on the 16th, 17th, 20th, 22nd, 23rd and 24th of the month.<sup>4</sup> The special nature of *Šabāṭu* is not-

1. ABL 65, translated by Oppenheim *Letters*, 168.

2. Wiseman, "A New Stela of Aššurnasir-pal II," *Iraq* 14 (1952), 34; RIM 2 Aššurnasirpal II no. 1 (p. 212 134) and no. 31 (p. 295 15).

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3. First noted by E. Weidner, "Der Tag des Stadtgottes," AFO 14 (1941/44), 340ff., reiterated by Van Driel *Aššur*, 140ff.

4. BM 121206 vii (Van Driel *Aššur*, 90).

ed by these six kettledrum performances. The only other month with more than one performance was the following month, *Addaru*, which had four such performances. This same ritual text records special sacrifices for the months *Šabāṭu* and *Addaru*.<sup>1</sup> This text also mentions a special rite on the 12th of the month: "On the 12th of *Šabāṭu* before the throne of Šamaš all the Igigi got up, in their own temples they sat down."<sup>2</sup> An Assyrian record of the distribution of wine for various occasions throughout the year notes the 20th of the month as "when the god (Aššur) marched around the living quarters (*ina ganīni ilabbūni*)."<sup>3</sup> According to a Neo-Assyrian ritual tablet: "On the 22nd of *Šabāṭu* Aššur goes to the chapel of Dagan; on the 23rd his *pašru* is bound on two chariots of Aššur."<sup>4</sup>

A passage in the Nippur Compendium mentions a feast of Enlil in the eleventh month at first-millennium B.C. Nippur (translation George *Topographical Texts*, 155):

Šabāṭu                      Month of the feast of Enlil

A ritual text from the reign of Aššurbanipal details the cultic observances from the 16th of *Šabāṭu* to the 10th of *Addaru*.<sup>5</sup> Van Driel notes: "As we must interpret the text as a report there is no certainty as to whether the events described took place every year or whether we have here the record of an unique occurrence. Royal participation in ceremonies covering such a long period can hardly have been possible every year."<sup>6</sup> As Van Driel observes, the fact that this ritual tablet begins on the 16th and that the aforementioned ritual text lists six kettledrum performances, again beginning on the 16th of *Šabāṭu*, would seem to indicate that the 16th marked the onset of the observance period. The following calendar of events has been reconstructed by Van Driel from the ritual tablets for this period of observance:<sup>7</sup>

16th - Šerua, Kippat-māti and Tašmētum entered the chapel of Dagan in the temple of Aššur; salt (and water(?)) was strewn by the king; the *sangū*-priests entered at the front of the main temple. A kettledrum performance occurred at some point during the day.

17th - the king entered the temple and kissed the ground before Aššur and provided a meal for Aššur over which salt and water were strewn. A kettle-

1. BM 121206 vii 44'-46'.

2. BM 121206 ix 50'-51'.

3. KAV 79.

4. BM 121206 x 40'-41'.

5. A 125 (Van Driel *Aššur*, 124ff.).

6. Van Driel *Aššur*, 140.

7. All or part of the ritual observances for many of the days is not preserved in the texts. Thus the following outline of ritual activities is partial for most days.

drum performance occurred at some point during the day.

18th - ablutions for Adad and Anu were performed;

19th - the king and goddesses went to the temple of Anu; sheep were slaughtered, torches lit. Holding a torch the *sangū*-priest, leading the king back to the palace, uttered: "May the town shine and(?) the two walls."

20th - during the day the god Aššur marched around the "living quarters" (*ina ganīni ilabbūni*). The king slaughtered sheep before Aššur and Ninlil who were then seated on the Throne-of-Destiny. Whether this occurred before or after Aššur's circumambulating the "living quarters" cannot be determined. A kettledrum performance occurred at some point during the day.

21st - (no information available)

22nd - the lamentation UMUN ŠERMAL ANKIA and the *eršemma* DILMUN NIGINA were recited before Aššur in the Ešarra cella of his temple. The lamentation UTUGIN ETA and the *eršemma* ULILI ENZU SAMARMAR were recited when Aššur went to the chapel of Dagan. The "arousing of the temple" then followed. Van Driel suggests that based upon the order of events on the 23rd, Aššur remained in the chapel of Dagan the remainder of the day. There was a procession of gods to the chapel of Dagan followed by offerings. Two chariots were involved in ritual ceremonies during the day. The king brought offerings for the dead. A kettledrum performance occurred at some point during the day.

23rd - the lamentation URSAG MENI ŠERMALA ILA and the *eršemma* ANA ZAE MAHMEN were recited before Aššur in the chapel of Dagan, followed by offerings. Then the lamentation UDAM KI AMUS and the *eršemma* UMUN BARAKUGA were recited before Aššur, followed by the "arousing of the temple." Presumably at some later time during the day a censer and torch were placed before Aššur and Ninlil, followed by offerings. A kettledrum performance occurred at some point during the day.

24th - the lamentation ELUM BARA MEA and the *eršemma* NAMUNŠUBEN were recited before Aššur in the chapel of Dagan, followed by offerings. Then the lamentation AME AMAŠ ANA and the *eršemma* URSAG ABZUTA were recited before Aššur, followed by the "arousing of the temple." Aššur probably remained in the chapel of Dagan the rest of day. A kettledrum performance occurred at some point during the day.

25th - the lamentation ... NITENA ... and the *eršemma* UMA UMUN GIRRA were recited before Aššur in the chapel of Dagan, followed by offerings. Then the lamentation AABBA HULUHA of Marduk and the *eršemma* ŠABANI GANHUN were recited before Aššur, followed by the "arousing of the temple." Aššur probably remained in the chapel of Dagan the rest of the day.

26th - the lamentation NIRGAL LU EDE and the *eršemma* URSAG UTAULU were recited before Aššur in the chapel of Dagan. Thereafter Aššur left the chapel of Dagan, returning to the Ešarra chapel. Then the *šulla*

prayer A KURRU and the hymn E ŠAB HUNETA were recited. The *šulla* prayers UMUN ANKIA to Aššur and GAŠAN KURKURA to Ninlil were later recited.

These observances in Assyria then continued through *Addaru* and *Nisannu*.

## xii. *Addaru*

The first month of the Elamite calendar at Susa was named *Addaru*. This month name was appropriated directly from the Susa calendar. Thus, it is unclear whether the name *Addaru* is of Semitic origin, presumably a cognate of the Akkadian verbs *adāru* A ("to be worried," "to become obscured (said of heavenly bodies)") or *adāru* B ("to be afraid")<sup>1</sup> or whether the month name is an Elamite or foreign word. The reading *Addaru* is based upon the orthography *ad-da-ru*.<sup>2</sup>

According to Assyrian Astrolabe B this was the month of Ea and of Enki's(?) 'happiness': "The month *Addaru*, in the vast fields of Ningirsu the sickle is not left behind, the month of Enki's(?) happiness, the month of Ea." The significance of "Enki's happiness" is unclear.<sup>3</sup>

The following passage for the month *Šabātu* in the Nippur Compendium presumably applies to rituals observed either during *Šabātu* or *Addaru* at first-millennium B.C. Nippur (translation George *Topographical Texts*, 155):

Table-spread, games      Goddesses of war.

The special festivities in Assyria for Aššur begun on the 16th of *Šabātu* continued into *Addaru*. In Assyria kettledrum performances (*lilissāti*) before the gods occurred on the 2nd, 7th, 8th and 9th of the month.<sup>4</sup> In the Neo-Assyrian period there is mention of the *qarrātu* festival on the 17th and 18th days of the twelfth month:<sup>5</sup> "one seah (of wine) on the 17th, one seah on the 18th of the month of *Addaru* at the *qarrātu* festival" (UD.18.KAM šá iūšE ina *qarrat*).<sup>6</sup> According to Van Driel's reconstruction of events, the following schedule of activities can be discerned for the month *Addaru* in Assyria for the cult of Aššur:<sup>7</sup>

1. CAD A/1 103-109.

2. See CAD A/1 110 sub *addaru*. Note the female name iūšE.KIN.KU<sub>5</sub>-a-a (= ? *Addaraja* or *Qarrātaja*) in Assyria (APN 12).

3. Note an Ur III reference to a festival of Enki in the twelfth month. The text (PDT 1 270), dated to the 10th day of the twelfth month (iūšEzem-<sup>d</sup>Mc-ki-gál) of ŠS9, records "1 grain-fed ox for Balala, the singer, for the day the festival of Enki is observed" (u<sub>4</sub> ezem-<sup>d</sup>En-ki-ka in-na-ak).

4. BM 121206 vii (Van Driel *Aššur*, 90).

5. KAV 79 r. 9, quoted CAD Q 145 sub *qarrātu*.

6. For the *qarrātu* festival providing the name of an Assyrian month in the second millennium B.C. see pp. 241, 247.

7. Van Driel *Aššur*, 144-145.

- 1st - the lamentation ABZU PELAM and the *eršemma* DILMUN NIGINA were recited before Aššur, followed by offerings.
- 2nd - the lamentation URUḪULAKE of Istar and the *eršemma* AN SUDAG IZIGIN were recited to Ninlil, followed by offerings. A kettledrum performance occurred at some point during the day.
- 3rd - the lamentation UMUN ŠERMAL ANKIA and the *eršemma* DILMUN NIGINA were recited before Aššur in the chapel of Dagan (the *bil ḫurše*). The king entered before the statues of Aššur and Ninlil; a censer and torches were set before Aššur and Ninlil; the singers recited hymns; a meal including goat meat was offered to Aššur (and? Ninlil); the goddess Šarrat-nipḫa was present.
- 4th - (no information available)
- 5th - the lamentation UTUGIN ETA and the *eršemma* ŠABANI GANḪUN were recited before Aššur, followed by offerings. The lamentation EREZU IBIZI BAR MUNSIB and another, not preserved composition were recited before the king to the accompaniment of the kettledrum. The king escorted Bēl-agē to the temple of Anu; the other gods followed; a censer and torches were placed before Aššur; sheep were sacrificed, beer and food offered; the king returned to the palace; salt was strewn over mutton.
- 6th - the lamentation GUDNIM EKURA and the *eršemma* UMA GULE were recited before Aššur. The king goes out to the palace courtyard, where he is greeted and presented with wine and salt to be used for offerings. The statement "Šerua has started out" is uttered three times by the queen(?). The king(?) enters the temple of Adad, burns incense, lights a torch, and makes an offering involving the strewing of salt.
- 7th - a kettledrum performance occurred at some point during the day. An ablution for Aššur was performed.
- 8th - a kettledrum performance occurred at some point during the day.
- 9th - a kettledrum performance occurred at some point during the day.
- 10th - the king provided gifts.
- 11th to 16th - (passages too fragmentary)
- 17th - *qarrātu* festival or ceremony was observed. The *šulla* A KURA was recited, followed by the lamentation ABZU PELAM and the *eršemma* DILMUN NIGINA, which were recited before Aššur. Then the lamentation UŠUMGIN NISIA and an *eršemma* were recited.
- 18th - *qarrātu* festival or ceremony was observed. A lamentation and the *eršemma* E ŠAB HUNETA were recited, followed by the *šulla* EGIMAH GAŠAN ANKIA.

Van Driel notes another *akitu*-festival, perhaps in Nineveh, during the month *Addaru*: "... *Addaru* the month of the feast of the *akitu*-house of the queen of the goddesses, which the gods [my?] fathers(?) ..."¹

In Babylonia a processional journey of the gods on the 6th of the month is mentioned in a Neo-Babylonian letter:²

*Nabû-ahhê-šullim to Ibni-Ištar:*

On the 22nd of the month *Šabātu* I was released from duty and given orders to travel. Now, on the 6th of the month *Addaru* the images of the gods will leave on their processional journey, and I will leave, to travel with the gods, on the 5th of *Addaru*.

During the first five days of the month at the Eanna temple in Uruk special observances were conducted.³ The activities on the 1st are not preserved. On the 2nd day sheep were offered, the kettledrum was played, and the temple or a ritual object was exorcised. On the 3rd day the statue of The-Lady-of-Uruk was placed behind a curtain, was paraded around three times with her attendants, a hand-washing(?) ritual was held, the kettledrum was played, the meal was served, animals were sacrificed, the kettledrum was played again, censers were set out, and the musicians took their seats. On the 5th day the ceremonial meal was served to the accompaniment of kettledrums.

A special ceremony for Antu is referenced in the sale of a prebend dated to the 8th of the month (translation McEwan):⁴

(His portion) in the mutton ... which comes up to the table of Ištar monthly, his share of the ... meat and fowl which come up to the table of Antu on the 8th of Adar.

1. Van Driel *Aššur*, 149.

2. Oppenheim *Letters*, 183.

3. LKU 51 rev. 26-38.

4. McEwan, *Priest and Temple*, 171 (Ash. 1930.568). K. 3753 ii (Weidner *Gestirn-Darstellungen* pl. 11; McEwan, *Priest and Temple*, 174ff.) originally detailed festival activities for this month at Uruk. However, the text is too broken to understand the events originally listed.

## Emar

Eleven distinct month names are attested in economic or ritual tablets from Emar, a town located along the Euphrates in western Mesopotamia. The month SAG.MU ("Beginning of the Year") was the first month of the calendar. A ritual tablet from Emar (no. 373)¹ detailing the observance of the *zukur*-festival, which spanned three months and had a 7-year cycle, indicates that the month *Zaratu* preceded SAG.MU, and that *Niqalu* followed it, thus establishing the names of months 1, 2, and 12. A ritual calendar (Emar no. 446) records ceremonies for five sequential months: <sup>d</sup>Nin-kur-ra, <sup>d</sup>An-na, <sup>d</sup>A-dam, *Mar-za-ḥa-ni*, and <sup>d</sup>Hal-ma. Three other months are attested without any indication of their relationship to the other months: *Aba'u*, <sup>d</sup>En, <sup>d</sup>Ninurta.

### i. SAG.MU

The month appropriately means "Beginning of the Year" (nos. 364, 454, and 455). A variant <sup>id</sup>ZAG.MU (no. 373:175'), which was the Mesopotamian term for the New Year (meaning "Border of the Year") is also attested. It is unclear whether the month was actually pronounced *S/Zagmu*, *Zagmukku*, or whether this was a logogram for a Semitic month name (\**Rēš šatti*, etc.).

### ii. *Niqalu*

Emar nos. 144, 364, 512, and 524; the month *nql* is attested at Ugarit. Both CAD N/2 214 and AHw 792b relate the Alalakh month *NI-qa-LIM* to *niggallum* "sickle," a month in the Amorite calendars. However, the occurrence of the orthography *li-ig-qa-še* at Alalakh raises the possibility that *NI-qa-LIM* at Alalakh is to be read *li-qa-ši* (perhaps related to *lqš*, "late planting," as in the so-called Gezer calendar).

### iv/v? *Aba'u*

This month is written as *warah A-ba-i* (no. 15) and *warah a-bi-ḥé/KÁM* (no. 452). A ritual text for this month (no. 452) records offerings for the *ab/pum*

1. The tablet numbers refer to the numbered transliterations (and in some instances composites) which appear in Arnaud, *Emar VI/3* and *Emar VI/4*.

at many of the temples, which suggests an affinity of this month name with the similar-sounding month *Abu*, the fourth or fifth month throughout much of the Near East.

[ ]+1. <sup>d</sup>Nin-kur-ra *ša kussī*

The full name of the month was "the month of Ninkur-of-the-Throne" (*warah* <sup>d</sup>Nin-kur *ša* GU.ZA [no. 13]; *warah* <sup>d</sup>Nin-kur *ša ku-us-sī* [no. 150]; an abbreviated form *warah* <sup>d</sup>Nin-kur-ra, "the month of Ninkur," is attested [no. 148]). According to the ritual for the *kizzu*-festival of Dagan, a sacred marriage occurred between Ninkur and Dagan (nos. 385 and 388) and this relationship may be seen in the orthography <sup>d</sup>Kur for the god Dagan (thus <sup>d</sup>Kur and <sup>d</sup>Nin-kur).

[ ]+2. <sup>d</sup>An-na

"The month of (the god) An(na)" (no. 446). Among the deities listed in the Emar offerings lists is An-na *kib-ri* "Anna-of-the-River-bank" (nos. 381 and 382), written with the theophoric determinative. According to Durand <sup>d</sup>An-na may possibly be a mother-goddess.<sup>1</sup>

[ ]+3. <sup>d</sup>A-dam

"The month of (the god) Adam" (no. 446). The Eblaite calendar, a thousand years earlier, contained a month for the god Adamma.

[ ]+4. *Marzahani*

No. 446; at Ugarit there was an association of individuals called LÚ.MEŠ *marzi*ʾi, LÚ.MEŠ *marza*ʾi, or LÚ.MEŠ *marzihi* (CAD M/1 321). According to P.D. Miller<sup>2</sup>: "The *marzihi* was a social and religious institution, a cultic association of persons who engaged in apparently regular festive celebration and banqueting. At least in part the association appears to have engaged in mourning rites and memorials for the dead through their eating and drinking activities." However, whether the Emar month name is a plural form related to this Ugaritic term is unclear. The earliest reference to this observance may be from the middle of the third millennium at Ebla, where a tablet refers to an observance called: *mar-za-ug*.<sup>3</sup> There is a reference to *mrzh* (Cooke NSI no.

1. MARI 4 (1985), 408ff.

2. P.D. Miller, Jr., "The MRZH Text," *The Claremont and Ras Shamra Tablets*, AnOr 48 (1971), 38. See also P.J. King, "The *marzēah*: Textual and Archaeological Evidence," *Eretz Israel* 20 (1989), 98\*ff.; R.D. Barnett, "Assurbanipal's Feast," *Eretz Israel* 18 (1985), 2\*-3\*; J.C. Greenfield, "The *Marzēah* as a Social Institution," *Acta Antiqua Acad. Sc. Hungaricae* 22 (1974), 452-455.

3. See p. 34.

33 found at Piraeus, dated to 96 B.C., but concerns individuals from Sidon), which might be a month name, but omits the term *yrh* ("month") expected before month names.

[ ]+5. <sup>d</sup>Hal-ma

"The month of (the god) Halma" (no. 446).

xii. *Zaratu*

The month is written *Za-ra-ti* in no. 375 and *Ze-ra-ti* in no. 447 and *Acta Sum* 13 (1991) no. 33, where Tsukimoto suggests a possible relationship of this month name with *zēru*, "seed," or *zarû*, "winnow." The term *zaratu* can mean "tent" or "canopy."

[ ]. <sup>d</sup>En

Nos. 162 and 171; there are several deities at Emar with names in which <sup>d</sup>En is a component: Nergal (<sup>d</sup>En-ki-lam, <sup>d</sup>En-si [no. 381 *et passim*]); Dagan (<sup>d</sup>En-sig<sub>4</sub> [no. 381]); and <sup>d</sup>En of various cities (see no. 373 116'-123' and for Ra-ab-ba see nos. 373 and 378).

[ ]. <sup>d</sup>Nin-urta

No. 446; one Emar text (no. 775) is dated to the month <sup>d</sup>Ur-da. The absence of a god <sup>d</sup>Ur-da elsewhere in the Emar texts, suggests that this orthography may be a variant for the month of Ninurta.

An Emar contract is dated to the month *Li-li-ia-ti* (no. 125). This is the ninth month at Mari, which, coupled with this being the sole attestation of this month name at Emar, increases the likelihood that this was not a native Emar month.

A contract from Emar which probably dates to the first half of the twelfth century B.C. references *Tašritu: i-na* ITL.KĀM *ša Ta-aš-ri-ti* (Emar VI/3 no. 28) "the month of the *Tašritu*-(observance)." This Emar tablet was found along with a tablet dated to the reign of Meliṣiḥu (1188-1174 B.C.) which utilizes the Standard Mesopotamian month <sup>iti</sup>KIN-2 (no. 26), as well as with an undated tablet which mentions another Standard Mesopotamian month <sup>iti</sup>gan-gan-ē (no. 24). The format ITL.KĀM *ša* is unique at Emar; all other Emar month constructions are simply: ITI MN. However, since the Standard Mesopotamian calendar was apparently in use at Emar in this time, this reference most probably refers to the month named *Tašritu*, rather than to a month with a different name, but which contained the *Tašritu* observance. The

Emar form *i-na* ITI.KĀM *ša Ta-aš-ri-ti* may indicate that the Standard Mesopotamian month was originally *ša Tašriti*, later being shortened to just *Tašritu*.<sup>1</sup>

A text (Tsukimoto, *Acta Sum* 13 [1991], 299) which references “the weight-stone of Emar” (NA<sub>4</sub> <sup>uru</sup>E-mar<sup>ki</sup>)—presumably from Emar or its environs—and dated to the year: MU *ip-ḥu-rù* (cf. MU *ip-ḥur-d**Da-gan*, Tsukimoto, *Acta Sum* 13 no. 33) is dated to an otherwise unattested month name: ITI <sup>d</sup>*Ma-lik-ki-nu*.

### The Festivals

Ritual tablets from Emar provide an unusual degree of detail concerning the offerings and ceremonies associated with Emar’s ritual calendar. These texts describe the *zukru*-festival, which spanned the twelfth through second months of the year and had a 7-year cycle of activities; the *kizzu*-festivals for various deities (nature unclear); and a monthly account of ritual service for particular days.

### The *zūk/gru* festival

The *zukru*-festival was a major observance of the cultic year at Emar. The festivities began on the full-moon of the twelfth month and concluded sometime during the second month of the year. The orthography does not enable determination of whether the root of the festival’s name is *zkr* or *zqr*. The essence of the observance appears to be related to the proliferation of the cattle herds. The main deity of the festival is Dagan-Lord-of-the-Cattle (<sup>d</sup>Dagan *bēl buqāri*).<sup>2</sup> And one of the high-points of the festival was the consecration of the cattle (and possibly sheep) herds (no. 373:181’): “On that day they consecrate (*ullulu*) all the oxen and sheep(?)”. Neither the verb *zakāru* nor *zaqāru*, nor their derivatives, has a meaning related to “cattle” (nor *zkr* or *zqr* in Ugaritic or Hebrew). The term *zūk/gram* is attested in a letter from Mari (see CAD Z 153): [*aššum zukrim* [...] *maḥar PN PN<sub>2</sub> iqbiēm ummami zukr[am]* u *ĀB.ḪIA idin PN<sub>2</sub> and bēli ... zukram nadānam iqbiēm*. As CAD observes, the term *ĀB.ḪIA* at Mari denotes cattle in general, and thus *zukurum* should not be understood as “male cattle” (from *zakāru*). The occurrence of this term in this Mari letter in a context involving cattle strongly suggests that the Mari and Emar terms share the same or related meanings. Perhaps *zukuram nadānu* in the letter refers to the festival, thus “to arrange(?) / observe(?) the *zukru*

observance.” This same idiom may be present in the Emar ritual (no. 373:174’-175’): [*ki-i*]-*me* DUMU.MEŠ KUR *E-mar i-na* MU.7.KĀM EZEM *zu-uk-ra* [*a?-na?*] <sup>d</sup>KUR EN *bu-qū-ri i-na-an-di-nu* “[When] the citizens of Emar observe(?) the seven-year (cycle? of) the *zukru*-festival [for?] Dagan-Lord-of-the-Cattle, in the sixth year ...”<sup>1</sup>

According to no. 373:174’-175’ (passage quoted above), the *zukru*-festival consisted of a seven-year cycle in which the observances varied from year to year.

A major location of ritual activity for the *zukru*-festival at Emar was the main gate of the city at which shrines stood by the sides of the gate. Offering-tables were erected, sacrifices offered, and the blood and fat from the offerings smeared on the shrines. Dagan-Lord-of-the-Cattle was driven to the gate by chariot, where he was greeted by the other deities of the city. During the festival special honors were afforded *Šašabetu* from the temple of Ninurta, *Bēlet-ekallim*, *Sin*, *Šamaš-of-the-Palace*, and especially *Ninurta*, who (at least in the sixth year of the observance) was allowed to ride with Dagan in his chariot when returning from the offerings at the main gate. After the rituals of the twelfth month, there is no recorded activity until the full-moon of the first month. Offerings were provided on the 14th. On the 15th all the gods paraded down to the main entrance between the shrines, where offering tables were erected. On the 7th day of the celebration (the 20th? of the month) of the first month offerings were distributed to all the gods of Emar and of the surrounding villages.

The following is a translation of the rituals for the *zukru*-festival based upon the composite text reconstructed by Arnaud (*Emar* VI/3 no. 375):

[The tablet for] the *zukru*-[festival]: When the city of Emar celebrates [the *zukru*-festival] for Dagan, in the month *Zaratu*, [on the 14th day], they provide four lambs for Dagan. On the 15th, (the day) of *Šaggar*, [...] on that day [...] Dagan] goes out with his face covered. [...] follows him. [...] two sheep [...] From among them the first is given to the divine axe of the gods. [...] the shrines (at the gateway) [...] <sup>2</sup> He goes out [...] between the shrines (at the gateway). That day they [...] him between the shrines. On that day [...] oxen [...] Dagan goes up; they cover his face. [...] *Ninkura* [...] they provide [...] for] the gods. [...] the divine axe of the god. [...] They provide blood and oil for the shrines. [...] fire [...] ... of *Ninurta* [...] Dagan the beginning of *zukru* [...] if lambs [...]. They harness [...] to the [char]iot and approach the temple of Dagan. [...] They provide oil for the gods and the temples. [...] office of the high-priestess and the divine axe of the god [...] one sheep and one calf before the shrines [...] in between the shrines [...] from this two meal offerings [...] from this they ...

1. An alternate possible interpretation of this line is: “[When] the citizens of Emar during the seven year (cycle? of) the *zukru*-festival give [offerings to] Dagan-Lord-of-the-Cattle.”

2. For an interpretation of NA<sub>4</sub> *sa-ki-nu* as a shrine which housed the statue of the god (as opposed to “stela”), see most recently B. Margalit, NABU 1992/1, 18 with references to previous discussions.

1. For a discussion of the origin and development of the month name *Tašritu*, see pp. 326-327.

2. For the one attestation of *buqāru* at Mari note ARM 2 131:39 (quoted CAD B 323); *bqr* “cattle” is common in biblical Hebrew.

The 16th to 23rd days not preserved on any tablet; *Emar VI/3 373*:

1. [...]
2. [...]
3. [...]
4. [...] a (ritually) pure lamb [... the enti]re land of Emar [...]
5. [... liba]te them; from among this [...]
6. [...] ... [...]
7. [In the month *Zaratu*], on the 24th day, they apportion one liter of barley-bread, two pitchers (of beer), and [two(?) of] the king's [flagons of wine] to all the gods. They shall *provide* [one sheep for Dagan-Lord-of-the-Cat]tle. They shall (also) *provide* one sheep for Ba'al,<sup>1</sup> one sheep for Daga[n, one sheep for Šamaš], one sheep for Ea, one sheep for Sin, one sheep for Ninurta, [one sheep (each) for Alal and Amaza, one sheep for (Nergal)]-Lord-of-the-Marketplace, one sheep for (Nergal)-The-Horned-Lord, one sheep for Ninkur, [one sheep for Bēlet-ekallim], (and) one sheep for The-Goddess-of-War – these sheep [...].<sup>2</sup>

14. [In the month *Zaratu*, on] the 25th day, [they assem]ble<sup>3</sup> all the gods and ...-goddesses [at the ...-temple(?)] and Dagan-Lord-of-the-Brick goes out (to be greeted by them). His face is covered. They bring two calves, five of the king's sheep, and [one] of the town's sheep before Dagan. They make an offering of eleven liters of bread-pudding, [one] liter of barley-bread, one bowl of fish, and one flagon of the king's wine to Dagan. Eleven liters of bread-pudding, [one] liter of barley bread, one bowl of fish, a container (of ...) from the temple, one measure of flour (used) for bread-pudding, four and half [liters of ...], and [x] pitchers of beer go (back) up to the townsfolk—along with one calf and <one> lamb. They make an offering to Dagan (and) from this, from the shrine(s), [they ...]

20. They make an offering to Ninurta of two of the king's sheep, one of the town's sheep, eleven liters of bread-pudding, one liter of barley-bread, one pitcher of beer, one flagon of the king's [wine], one (more) liter of bread-pudding, and one container (of ...) from the temple.

22. [They take out] the Šaššabetu-goddess of the temple of Ninurta, (placing her) in the entrance to the shrines. They make an offering to the Šaššabetu-goddess of one calf, six of the king's sheep, one of the town's sheep, eleven liters of bread-pudding, one liter of barley-[bread], one bowl of fish, one flagon of the king's of wine, (and a second offering of) eleven liters of bread-pudding, one liter of [barley]-bread, and one bowl of fish from the temple.

27. They take out Bēlet-ekallim, Sin, and Šamaš-of-the-Palace, (placing them) in the entrance to the shrines. They bring one calf and ten of the king's sheep before them. They make an offering before them of thirty-three liters of bread-pudding, three liters of barley-bread, three containers (of ...),

and three flagons of wine. One measure of bread-pudding, three liters of barley-bread, and four pitchers of beer from the palace go (back) up to the townsfolk.

Total (for the 24th and 25th of *Zaratu*): four calves and forty sheep are provided.

32. After the eating and drinking, they *streak* all the shrines (at the gateway) with the fat and blood (from the offerings). In front of the entranceway, inside of which (the statues) are (standing), they honor all the gods with a ewe, two pairs of containers of thick loaves from (the flour used for bread)-pudding, and one of the king's containers (of ...). They roast this ewe for all the gods. The loaves, the calves, and the meat are taken (back) up into the town.

36. In the second year the *zuku*-festival is celebrated. During the (first) month Sagmu, on the fourteenth day, they *provide* seventy of the king's sheep and (ritually) pure lambs, [...] with the thick loaves of bread, and three pitchers of beer to all seventy gods [of the town of] Emar. They give seven of these sheep to the ...-men of the palace. They *provide* one calf and one lamb to Dagan-Lord-of-the-Cattle and on the next day of the *zuku*-festival, (when) the people (and) the gods go out again, whatever *remains* (from *this first day*) will be *provided*.

42. On the second day (of the festival), the 15th day (of the month), on the Day of Šaggaru (the following) is done: They take out Dagan-Lord-of-the-Cattle, Ninurta, the Šaššabetu-goddess of the temple of Ninurta, [Bēlet-ekal]-lim, Sin, Šamaš-of-the-Palace, (and) all the gods and ...-goddesses [of the town of Emar], (placing them) at the entranceway to the shrines. [...] One] of the king's calves and ten of the town's lambs [are offered up] before Dagan. They offer to Dagan [eleven liters of bread-pudding(?), one liter of barley-bread, one bowl of fish, one of the king's flagons of wine, [...], and one bowl of fish from the temple. [...] liter(s) of bread-pudding, ... liter(s) of barley-bread, and [...] pitcher(s) of beer from the temple [go up to] the townsfolk.

50. (They make an offering to Ninurta) [of ... sh]eep, two of the town's lambs, eleven liters of [bread]-pudding, one liter of barley-bread, [one pitcher of beer, one] flagon of the king's (wine), one (more) liter of bread-pudding, and [one container (of ...)] from the temple.

52. They make an offering to Šaššabetu of [...] of the king's [...], two of the town's lambs, [one measure of flour (used) for bread]-pudding, one flagon of the king's wine, eleven lit[ers] of bread-pudding, one] liter of barley-bread, and [one container (of ...)] from the temple.

55. They offer to Bēlet-ekallim, Sin, and Šamaš-of-the-Palace[...] of the king's lambs, thirty-three liters of flour (used) for bread-pudding, [three liters] of barley-bread, three containers (of ...), [and three flagons] of the king's [win]e.

57. After the eating and drinking, they smear all the shrines (at the entranceway) with the fat and blood (from the offerings). Before evening they bring the gods back up to the town. In front of the entranceway, inside of which (the statues) are (standing), they honor all the gods with a ewe, one container (of ...), [two pa]ir (of containers of thick loaves from the flour used for) bread-pudding, [and one] of the king's (containers of ...). They

1. Arnaud has interpreted the orthography <sup>d</sup>IM as an orthography for Ba'al. An interpretation of <sup>d</sup>IM as Hadad/Addu is also possible. Throughout this chapter the god is indicated as Ba'al.

2. This list of gods has been restored on the basis of lines 68'-78'. The restoration of the pair of gods Alal and Amaza is also supported by the total of forty sheep in line 31.

3. We have restored the verb as *ú-pa* [ša-ru].



roast (this ewe) for all the gods. [The loaves, the calves, and the meat are taken (back)] up [into the town].<sup>1</sup> (*gap of approximately 6 lines*)

63'. [...] ... them [...] the king's fowl [...] On the seventh day of the *zukur*-festival they ... all the gods of [the town of] Emar.

66'. They make an offering of one calf, ten (ritually) pure lambs, eleven liters of bread-pudding, one liter of barley-bread, [one container (of ...)], and one flagon of the palace (wine) to Dagan-Lord-of-the-Cattle.

68'. (They make) the same (offering) as for Dagan-Lord-of-the-Cattle to Ba'al, Dagan, Ea, Sin and Šamaš, Ninurta, Alal [and Amaza], Nergal-[Lord-of-the-Marketplace], Nergal-[The-Horned-Lord], Ninkur [and Šaggar and Ḫalma], Bēlet-ekallim, Ištar of ..., Sin-of-the-Palace, Šamaš-of-the-Palace, Dagan-of-the-Palace, the goddess of [...], the goddess of [...], the goddess of [...], and the goddess of Sagma.

86'. [They make an offering to ...] of five of the king's lambs, one half liter of bread-pudding, one liter of [barley]-bread, [...]. The same (offering) for Dagan-Lord-of-the-Mountain, Dagan-Lord-of-the-..., two pair [...], for An-of-the-Riverbank, Dagan-Lord-of-the-Encampments as for Dagan-Lord-of-the-..., Dagan-Lord-of-the-Settled-World, The-Goddess-of-the-Sea and the Sea-god (Yam), two pair [...], for Ḫalma, the goddess of ..., Išhara-Mistress-of-the-Town, Išhara-of-the-King, Išhara-of-the-Prophetesses, Ḫanana-of-the-Palace, Ḫanana-of-the-Town, Udḫa, Astar; and for all these gods they libate a pitcher (of ...).

103'. [They make an offering to ...] of two lambs, ..., one liter of bread-pudding, one liter of barley-bread, one container of [...]. The same (offering) for The-Lord-of-the-Hills, Dagan-Lord-of-the-Valley,

(Hereafter follows a partially preserved, long list of deities receiving the same offerings; the text continues after major gaps.)

The chariot of Dagan passes between the shrines (at the gateway). Šaššabetu and [...] (the temple of?) Ninurta [...] goes. [...] they help [...] to mount [the chariot ...] and the (other) gods [follow] behind him. They reach [...] and perform abbreviated honors. They ... [...], thick loaves, [...], and the king's [...] for all the gods [of the town of Emar. ...] .... [...] tamarisk before the gods [...].

174'. [When] the citizens of Emar observe(?) the seven year (cycle?) of the *zukur*-festival [for?] Dagan-Lord-of-the-Cattle, in the sixth year, the [fifteen]th(?) day of the first month, the day of Šaggar, they take out Dagan-Lord-of-the-Cattle. They uncover his face and perform an abbreviated honor before him by the entranceway to the shrines. After they perform libations, eat and drink, they cover his face. The chariot of Dagan passes between the two shrines (at the gateway) and goes alongside [Ninurta]. They help Ninurta to mount (the chariot) with him. Their faces are covered. On that day they consecrate all the oxen and sheep(?). On that day they take out [...]. Before evening they take out Šaggar [and ... which is] in the temple of Ninurta, the ...-temple and all the [...] in the town of Emar go (back) up.

1. The scribe abbreviated these lines, which are almost identical to lines 32-35.

185'. On [the ... day] of the month *Niqali* they take out Dagan-Lord-of-the-Cattle and all the gods to the entranceway to the shrines. Their faces are covered when they go out and when they return. Beginning this day calves, (ritually) pure lambs, ... The chariot passes between the shrines (at the entranceway) and goes alongside Ninurta and the bread and meat which was (placed) before the gods goes (back) up to the town.

191'. During the next year, on the fourteenth of the (first) month *Zagmu*, the *provided* lambs are distributed to the gods. The next day, the fifteenth, (the day of) Šaggar, they take out Dagan-Lord-of-the-Cattle and all the gods and ...-goddesses to the entranceway to the shrines. The face of Dagan is covered when he goes out. They give offerings to the gods according to the offerings written on the tablet. They take out Dagan-the-Father and Šaggar that day and they take (back) up the round loaves of the entire town of Emar. Before evening Dagan passes between the shrines (at the entranceway). They cover his face. At the entranceway, inside of which (the statues) are (standing), they perform the (same) rites as on the day of consecration. The bread and meat which was (placed) before the gods goes (back) up to the town.

200'. On the sixteenth day (of the month) they distribute the *provided* lambs, as previously, to the gods.

202'. On the seventeenth day (of the month) Dagan and all the gods and ...-goddesses go out. Their faces are covered. They perform for the gods the (same) rites as on the previous day. All the meat and bread, whatever they eat, [...] and whatever they carry down [between] the shrines (at the entranceway), whatever there is will not be taken (back) up into the city upon their return. After they have kindled a fire before them, they uncover the face of Dagan. The chariot of Dagan passes [between the shrines] up to Ninurta. [...] They perform the (same) rites as on the previous day.

210'. [...] celebrate the *zukur*-[festival], ...

(remainder of text not preserved)

## The *kizzu*-festivals

Several of the Emar tablets provide ritual directions for various *kizzu*-festivals: the *kizzu*-festival of Dagan, the *kizzu*-festival of Ereškigal, the *kizzu*-festival of Ea, and the *kizzu*-festival of Ninurta and Išhara.<sup>1</sup> The lack of any indication of a final weak consonant in the orthography suggests that the festival name is not related to *kissû*, "city wall." The orthography *ki-is-si* or *ki-iz-zi* can denote a "bundle (of reeds)" in the Old Babylonian period (see CAD K 460 sub *kiššu* A) or a piece of jewelry (CAD K 479 sub *kizzu* B). It is possible that the term might derive from *kazāzu*, *gazāzu*, "to shear" (see CAD G 116 sub *\*gizzu* for *ki-zu-tum* "shorn" in the Old Akkadian period and CAD G 116 sub *gizzu* B for *gi-iz-zu*, "shearing," in the Neo-Babylonian period). The *kizzu*-rituals themselves, however, give no information as to their purpose, there

1. Always written EZEM *ki-iz-zi*.

being no hint of any activity associated with shearing. And the occurrence of multiple *kizzu*-festivals to various gods may indicate that these observances are unrelated to any agricultural practice. These observances may have marked the annual consecration of the god's statue, although we are unaware of any meaning of the term *kizzu/kissu* which might support this theory.

There are several elements common to all the *kizzu*-festivals. All citizens of the city participated: "When young and old of the city of Šatappu observe the *kizzu*-festival for Dagan ..." (no. 385, of Dagan); "And all the men and women of the city, each and every one of them, takes in their presence the breads made from thirty of those dough strips and the buckets (of bitters, sweets, and barley-beer)" (no. 387, of Išhara and Ninurta). The opening ritual act of each *kizzu*-festival was the purification (*qadāšu*) of the statue of the god, which was performed while *hukku*-breads and pitchers of barley-beer were set on the offering-table.

There are two separate accounts (nos. 385 and 388) of the *kizzu*-festival of Dagan at Šatappu, which lasted four days. On the first day Ninkur, the bride (*é-gi<sub>4</sub>-a/kallatu*) of Dagan, was escorted to Dagan's bed, where she remained until the evening of the fourth day. During her stay Ninkur was attended by a woman experienced in making sounds which mimicked those of a woman in ecstasy, thereby adding an element of reality to the scene. Ninkur was then escorted to the chapel of Udḫa (according to no. 385) or the temple of Ninurta (according to no. 388) on the evening of the fourth day, where a 'party' was held to celebrate the consummation of the marriage of Dagan and Ninkur. On the second day offering-tables for the gods were set up outside on the bare ground, quite probably a custom analogous to those practiced by many cultures, wherein the friends of the groom kept a vigil, with eating, drinking, and merry-making, while the newlyweds consummated their marriage. As befitting a royal wedding, offerings were continuously provided by the high-priestess of Ba'al, and the high-priestesses of the towns Šatappu and Šumu. After the 'party' on the fourth day, the king performed a consecration service for the temple diviner and for the chief administrator(?) (*gal dub-sar-meš*) of the temple.

The ritual descriptions of the *kizzu*-festivals of Ereškigal and of Išhara and Ninurta are rather abbreviated. And the tablet describing the *kizzu*-festival of Ea is poorly preserved. The following is a translation of the tablets detailing these five *kizzu*-festivals:

Dagan (a)  
(*Emar VI/3 385*)

A tablet of the rites for the *kizzu*-festival of the city of Šatappu:

When young and old of the city of Šatappu observe the *kizzu*-festival for Dagan, on the day of (ritual) purification *using* aromatics, they perform the purification (rites) while bread and beer (are) on the offering-tables of the gods of the city. [The same rule for] the diviners; the same rule for the chief (temple) administrator. They lay out Ninkur (upon the bed) in his (i.e., Dagan's) temple. They make an offering of one ox and one sheep to Ninkur. The female-crier makes her noises.<sup>1</sup> They perform the rites involving the ox and sheep before Ninkur. They set up four offering-tables. Concerning these (tables), they erect them on the open ground: one offering-table for Dagan, one offering-table for Išhara and Ninurta, and two offering-tables for Alal and Amaza.

10. On the second day they make an offering of meat and thick loaves (upon each of the four offering-tables set up the previous day outside). They distribute one of the offering-table loaves to the gods of the city of Šatappu. They offer up two sheep over the censer which is (back) inside the temple (in the bedchamber). They perform their rites before the gods. The men supplied by the king for the purification on the third day may eat and drink within his (Dagan's) temple. And on that third day they make the standard offering of two sheep for them (i.e., Dagan and Ninkur). The high-priestess of Ba'al, the high-priestess of the city of Šumu, and the high-priestess of the city of Šatappu take [... from] their (own) offering-tables the standard offering of pitchers of barley beer and ...-containers and set them by the four offering-table loaves (outside the temple of Dagan). Throughout the day they place (these offerings) before the gods. They (also) set out an offering of a white bread and a white bread made with fruits.

21. On the fourth day they lift up Ninkur (from the bed) and the bride (i.e., Ninkur) is presented (to everyone) during the evening. Thereupon they bring bread and beer to the temple of Udḫa. The singers enter and serenade Šuwala and Ugur. Their (i.e., the gods') rites are performed. The singers reenter and the men supplied by the king for the (ritual) purification take (the remaining) three offering-table loaves. The king of the land purifies the diviner and the chief (temple) administrator using the *hukku*-bread and the pitcher of barley-beer. He hands over thirty silver ... to Ereškigal.

1. Perhaps this woman's noises were intended to simulate the sexual sounds during the love-making process, presumably occurring between Dagan and Ninkur. The text contains BÚN-š, but note that this line occurs in the *kizzu*-ritual for Ninkur (*Emar VI/3* no. 388:4) with the term *ki-il-la-ši* (*ikkillu*).

Dagan (b)  
(*Emar VI/3 388*)

On the day of (ritual) purification of the *kizzu*-festivals in the residence of the lord of the house (i.e., Dagan) they lay out Ninkur (upon the bed). They make an offering of one ox and one sheep to Ninkur. They perform the *rites* before the gods. The female-crier makes her noises. They erect four offering-tables before the gods according to specification and they purify (the statues) of the gods of Satappu while bread and beer (are on the offering-tables). On the same day they offer one sheep to Šuwala. On the same day they place (before the gods) thick crescent-breads, one and a half strips of barley dough, one and a half strips of wheat dough, [...], two ... of white wine, fourteen bricks of figs, four liters of ..., two liters of sesame oil, < > ... of pistachio nuts, ten doves, thirty birds, and ten ... and the cooks who prepare the food do the cooking by the gate of the lord of the house and while they do the cooking, they offer a sheep to Assila. The cooks who prepare the food take that sheep, three thick loaves, thirty thin loaves, and a vessel of beer. They eat and drink. On the second day [they ...] by the Doorway-of-the-Shrine before Dagan-Lord-of-the-Valley. They carry by hand one ox, one sheep, seven containers of oil, one container of [...], one *hulašu*-bread, one *zariu*-bread, one *hukku*-bread, three hundred [...], one jar of sour (milk), two liters of white wine, and two bricks of figs for [...], for the lord of the house, and for those supplied by the king to perform the purification. They [place] three skins and one white sheep at his feet. They (also) p[lace at his feet] four shekels of silver (and?) ... The diviner [...] large vessel [...] twelve containers [...] which are offered up [...]. From these [...] the men supplied by the king for the purification [take ...]. [...] seven seashells, [...] seven ... [...], seven ... [...] the offering-table [...], a ...-vessel, [...] before them [...] they cover him with a girdle. They carry [...]. They feed [...]. [...] the same men [...]. Two [...]. [...] and an ox from [...]. [...] of seashells [...]. [...] those offerings [...]. The singers [walk in] in front of [the offerings]. [...] offerings to the god [...]. [...] one meal f[or ... The Goddess]-of-War [...] and the rites involving [the ox ...]. [...] the meat of the ox and one [...] oils and [...]. [...] seven days in the temple [of ...]. [The ...] eat and drink]. They take the sacred breads [...] regular [...]. The men supplied by the king to perform the purification place (upon the offering-table) seven pitchers of barley-beer. [...] the men supplied by the king to perform the purification [...]. One the same day [...] the bride to the temple of Ninurta. Those men [...] offerings. The singers serenade Šuwala. [...] When they are finished, [the ...] enter [...] eat and drink. They ... [...] for the gods. The men supplied by the king to perform the purification [...] the breast-meat, the heart, the liver ... The ... distribute [...] to the gods. The king of the land takes the head, the flank, and half the intestines of the ox and the men supplied by the king to perform the purification eat the (other) half of the intestines of the ox and the fat of the sheep (and) ox. They distribute the crescent-breads. They give (them) to the gods. They give a large meal and a pitcher of barley-beer to the songstress. They give the (remaining) meat, breads, and barley-beer to the potter for twelve (shekels of) silver.

Ereškigal  
(*Emar VI/3 385*)<sup>1</sup>

On the day of (ritual) purification of the *kizzu*-festival of Ereškigal they consecrate (the statue of) Ereškigal with *hukku*-bread, white bread made with fruits, and pitchers of barley beer (on the offering-table). They slit the throats of an ox and four<sup>2</sup> sheep in the residence of the master of the house (i.e., Dagan). On the second day (they perform) the *rites* involving the ox and the *rites* involving the sheep. (They offer) four offering-table loaves and four white breads, including among them a white bread made with fruits. The singers walk in (and stand) before the offerings. They (the priests) make an offering before Ereškigal. They fill the cups of the gods with wine and barley-beer. They fill seventy vessels with barley-beer before Ereškigal. They set seventy *hukku*-breads and seventy ...-cuts of meat in front of them (i.e., the seventy vessels). At this point they present four of the (se) vessels (to the gods). They distribute the (other sixty-six) vessels (to) all the men supplied by the king to perform the (ritual) purification. Each of the men supplied by the king to perform the purification goes back to his own home to eat and drink.<sup>3</sup> The holy men (i.e., the priests?) take (from the remaining) four offering-tables, as (had the others) previously.

Ea  
(*Emar VI/3 386*)<sup>4</sup>

On the day of (ritual) purification of the *kizzu*-festival of Ea they consecrate (the statue of) Ea while *hukku*-bread, a white bread made with fruits, and pitchers of barley-beer (are on the offering-tables). On the second day they sacrifice one ox, six sheep and a lamb. They proceed along with the singers from the residence of the master of the house (Dagan) to the temple of Ea. They sacrifice an ox and sheep to Ea. They perform the *divine [rit]es*(?) before Ea. They make an offering to [Ea] of four offering-table loaves and four white breads, including among them a white bread. They fill (the cups of the gods) with wine and barley-beer. They fill seventy vessels (with barley beer) by the door to the temple of Ea. Before them they put out four *hukku*-breads, the beef and the mutton. They present four vessels to Ea. All of the men supplied by the king to perform the purification give a gift of silver to Ea in the residence of the master of the house.

1. For a recent edition of this text, as well as a new fragment join, see A. Tsukimoto, "Akkadian Tablets in the Hirayama Collection (III)," *Acta Sum* 14 (1992), 299ff. no. 49.

2. Variant: three sheep.

3. The Akkadian states "they go to his house." Since all activity is already occurring in the temple of Dagan, it seems more likely that *his* house, refers to the homes of those involved in the ritual.

4. See note 1.

Išhara and Ninurta  
(*Emar* VI/3 387)

[On the day] of (ritual) purification of the (*kizzu*)-festival [of Išhar]a and Ninurta they purify (their statues) while one *hukku*-bread, a white bread made with fruits, and [...] pitchers of barley-beer (are on the offering-tables). They bathe them. They knead(?) by hand seventeen strips (of dough from) milled flour to make thick *hukku*-loaves and fifteen strips (of dough from) ...flour to make thick round-breads – a total of thirty-two dough strips. They give Išhara and Ninurta a bucket of bitters, a bucket of sweets, a bucket of barley-beer, two (regular) sacrificial sheep, two ewes, and two ...sheep. They [giv]e [...] seven offering-table loaves, seven white breads made with fruits, and a basket (of other breads). They give Ninurta a white bread made with fruits and one basket of (other) breads. They give Išhara two offering-table loaves and one pitcher of barley-beer.

17. And all the men and women of the city, each and every one of them, takes in their presence the breads made from thirty of those dough strips and the buckets (of bitters, sweets, and barley-beer). They get a servant-girl to bake (breads) using (some of) the sweets (from the bucket). They take hold of the *hukku*-bread and the pitchers of barley-beer and the men supplied by the king to perform the purification [...] eat and drink. They carry away the sacred breads and the offering-tables. [They return] Išhara and Ninurta to the temple of Dagan.

THE YEARLY CULTIC CALENDAR

During the month SAG.MU there were three special days: (1) the 8th, (2) a day whose date is not preserved but is between the 8th and 15th, and (3) the 15th of the month, the 15th involving special rites for Ninurta by the main gate. There is no mention of the *zukru*-festival in this text—its special nature apparently warranted a completely separate ritual tablet.

On the 15th of the month before Ninkur there were special sacrifices at the ox stalls, at the horse stables, and in the garden of the *birikku* of Ba'al. There was also a special ceremony involving seeding: an offering was made to Dagan-Lord-of-the-Seeds and then the diviner strewed seeds over the ground, either symbolically planting the first seeds of the season or reading the signs for the upcoming planting season from the pattern of the scattered seeds.

A festival for Ninkur was celebrated during the month Ninkur for at least two days beginning on the 17th of the month. Offerings were made on the 17th at her temple or chapel. On the 18th Ninkur was led out of her temple to a site where she received further offerings.

Offerings to Adamteri, Dagan, for the *ab/pu* of the temple and for the town are mentioned for the month An(na). However, no dates are specified.

The 7th and 8th of Adam were marked by a festival of processions. On the 7th the attendees of the festival made a procession, presumably on their way to the temples, and on the 8th the gods themselves participated in the procession.

On the 14th of *Marzahani* there was a ritual involving cattle—the text states simply “On the 14th: cattle.” On the 16th there was a procession in the streets as well as the Hunt of Ištar (*šadu*). This however, appears to be a monthly event, since the 16th of *Aba'u* is also listed as the time of the Hunt of Ištar. The next day was the Hunt of Ba'al, perhaps this too a monthly ritual.

The month *Halma* was a time of increased cultic activity. At the beginning of the month a special festival was celebrated, though the name is slightly broken, so that it can be restored as either the *hijaru* festival of Dagan or the Day-of-renewal(?) of Dagan. On the 8th the god *Halma*, for whom the month was named, journeyed out from his temple and on the 9th Ba'al left his temple. The 18th of the month was the *hijaru* festival of Ba'al.<sup>1</sup>

The 7th of *Zarati*, the last month of the year, was an occasion for providing offerings to the temples of the major deities. The remainder of the text is not preserved, so it cannot be ascertained whether this was the beginning of a longer festival.

The importance of the month *Aba'u* is reflected in there being a separate ritual tablet devoted to this month. On the 1st or 2nd of the month offerings were made to Ba'al. On the 3rd offerings were presented to Ištar and to Mount *Šinapši*. Offerings to this mountain occurred also on the 8th and 20th of the month. On the 19th an offering was made to Mount *Šuparatu*. Since offerings to mountains occurred only during this month, perhaps these rituals relate to this month having been the occasion for the cult of the dead. Possibly these mountains were believed to have been entrances to the Land of the Dead, a concept common throughout the Near East.<sup>2</sup> Special offerings are detailed for the 14th, probably the 15th, for the 16th, 17th or 18th, 19th, and 20th of the month. The 25th through the 27th was the occasion for offerings at the *ab/pum*. The offerings to the dead were unusually bountiful, including gazelles, fowl, honey, and fruit. For the 27th and 28th of the month as the time for offerings to the spirits of the dead in other cults, see pp. 454-455.

1. For the *hijaru* festival in the Near East, see pp. 310, 374-375.

2. For the association of mountains with the netherworld, see, for example, M. Astour, “The Nether World and Its Denizens at Ugarit,” *Death in Mesopotamia, Mesopotamia* 8, B. Alster, ed. (Copenhagen, 1980), 229.

Sagmu, ..., Ninkur, Anna, Adam, *Marzaḥanu*, *Ḫalma*  
(*Emar VI/3 446*)

1. [The month Zagmu: ...] of the town's shee[p ...]. On the 8th day [...]. One sheep [...]. [...] they [appr]oach/[gat]her [...] temple [...]. On the [...] day they provide [...]. On the 15th day Dagan [...] they place [...] sheep from the *nupuhannu*-men The [...] men [...]. On that day [the chariot of ...] is harnessed and goes out. They place [...] the temple [...]. [...] the sheep from the *nupuhannu*-men [...]. The axe of the god [...] follows behind them. [The commanders and] all (their) men [...] put [...]. They provide [...]. On the [...] day [...] goes to the main gate of the temple of [...]. Two sheep [...]. The [diviners?] eat bread (and) beer from the temple of [...]. On [that] day they provide [...] for the temple of Ninurta. [...] goes out to the main gate. O[xen ...] go before him. [...] takes a side of meat for the god [...]. The skin of the head [...] ... of the diviner. The commanders and (their) men [...]. From temple to temple [...] they *slit the throat* of an ox. [...] They make offerings for [...] Ninurta (of) the temple of Išhara [...]. Thick [pieces of ...] meat are given to the commanders, [(their) men], and to those performing the sacrificing. The brethren of the temple of Udḫa take [...]. The commanders and all (their) men eat the meat in the presence of [...]. The diviner takes the [...]. They place [...]. The axe of the god [...].

(major gap)

41'. They slaughter those sheep. They offer up their fruit(?) along with the breast portion. The axe of the god follows behind them and the skins of the slain (animals) are for the diviner. On the 15th they bring Šaggar down to the oxen's stalls (and) they slaughter (an ox?). They slaughter a sheep at the horses' stables. In the same month, (during) the evening, they take out (the statues of the gods(?)). They slaughter one sheep in the presence of the men who ..., then first a sheep at the garden of the ...(-structure) of Ba'al, (and then) [a sheep for] Dagan-Lord-of-the-Seeds. The diviners toss seeds about onto the ground. ... from the temple ... A side of meat is for the diviner. During the next day they slaughter ... for the country(?). They honor ... and for ... Not until the honors are complete may anyone *who wishes* depart.

70'. The month of Ninkur: on the 17th day, they provide a lamb for(?) Ninkur. On the 18th day Ninkur goes out. One quality, white sheep from the *nupuhannu*-men and four(?) oxen(?) of those who [...] who consecrates [...] bread [...] Dagan [...] bread [...] the diviners [...] a lamb [...] nineteen [...] before [...] after [...]

(major gap)

[...] sheep [...] a sheep to the god [...] and a sheep to the god [...] great ... and to the [...] the casings of the intestines [...] belong to the diviners. The ...-meat [...] the king of the land [...]

77''. The month of An(na): all the *nupuhannu*-men along with the contingent of fifty give a sheep to Adamteri. (There is) one sheep for the *ab/pu* of the temple, one sheep for Dagan, and one sheep for the town – the diviner takes the skins of those sheep of those *nupuhannu*-men.

82'. The month of Adam: on the 7th day is the procession of the attend-ees. On the 8th day is the procession for all the gods.

85'. The month *Marzaḥani*: On the 14th cattle. On the 16th he goes out into the street .... One of the town's sheep and the axe of the god follows in the street ... The same day is the hunt of Ištar. On the 17th is the hunt of Ba'al. They roast one sheep from the *nupuhannu*-men in the storehouse(?). The men ... carry it to the table for the gods. Half of one sheep is for the diviner.

95'. The month *Ḫalma*: On the [...] day they perform honors in the temple of Dagan. In the evening they fill ... wine. They sacrifice birds. On the day of the renewal(?)<sup>1</sup> of Dagan one of the town's sheep (is sacrificed). The axe of the god stays in its place in the temple. The skin of the sheep is for the diviner. On the 8th day *Ḫalma* goes out. The axe of the god follows him. The men performing the ritual eat one of the town's sheep. Bread and beer are for the diviner. On the same day a sheep is provided for the temple of Ba'al. On the 9th Ba'al [...] goes out. An ox and six sheep go to his temple. From these (sheep), the temple of Ba'al [...] takes [...]. The [...] take [...]. From these [...] those performing the ritual [...]. On the 18th day is the *ḫijaru*-festival of Ba'al. A calf and two sheep are slaughtered. He who performs the ritual eats and drinks.

*Zaratu*

(*Emar VI/3 447*)

6'. The month *Zerati*: On the seventh day the men give [...]: one sheep to the temple of the god [...], one sheep to Ba'al, one sheep to the temple of Dagan, [...] sheep] to the temple of Alal and Amaza, one sheep [for ...], one sheep for the temple of Šamaš, one sheep for the temple of Na[...], one sheep for] The-Lord-of-the-..., one sheep for the temple of [...], one sheep for the temple of Musani, one sheep for [...], one sheep for the temple of An, one sheep for the temple of [...]. The axe of the gods follows behind them. The ritual meat [...]. On [that?] day [...] (*the remainder not preserved*)

*Aba'u*

(*Emar VI/3 452*)

In the month *Abihu*, on the day of ..., they distribute to Ba'al twenty-two liters of second quality flour, one pitcher of beer, ten doves, one ... of oil, and one liter of white wine.

3. On the 3rd day they make an offering to Ištar of one liter of the flour (used for) bread pudding, one liter of second-quality flour, ..., a bowl of fish, a container (of ...) from the temple, a kid from the ...-men, a thousand [...] cedar oil, barley (mixed with?) ghee, a hundred aromatics, one ... container, a brick of figs, ten pomegranates, [...] and ... liters] of white wine from the palace. On the same day they make an offering to Mount Šinapši

1. Arnaud (*Emar VI/3, 425*) suggests the possibility of reading *hi-ja!-rum* (the *ḫijaru* festival of Dagan) instead of *hi-da-aš*.

of one liter of flour (used for) bread-pudding, two liters of second quality flour, ..., one dove, fruits, and oils.

7. On the 8th day they distribute to the gods two liters of second quality flour, one pitcher of beer, [...] of oil, and one liter of white wine.

8. Also on the 8th day they make an offering of one liter of flour (used for) bread-pudding, two liters of second-quality flour, [...] ... fruit, and oil; one dove for Mount Šinapši.

9. On the 14th day they make an offering to Ištar-of-... of twenty-one liters of flour (used for) bread-pudding, one bowl of fish, one ...-container, [...], and ten pomegranates. Bread and beer [...]. On the same day [they make an offering to ... of] eleven liters [of flour used for bread-pudding, one] bowl of fish, one [...]. [They make an offering to ... of] eleven liters of flour used for bread-pudding, one bowl of [fish, ...] of the king's sheep [...]. [They make an offering to ... of] eleven liters of flour used for bread-pudding, [...].

(gap)

15'. [...]. They make an offering to Ištar-of-... [of ...]. They celebrate days of special observances. They make an offering to Ištar-of-... [of ...]. [...] They give them [...] liters of bread, barley flour, and a bowl of fish. They make an offering to Ištar-of-the-Seas of [...] from the temple, and one sheep from the *nupuhannu*-men.

18'. [On the ... day] they make an offering of [...], one bowl of fish, and sweet-cakes. They cause [...] to enter with her [...] the treasure-[house?]. [...] they cause to enter [...]. On the same day there is a hunt. They bring out [...] into the street of the granary. On the 16th is the hunt of Ištar.

22'. [On the ... day they make an offering to ... of ...], a container (of ...), one ...-container from the temple, [...]. On the same day [they make an offering to ... of ...], one ...-container from the temple, [...]. The weapon of the god goes out. Behind the temple of Ninurta [...].

27'. [On the 19th] day: [...], liters of flour used for bread-pudding, three ..., one brick of figs, ten pomegranates, and one hundred aromatics go out on the 19th day. At the ... of the day they offer them up. They make an offering [...]. They make an offering to Mount Šupuratu of [...], [...] of the king's [...], two liters of flour (used for) bread-pudding, two liters of second-quality flour, one measure of barley flour, one pitcher of beer from the temple, [one] kid from the *nupuhannu*-men, and ... wheat.

30'. On the 20th day they make an offering to Mount Šinapši of one liter of flour (used for) bread-pudding, one liter of second-quality flour, one ...-container, one dove, fruits, and oil.

31'. On the 25th day half five liters of flour (used for) bread-pudding, two liters of barley flour, one container of beer from the temple, one ...-container, one brick of figs, ten pomegranates, one sheep from the *nupuhannu*-men, one dove for the *ab/pu* of the ...-house. On the same day they give two ...-breads (made from) second-quality flour, one dove, and fruit for the *ab/pu* of the temple of Ninkur. On the same day they shall observe major rituals by the entrance to the cemetery, (offering) ten liters of barley flour, two liters of second-quality flour, one bowl of fish, two of the king's sheep, one ...-container, and twenty-five ...

36'. On the 26th day they make an offering to all the gods of twenty liters of barley flour, two pitchers of beer, twelve sheep from the *nupuhannu*-men, sheep from the men of Immaru, one ... of oil [...] up to doors [...]. They (then) close the doors. On the same day they make an offering to the *ab/pu* of the palace of eleven liters of flour (used for) bread-pudding, ten liters of second-quality flour, twenty liters of barley-flour, two pitchers of beer, one ... of palace wine, one ox, one sheep, one gazelle, one bird, honey, fats, ghee, and fruit. On the same day (they make an offering of) two ...-breads (made from) second quality flour, one dove, and fruit for the *ab/pu* of the temple of Dagan; two ...-breads (made from) second-quality flour, one dove, and fruit for the temple of Alal; two ...-breads, one dove, and fruit for The-Lord-of-the-Habitations; four ...-breads (made from) second-quality flour and one bird for Išhara.

43'. On the 27th day they make an offering of eleven liters of flour (used for) bread-pudding, one container (of ...), a container of barley-beer, a container of wine, one sheep, one dove, honey, fats, ghee, beef, gazelle-meat, fish, an *armannu*-(fruit) tree, soured milk, a fig tree, all kinds of fruit, and four doves, and perform abbreviated honors before the *ab/pu* of the temple of Dagan. [They make an offering of] ten liters of flour (used for) bread-pudding, half a liter of second-quality flour, [...] +10] liters of barley-flour, and two pitchers of beer from the temple for the *ab/pu* of the temple [of ...]; they will perform the songs of the gods. On the same day (they make an offering of) of eleven liters of flour (used for) bread-pudding, one container (of ...), a container of barley-beer, a container of wine, honey, fats, ghee, one dove, beef, gazelle-meat, a lamb, and all kinds of fruit for the *ab/pu* of the temple of Alal. On the same day they give honey, fats, ghee, beef, gazelle-meat, fish, and all kinds of fruit for the *ab/pu* from [...] to the *ab/pu* of the ...-house.

53'. On the beginning of the (next) month, at the time of the conjunction of the moon and sun, they purify the city as long as (the new moon) does not appear. They make an offering to The-Lord-of-Akka of half a liter of barley-flour, one container (of ...) from the temple, [...] sheep of the *nupuhannu*-men. On the third day they take out the Lulal-gods.

THE SECOND AND FIRST MILLENNIA B.C.

# From Elam to Alalakh

The calendars of the ancient cities of Elam—Susa and Anšan—as well as that of later Persepolis, can, at least partially, be reconstructed.

## SUSA

Some Susa month names are attested in the royal inscriptions of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon.<sup>1</sup> The most recent reconstruction of the calendar used at Susa was proposed by Reiner.<sup>2</sup> Reiner assigned *Addaru* as the first month of the year on the basis of deliveries recorded on a stela from the neighboring site of Haft Tepe being listed from *Addaru* to *Šabātu*. This accords well with K.104 (5R 43), which equates Elamite *Addaru* with the first month of the Standard Mesopotamian calendar <sup>iti</sup>bāra-zag-gar (= *Nisannu*), (although Sp. II 381 equates Elamite *Addaru* with the second month <sup>iti</sup>gu<sub>4</sub>-si-sá). The twelve months comprising the calendar at Susa are as follows:

### i. *Addaru*

This month, which may well be native to Elam, was eventually incorporated into the Standard Mesopotamian calendar as the twelfth month.

### ii. *Šer'i ša ešēdi*

The month of “the furrow (ready) for reaping”; among the numerous variants are *še-er-i* EBUR, *še-rum* EBUR, *še-er-i ša e-še-di*, *še-er-ḫum* SE.KIN.KU<sub>5</sub>, and *še-er-ḫum* ZIZ.KIN.KU<sub>5</sub>.A.<sup>3</sup> Reiner has suggested that the Elamite month name A.SA DINGIR.RA SE.KIN.KU<sub>5</sub> is probably a variant for this month.<sup>4</sup>

### iii. *Pu bābi*

The month of “the Opening-of-the-Gate”; a festival or ritual called the “Opening-of-the-Gate” is mentioned in an Old Babylonian letter: “I shall come to you for the Opening-of-the-Gate, mention me with blessing to Anu”<sup>1</sup>; a Neo-Babylonian letter 1500 years later states: “on the fourth is the Opening-of-the-Great-Gate”<sup>2</sup>; and a late ritual text refers to the “Opening-of-the-Gates.”<sup>3</sup> Most probably this festival or ritual refers to the departure of the god from his temple, where he had been cloistered, for either an appearance in his city or at the onset of a trip to another temple or city.<sup>4</sup>

### iv. DINGIR.MAḪ

According to Stolper, this month name is probably to be rendered as *Belili* on the basis of the Anšan month *Belili* (and the Persepolis month *Belilit*) and the known equivalency *Bēlet-ili* = DINGIR.MAḪ.<sup>5</sup>

### v. *Abu*

This month is named for the *ab/pum* observance.<sup>6</sup>

### vi. *Lallubû / Lanlubû / Lullubû*

Note the Elamite name *Lallubûtu*, “born in the month *Lallubû*.”<sup>7</sup>

### vii. *Sibûtu / Šebûtu*

The month occurs also at Old Babylonian Sippar.<sup>8</sup> Reiner suggests that the unusual variant *še-bu-še-bi-i* on the Haft Tepe stela “may have arisen by analogy to the endings of *La-lu-bi-e* and *Ḫu-ul-tu-up-pi-e*.”<sup>9</sup> Charpin has suggested that *še-bu-še-bi-i* is analogous to *sebût sebîm* at Mari, “the seventh (day) of the seventh (month),” on which special observances were held at Mari.<sup>10</sup>

1. TCL 1 19:19, CAD B 20 sub *bābu* mng. b'.

2. ABL 496:10, CAD B 20 sub *bābu* mng. b'.

3. RA 79:36.

4. For possibly analogous festivals, see pp. 32, 138-139, 290.

5. Stolper *Tall-I Maḫan*, 14-15. Reiner (*op. cit.*, 99 n. 20a) had proposed that DINGIR.MAḪ in the Susa month name may have been an orthography for the goddess Mammītum, for whom a month was named in the Amorite calendars. However, the texts from Anšan had not been published at the time of Reiner's suggestion.

6. For the *ab/pum* month name and festival, see pp. 259-261.

7. MDP 22 137:25, quoted CAD L 48.

8. See p. 270 for a discussion of this month name.

9. See E. Reiner, *op. cit.*, 98.

10. D. Charpin, NABU 1987/4, 66. For the ritual of the 7th Day of the 7th Month, see p. 391-392.

1. Reiner, *op. cit.*, 101; J. Lewy, “The Assyrian Calendar,” *ArOr* 11 (1939), 36; see p. 299.

2. E. Reiner, “Inscription from a Royal Elamite Tomb,” *Excursus: The names of the months in Elam*, AFO 24 (1973), 97ff.

3. For references and other variants see E. Reiner, *op. cit.*, and CAD E 339-340 sub *ešēdu* mng. c'.

4. E. Reiner, *op. cit.*, 99 n. 7.

viii. *Ser'i ša erēši*

The month of "the furrow of the seeding"; among the numerous variants are *še-er-šu-um* URU<sub>4</sub>.A, *še-er-i ša e-re-ši*, *še-er-i ša* URU<sub>4</sub>, and *še-er-i e-re-ši*.<sup>1</sup> Reiner has suggested that the Elamite month name A.ŠA DINGIR.RA URU<sub>4</sub>.A is probably a variant for this month.<sup>2</sup>

ix. *Tamḫīru*

The month occurs also in the Amorite calendars.

x. *Sililitu*

An explanation of the equivalency of this month with the Standard Mesopotamian month *Sabāṭu* occurs in Rm. 2, 127 rev. (AfO 24 [1973], 102): "the (Elamite) month *Sililitu* (corresponds to the Babylonian) month *Sabāṭu*, because in *Sabāṭu* the marriage of the gods [takes place]."

xi. *Hultuppū*

Variants for this month include *ḪUL.DÚB.BA.È* (K. 104; "[when] the demons go out"), *ḫul-dúb-bi-e* (ACh Supp. 2 79), *ḫu-ul-tu-up-pi-e* (Haft Tepe stele), and *ḫu-uš-tu-[up-pi]* (MDP 22 100:7). For other variants to this month name and to Sumerian *ḫul-dúb* (*rābišu*), "demon," see Langdon *Menologies*, 46 n. 1. Sumerian *ḫul-dúb-ba* (Akkadian *ḫultuppū*) is a "whipping rod as a tool of the conjurer"<sup>3</sup> which is used against the *ḫul-dúb* (*rābišu*) demon.

xii. *Sabātu / Šabāṭu / BAR.SAG.SAG*

The month *Sabātu* was the eleventh month in the Standard Mesopotamian calendar. The orthography *BAR.SAG.SAG*, (which, along with *Sabātu*, is equated to <sup>10</sup>*bāra-zag-gar* on Rm. 2, 127) occurs also in the inscriptions of Senacherib.<sup>4</sup>

ANŠAN

Over a hundred tablets and fragments from ancient Anšan (Tall-I Malyan) dating to the end of the second millennium B.C. have been published by M. Stolper in *Texts from Tall-I Malyan*, Philadelphia, 1984. Stolper identified two groups of tablets from levels IVa and IIIa in a building at location EDD con-

1. For references and other variants, see E. Reiner, *op. cit.*, and CAD E 286 sub *erēšu* mng. B 4'.

2. E. Reiner, *op. cit.*, 99 n. 7.

3. CAD H 231 sub *ḫultuppū*.

4. Reiner, *op. cit.*, 101 n. 21.

taining month names. Stolper states: "The chronological interval between EDD IVa and EDD IIIa is of uncertain length; it is probably short. It is likely that the same calendar was in use at the times of both levels."<sup>1</sup>

Level IVa: This group includes seven non-Sumerian month names: *Belili* (according to Stolper possibly to be identified with Susa month 4 [DINGIR.MAH]), *Api* (Susa month 5), *Lallubū* (Susa month 6), *Manšarki* (Persepolis month 7), *Addaru* (Susa month 1 and Persepolis month 3), *Se-er-man*(?) (according to Stolper possibly to be identified with *Sermi*, Persepolis month 10), and *Ka<sub>4</sub>-te-en-ka<sub>4</sub>*. In addition, three Sumerian orthographies from the Standard Mesopotamian calendar were found: *GU<sub>4</sub>.SI.SÁ* (and *GU<sub>4</sub>*), *KIN* and *BÁRA.ZAG.GAR*.

Level IIIa: These tablets come from the rebuilding on the burned EDD site and thus are slightly later than Group 2. Four month names are found on one tablet: *Š[i-b]a-ri*, *Se-ru-um*, *Se-ru-um-x*[...], *Gam-ma-ma*. Stolper notes that these four months are somewhat parallel to the three months at Persepolis which comprise months 9 to 11: *Sibari*, *Sermi*, and *Kutmama* (or *Kammama*). At Susa the months *Ser'i ša erēši* (month 2) and *Ser'i ša erēši* (month 8) are non-contiguous. Therefore, perhaps the two consecutive references to *Se-ru-um* and *Se-ru-um-x*[...] may refer to the same month, presumably *Ser'i ša erēši*.

Based on the somewhat parallel Susa and Persepolis calendars, we propose a highly speculative partial reconstruction of the Anšan calendar at the end of the second millennium B.C.:

|       | Anšan                 |       | Standard Mesopotamian Calendar at Anšan |
|-------|-----------------------|-------|---|
| i.    | <i>Addaru</i>         | i.    | <i>GU<sub>4</sub>.SI.SÁ</i>             |
| ii.   |                       | ii.   |   |
| iii.  |                       | iii.  |   |
| iv.   | <i>Belili</i>         | iv.   |   |
| v.    | <i>Api</i>            | v.    | <i>KIN</i>                              |
| vi.   | <i>Lallubū</i>        | vi.   |   |
| vii.  | <i>Manšarki</i>       | vii.  |   |
| viii. |                       | viii. |   |
| ix.   | <i>Sibari</i>         | ix.   |   |
| x.    | <i>Ser'i ša erēši</i> | x.    |   |
| xi.   | <i>G/Kammama</i>      | xi.   |   |
| xii.  |                       | xii.  | <i>BÁRA.ZAG.GAR</i>                     |

1. Stolper *Tall-I Malyan*, 15.



PERSEPOLIS

Hallock noted that the tablets from Persepolis dated to the middle of the first millennium B.C. utilized two different calendars.<sup>1</sup> The majority of tablets were dated according to the Old Persian calendar, while a smaller group used a different calendar, one which Hallock suggests is presumably Elamite.

| Old Persian                                  |       | Elamite                  |
|--|-------|--------------------------|
| i. <i>Hadukannaš</i> ( <i>Adukan[a]iša</i> ) | i.    | <i>Ziklī</i>             |
| ii. <i>Turmar</i> ( <i>Thūravāhara</i> )     | ii.   | <i>Zarṣakim</i>          |
| iii. <i>Sākurriš</i> ( <i>Thāigarciš</i> )   | iii.  | <i>Hadār</i>             |
| iv. <i>Karmabataš</i> ( <i>Garmapada</i> )   | iv.   | <i>Hallime</i>           |
| v. <i>Turnabaziš</i>                         | v.    | <i>Zillatam</i>          |
| vi. <i>Karbašiyaš</i>                        | vi.   | <i>Belilit</i>           |
| vii. <i>Bakeyatiš</i> ( <i>Bāgayādiš</i> )   | vii.  | <i>Manšarki</i>          |
| viii. <i>Markašanaš</i> <sup>2</sup>         | viii. | <i>Lankelli</i>          |
| ix. <i>Hašiyatiš</i> ( <i>Aṣiyādiya</i> )    | ix.   | <i>Šibari</i>            |
| x. <i>Hanamakaš</i> ( <i>Anāmaka</i> )       | x.    | <i>Sermi</i>             |
| xi. <i>Samiyamaš</i>                         | xi.   | <i>Kutmama / Kammama</i> |
| xii. <i>Miyakannaš</i> ( <i>Viyaxna</i> )    | xii.  | <i>Aššethkupi</i>        |

Hallock has proposed that the month name *Lankelli* means "(the month of) administering the *lan* (ceremony)" and that *zikli* denotes a kind of bread.<sup>3</sup> The texts from Persepolis also contain references to a month RA.ĪAL, which is also attested in texts from Susa.<sup>4</sup>

1. R.T. Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, OIP 92, 74-75.

2. See pp. 330-331 for a discussion of the relationship of this month name and the Standard Mesopotamian month name *Arašamnu*.

3. Hallock, *op. cit.*

4. Hallock, *op. cit.*, suggests that at Susa RA.ĪAL represented the seventh month. However, he reserved judgment as to whether RA.ĪAL was a logogram for *Manšarki*.

Nuzi

Tablets from third millennium Gasur (later known as Nuzi) utilized the Early Semitic calendar. But, as at other sites, that calendar was abandoned in favor of another Semitic calendar. And when Nuzi experienced the migration of Hurrians into its territory, a Hurrian calendar was adopted as well. The Nuzi calendar was reconstructed by Gordon and Lacheman,<sup>1</sup> who identified the simultaneous use of Hurrian and Semitic calendars.<sup>2</sup> The two systems were so intertwined that, as Gordon and Lacheman note: "Hurrian and Semitic months were often mentioned in one breath. For example SMN 221 provides the sequence 'Sabûtu, Šeḫlu, Kinûnu, Huru, Mitirunnu' of which the first and third are Semitic while the second, fourth and fifth are Hurrian."

None of the Nuzi documents contains any indication of an intercalary month, despite the existence of over three hundred tablets containing month names. Among the Ur III tablets approximately 2% of the references to months are to intercalary months.<sup>3</sup> If Nuzi followed the same approximate pattern of intercalation as the cities of the Ur III period, there should be six references to an intercalary month at Nuzi. If there was no intercalation at Nuzi, then either Nuzi utilized a lunar calendar with a year of 354 days (as did pre-thirteenth century B.C. Assyria), or the Nuzi/Hurrian calendar was non-lunar, presumably consisting of twelve months, each month containing approximately thirty days. A resolution to the possibility that Nuzi utilized a lunar calendar without intercalation might be reached by associating the months with seasonal events described in those tablets. This was the methodology used by Oppenheim in his initial attempt at reconstructing the Nuzi calendar, wherein Oppenheim examined those tablets dealing with sheep shearing and with the harvest.<sup>4</sup> Unfortunately there is an insufficient number of meaningful seasonal references for each month to clearly establish whether a particular month occurred during different seasons of the year. However, Oppenheim did observe that the month *Kurillu* occurred in contexts involving sheep shearing, thus March/April at the latest, as well as apparently being "after the harvest," which agrees with Gordon and Lacheman's positioning of *Kurillu* (on the assumption that intercalation occurred)

1. Gordon and Lacheman, "The Nuzi Menology," ArOr 10 (1940), 51ff.; A.L. Oppenheim, "Die nichtsemitischen Monatsnamen der Nuzi-Texte," ArOr 8 (1936), 290ff.; Gordon, "The Names of the Months in the Nuzi Calendar," RSO XV (1934), 253ff.; G. Wilhelm, *Das Archiv des Šilwa-Teššup*, Heft 2 (Wiesbaden, 1980), 28.

2. There is one reference to a "month of funerary offerings" at Nuzi (AASOR 16 66:31: UDU.MES annû itti šipātisunu ina arḫi kišpātum ša iškiki PN ilqe "PN received these sheep with their wool in the month of the funeral offering of i[škiki]" (translation CAD I 250 sub iškiki).

3. This statistic is based upon the number of entries in Sigrist and Gomi *Catalogue*.

4. Oppenheim, *op. cit.*, 290ff.

as the third month around May/June. Gordon and Lacheman note, however, that on the basis of HSS 5 82, sheep shearing in *Kurillu* was unusual, not standard.<sup>1</sup> A factor, however, which indicates that the Hurrian calendar may have been adjusted to the seasonal calendar is the occurrence of the Semitic month name and festival *kinūnu* ("brazier") at Nuzi. Throughout Mesopotamia the Brazier Festival occurred at the onset of cold weather or during the middle of the cold season—the brazier being an object which counteracted the cold. There are five texts in which the month *kinūnu* is listed along with Hurrian months and in all five cases the order is the same.<sup>2</sup> If we assume that the seasonal observance of the brazier festival was fixed, then these texts indicate that the Hurrian months were also seasonally fixed.

Therefore, though surprisingly an intercalary month at Nuzi is not attested, the apparently fixed position of the Brazier Festival in relation to the Hurrian calendar indicates that the Hurrian calendar was seasonally adjusted.

Several of the months were named for festivals occurring during the month: *isinni ša šehali*, *isinni ša šehali ša dTešup*, *isinni ša arkabinni*, *isinni kinūni*, and *isinni mitirunni*.<sup>3</sup>

#### HURRIAN CALENDAR

##### i. *Impurtanni*

There is one attestation of the orthography *in-pur-ta-an-ni* (HSS 15 232).

##### ii. *Arkuzzi*

##### iii. *Kurilli*

The month name *kurillu* denotes a pile of sheaves, indicating a harvest occasion.<sup>4</sup>

##### iv. *Šehali ša dTešup* (=dIM)

Noting the seeming parallelism with the Sippar month *Isin-dAdad*, Gordon and Lacheman suggest that the Hurrian term *šehalu* means "festival" despite the aforementioned references to *isinni ša šehali*. Gordon and Lache-

1. Gordon and Lacheman, *op. cit.*, 55 n. 1.

2. See Gordon and Lacheman, *op. cit.*, 53 for these references (SMN 872 has inverted the established order of the months *Huru* and *Mitirunnu*).

3. For these references see Gordon and Lacheman, *op. cit.*, 63. For another reference to *isinni ša kinūni* see *Nuzi Studies* 1, 431 NBC 6500.

4. See CAD K 572 sub *kurullu* A with variant *kurillu*.

man suggest the reading dTešup for dIM,<sup>1</sup> which is supported by the personal name *Še-ḫal-Te-šup* (HSS 15 294).

##### v. *Šehali ša dNergal*

##### vi. *Arkabinni*

The Nuzi term *arkabu* (pl. *arkabēna*) denotes a bed ornamentation.<sup>2</sup> One Nuzi document mentions a festival during this month: *ina arki isinni ša Arkabinni*, "after the *arkabinnu*-festival."<sup>3</sup>

##### vii. *Attanaš(we)*

According to Gordon and Lacheman: "It is not certain whether the final syllable is the Hurrian genitive case ending."<sup>4</sup> This month name *Attanaš(we)* may be a cognate of the Alalakh month *Attana/Attanatu*. There is a reference to the "gods entering the garden" during this month.<sup>5</sup>

##### viii. *Šehlu*

During this month the goddess dU(=Ištar/Šauška) "lay down to rest" (*is-ku-pu*).<sup>6</sup>

##### ix. [...]

##### x. *Huru*

Gordon and Lacheman state: "The interpretation of *arah ḫuri* as 'the month of the Hurrians' is suggestive but uncertain."<sup>7</sup>

##### xi. *Mitirunni*

There are two Nuzi references to wheat or emmer provided for the *mitirunnu* (festival).<sup>8</sup> During this month the gods paraded to the canebrake, perhaps as part of the *mitirunni* festival.<sup>9</sup>

1. Gordon and Lacheman, *op. cit.*, 52 n. 1.

2. CAD A/2 272 sub *arkabu*. CAD sees no relationship between the month name and *arkabinnu* A, which denotes a kind of door.

3. See ArOr 10 (1940), 63.

4. Gordon and Lacheman, *op. cit.*, 61.

5. Mayer Nuzi, 148.

6. Mayer Nuzi, 148.

7. Gordon and Lacheman, *op. cit.*, 62.

8. See CAD M/2 139 sub *mitirunnu* for references.

9. Mayer Nuzi, 147: *a-na DINGIR.MEŠ a-na DU ša šu-ši*.

xii. *Ḫutalši*

The reading is confirmed by the orthography *ḫu-ta-al-ši* and *ḫu-tal-še-e*.<sup>1</sup> During this month the statue of one of the gods journeyed to the town of Natmani.<sup>2</sup>

SEMITIC CALENDAR

i. [...]

ii. *Ḫiaru*

The *ḫiaru* festival ("donkey festival") is attested in calendars across northern and western Mesopotamia.<sup>3</sup>

iii. *Ḫinzuru*

CAD suggests that the month *ḫinzurri(wa)* may be related to the Nuzi word *ḫenzūru* which denotes a particular fruit tree or a color or dye.<sup>4</sup> Gordon and Lacheman, however, had considered this month to be of Semitic origin, and favored H.L. Ginsberg's identification of this month with Syro-Arabic *Ḫizran*, also the third month of that calendar.<sup>5</sup>

iv. *Tamūzu*

The reading of this month name is based upon the Nuzi orthographies both in SMN 2212: *ta-mu-ū-zi* and *ta-mu-u[z-...]*.

v. [...]

vi. *Ulūlu*

This month name occurs in the Standard Mesopotamian calendar and in the form *Elūlu* at Old Babylonian Sippar.<sup>6</sup>

1. For references see Gordon and Lacheman, *op. cit.*, 63. Note below the similar sounding Alalakh month *Ḫatalši*.

2. Mayer, *op. cit.*

3. See our discussion of the Alalakh calendar below for this festival and see further pp. 309ff. for our discussion of the month *Ajaru*.

4. See CAD H 170 sub *ḫenzūru*.

5. Langdon *Menologies*, 65 associated the Syro-Arabic month name with Akkadian *ḫumširu*, Arabic *ḫinzīr* ("pig", "hog"), and the constellation *ḫabaširānu*. Langdon's interpretation was possibly affected by his assertion that this Nuzi month name was related to the third month of the Palmyra calendar, *ḫinzāru*.

6. For a discussion of this month name, see pp. 321ff.

vii. *Sabūtu / Sibūtu*

This month name, which probably means "seven," occurs both at Old Babylonian Sippar and at Susa.<sup>1</sup>

viii. [...]

ix. *Kinūnu*

Documents mention the *kinūnu* ("brazier") festival,<sup>2</sup> as well as groats and barley for the festival.<sup>3</sup> The personal names *Ki/Kī-nu-nu/ni*, *Kī-nu-na/ni-ti*, *īr-kī-nu-ni*, and *Šī-il-kī-nu-ni* are attested at Nuzi.<sup>4</sup>

x. to xii. [...]

In addition to these month names, one Nuzi tablet is dated to the month *iti Ḫe-gal-la* (SMN 1203) and another mentions *iti Qarrāti* (HSS 15 134 rev. 41), a month known from Assyria. A month *Ḫamannu* is attested on a Nuzi document: *a-di-i u4-mi eš-ti Ḫa-ma-an-ni*, "up to the new moon of (the month) *Ḫamanni*."<sup>5</sup>

*Ḫana / Terqa*

Alphabetic texts from the *Ḫana* region have been unearthed, texts which probably date to the same period as the alphabetic tablets from Ugarit, i.e., the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C. Among these texts is the earliest reference to the month *Kissilimu*: *yrḫ kslm*.<sup>6</sup> Cuneiform tablets from *Ḫana* include the months *iti GIS.GU.ZA* (= *Kussū*, "throne") and *iti Teritum*.<sup>7</sup> The only other known month name utilizing the word for *kussū*, "throne," is from Emar: *iti dNin-kur-ra ša kussī*.<sup>8</sup>

1. For a discussion of this month name, see p. 270.

2. HSS 14 145 (*isinni kī-nu-ni-ti*).

3. HSS 14 145: (*kī-nu-ni-ti*); HSS 15 235 (*kī-nu-ni*). For a discussion of this festival, see pp. 392-394.

4. For references see CAD K 395 sub *kinūnu*.

5. HSS 15 56:23. For the name *Ḫammanitum* see CAD H 59 sub *\*Ḫamannū*.

6. Syria 57 (1980), 352.

7. VAB 5 219 35 and for other references see Greengus, "The Akkadian Calendar at Sippar," JAOS 107 (1987), 222 n. 54.

8. See p. 344. However, note the unidentified month name *iti aš-te mušen*, *8<sup>th</sup> aš-te* also being equated to *kussū*, "throne" (W.W. Hallo, "A Letter Fragment from Tel Aphek," Tel Aviv 8 (1981), 20 [NBC 1007]).

Ḫana/Terqa was located near Mari and, based on Mari references, was in close economic, religious and political communication with Mari. And seven of the months names preserved from Terqa/Ḫana are used in the Mari calendar (*Malkānum* (2), <sup>d</sup>IGI.KUR.RA (6), *Kinūnum* (7), *Liliātum* (9), *Bēlet-biri* (10), *Kiskissum* (11), and *Ebūrum* (12)).<sup>1</sup> The month *Birizarrum* is attested at both Mari and in the Ḫana region. Podany suggests that "the name *Birizarrum* may have been peculiar to Terqa even during the kingdom of Mari; all texts that mention that name possibly originated in Terqa."<sup>2</sup>

One text (*BiMes* 16 no. 6) contains a month <sup>iti</sup>*Ba/Ma-AK-re-e*, which Roualt suggests may be identical with the Alalakh and Ugarit month name <sup>iti</sup>*Pagrū*. Podany suggests reading this month as *Ma-ag-re-e-<num>*, identifying it with the month *Magrānum* attested at Mari.<sup>3</sup>

### Alalakh

Tablets from Alalakh Level VII date to the Old Babylonian period and utilized a local calendar. The tablets of the later Level IV can be dated to approximately 1500 B.C. The Level VII tablets reveal a large Hurrian population, reflected in the onomastikon and the month names. However, by the Level IV period, the calendar contains both remnants of the Level VII Alalakh calendar and the Sumerian logograms used in the Standard Mesopotamian calendar. The Sumerian scribal notation differs, however, from those used earlier in Southern Mesopotamia in that only the first Sumerian sign of the month name is written on the tablet (i.e., *še* instead of *še-kin-ku5*). Thus 1500 B.C. at Alalakh appears to have been a period of calendrical transition, adoption of the Standard Mesopotamian calendar.

There are sixteen different months names preserved on tablets from Level VII. Two of these months occur at Level IV, while an otherwise unattested Hurrian(?) month (*šu-mu-ḫa-al-še*) occurs for the first time at Level IV.

#### LEVEL VII

*aš-ta-bi* (AT 263); although the divine-determinative does not occur, this month would seem to be named for the Hurrian deity Aštabi. Note that the Eblaite calendar of the third millennium contained a month named <sup>d</sup>Aš-da-PIL.

1. For references see Greengus, *op. cit.*, 222 n. 54 and O. Roualt, *Terqa Final Reports no. 1, L'Archive de Puzurum, BiMes* 16.

2. A. Podany, *The Chronology and History of the Ḫana Period*, diss., UCLA (1988), 189-191.

3. Podany, *op. cit.*

*at-ta-na-tim* (AT 246), *at-ia-na* (AT 247, 249, 250), *at-ta-an-na-tim* (AT 248, 251), *at-ta-na-ti* (AT 65, 252); quite possible the Nuzi month name *Attanašwa* is a cognate of the Alalakh month *Attana/At-tanatu*.<sup>1</sup>

*az-za-li* (AT 273), *i-za-al-li* (AT 7)

*ba-la-e* (AT 258, 259)

*e-ki-na* (AT 239, 242), *e-ek-ki-e-na* (AT 240), *e-ek-e-na* (AT 241), *e-ek-ki* (AT 38)

*e-qa-li* (AT 269)

*gi-ra-ri* (AT 52, 245, 251), *ki-ra-ri* (AT 40); note the existence of a first millennium B.C. Phoenecian month *krr*.

*ḫi-ia-re-e* (AT 54, 61, 242, 243), *ḫi-ia-ri* (AT 6, 63), *i-na u4-um ḫi-ia-ri-i Eš4-tár* (AT 346)

*ḫu-ti-iz-zi* (AT 264), *ḫu-di-iz-zi* (AT 39, 265), *ḫu-di-zi* (AT 11), *ḫi-di-iz-zi* (AT 96)

<sup>d</sup>LAMA (AT 266)

*li-iq-qa-še* (AT 255), *li-qa-ši* (AT 256), *li-qa-ši* (AT 257)

*mi-ša-ri* (AT 33)

NI-qa-LIM see *li-iq-qa-še*

*pa-ag-ri* (AT 35, 37, 38, 253, 269); cf. the Ugarit month *yrḫ pgrm*; this month name may be attested also at Terqa.

*ša-am-me* (AT 260), *ša-am-me-na* (AT 261, 262). This month might be related to the partially preserved month at Ugarit *yrḫ šm[ ]*. *ša-ta-al-ši/lim* (AT 264)

*ú-ti-it-ḫi* (AT 37, 236, 237, 238)

#### LEVEL IV

*ḫi-ia-ri* (AT 46)

*li-qá-ši* (AT 51)

NI-qá-LIM see *li-qá-ši*

*šu-mu-ḫa-al-še* (AT 46)

ab (AT 311, 317)

gu4 (AT 310)

1. Note the possibility that this month may be related to the Phoenecian month *yrḫ ʾnm*.

|     |                    |
|-----|--------------------|
| kin | (AT 315, 318)      |
| ne  | (AT 316)           |
| še  | (AT 312, 313, 314) |
| šu  | (AT 309)           |

Both CAD N/2 214 and AHw 792b relate the Alalakh month NI-qa-LIM to *niggallum*, "sickle" (for the month name *Niggallum* see our discussion of the Amorite calendars). However, the occurrence of the orthography *li-iq-qa-se* at Alalakh raises the possibility that NI-qa-LIM at Alalakh is to be read *li-qa-si* (perhaps related to *lqš*, "late planting," as in the Gezer calendar). A month *Niqalu* is attested at Emar and *nql* at Ugarit.

In a tablet from Alalakh the *emesal* form of the Assyrian month *Bēlet-ekallim* is attested (Wiseman *Alalakh* 238): <sup>ii</sup>GASAN.É.GAL

Across western and northern Mesopotamia in the second millennium B.C. the *hijaru* festival was observed, providing a month name at Alalakh, Ugarit, and Emar. The term *hijaru* has been most recently discussed by J.-M. Durand, who argues convincingly that the festival and month name *hijaru* is to be identified with the Mari term *hāru*, *ha'aru*, or *ajaru*, meaning "donkey"<sup>1</sup>; thus *hijaru* was the 'Donkey Festival'.<sup>2</sup> Quite possibly *Ajaru*, an Amorite month name, which was adopted also at Sippar and later in the Standard Mesopotamian calendar, is related to the month and festival *hijaru*. The positioning of this month as the twelfth month at Sippar suggests that this may have been a celebration over the newborn donkeys, perhaps expanding into a festival for all newborn herding animals, such as sheep and cattle.

Two tablets from Alalakh list offerings of sheep for the "day of the *hijaru* (festival) of Ištar."<sup>3</sup> At Emar and Aleppo the *hijaru* festival was a festival of the storm-god Adad.<sup>4</sup> The *hijaru* offering (*sizkur-re hi-ja-ri-im*) is attested at Aleppo in the correspondence of Asqudum, who writes in several letters that he plans to arrive at Aleppo several days before the *hijaru* offering.<sup>5</sup> Upon his arrival in Aleppo he states that the offerings have been made: *anše dIM-ma ù sizkur-re it-ta-qú-u*.<sup>6</sup> Durand has understood this reference to *anše dIM-ma* as referring to the *hijaru*, 'the donkey offering'. The importance of this

1. J.-M. Durand, MARI 1/1, 121-122. Durand observes "On trouve en effet ce terme de *hiyārim* remplacé par l'expression <<*anše dIM*>>, <<l'âne du dieu de l'Orage>>, dans le texte n° 20 [A.2387]."

2. Hittite texts mention a similar sounding festival EZEM *hiya(r)raš* (H Güterbock, "Some Aspects of Hittite Festivals," CRRA 17 [1970], 177, for which Güterbock offers no translation).

3. Alalakh 346 and 348, treated most recently by J.-M. Durand, MARI 1/1, 121.

4. Emar VI/2, 590 edge: "On the 18th day (of the month *Halma*) is the *Hijaru*-festival of Adad. A calf and two sheep are slaughtered. He who performs the ritual eats and drinks."

5. A.711 and A.2369, J.-M. Durand, *op. cit.*, 127 and 131.

6. A. 2387, J.-M. Durand, *op. cit.*, 131.

festival is underscored by Asqudum's continual references to the *hijaru* festival in his letters to the king. At Mari a tablet records the disbursement of good quality oil for the goddesses Ninḫursag and Mārat-iltim for the "washing of the *hijaru* (*me-si-i<sup>1</sup> ha-ya-ar-tim*)" on the 28th of the third month.<sup>1</sup> And during the reign of Zimri-Lim an ox was sacrificed as a royal offering for the *hijaru* of the goddess Dirītum.<sup>2</sup>

The *hijaru* festival was observed in Ugarit on the 18th of the second month, *Hiyaru*. An offering list<sup>3</sup> for the month *Hiyaru* specifies that on the 18th of the month the king participated in a ritual washing and various types of offerings to various deities were offered at three sites: the cultic place (*gb*) of Mt. Šapānu (the site of Ba'al's temple), at the cultic place of *ršp* "the Mighty," and at the cultic place of *hyr*, a special site somehow associated with this festival.

### *Calendar of Unknown Provenience*

A Neo-Assyrian lexical tablet lists six different calendars, associating each month with the supposed corresponding month in the Standard Mesopotamian calendar.<sup>4</sup> The first three calendars are Sumerian: the first is the Ur calendar, the second is from Uruk, and the third is from Lagaš/Girsu. The last three are Semitic: the fourth is of unknown provenience, the fifth is the calendar of Susa, and the sixth is the Restored Assyrian calendar.

There are two features which aid in identifying the native site for this fourth calendrical system. First, the calendars were listed south to north: Ur, Uruk, and Girsu, and then the two identified Semitic calendars, Elam and Assyria. (Ordering cities south to north is a somewhat common scribal practice when listing cities.) If this supposition is correct, then the home of calendar four should be south of Susa. Secondly, the sites identified in this calendar are major historical sites. Unfortunately, however, we are unable to offer an identification of this site. The months are:

- i. [...]
- ii. [x]-su-um
- iii. a-pi-nu-um
- iv. a-ḫa-um
- v. [...] -tum
- vi. s/zà-ar-qá-tum

1. TH 82.68, D. Charpin, MARI 3, 87 no. 25.

2. See J.-M. Durand, *op. cit.*, 122 with n. 12.

3. G. del Olmo Lete, *Aula Orientalis* 6 (1988), 190ff.

4. 5R pl. 43.

- vii. NAR-ba-[a]-te/na
- viii. šu-[...]-um
- ix. [...]
- x. [...]
- xi. ib-ta-a-zu
- xii. [...]<sup>1</sup>

Several of the months in this fourth calendar appear to be Semitic. Perhaps the third month *a-pi-nu* derives from *epinnu*, "plow." The fourth month, *a-pa-um* is probably a form of the month *Ab/pum*. The sixth month might be related to *sarāqu*, "to sprinkle," alluding to a ritual observance.

## The Levant

From Ugarit of the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C. many of the month names are preserved on ritual and economic documents, some tablets listing multiple months, thereby aiding in the reconstruction of the sequence of months. The month names are written as part of the genitival construction "month (*yrh*) of ..." The following eleven month names which differ from those of the Standard Mesopotamian calendar are attested on tablets from Ugarit utilizing the alphabetic script: *gn*, *hlt*, *hyr*, *ib'lt*, *iḫ*, *ittbnm*, *mgmr*, *nql*, *pgrm*, *riš yn*, and *šm[ ]*.<sup>1</sup> Four of these month names occur on tablets from Ugarit using the Akkadian cuneiform script rather than the Ugaritic alphabetic script: *hiyaru*,<sup>2</sup> *hallatu*,<sup>3</sup> *rēš jani*,<sup>4</sup> and *magmaru*.<sup>5</sup> Another month, *išigi*, occurs only in Akkadian cuneiform script from Ugarit.<sup>6</sup> As discussed below, the months *pgrm* and *dbhm* may denote the same month—thus, with *išigu*, all twelve months of the Ugarit calendar may be attested.

The civil calendar quite likely began in the spring as elsewhere throughout the Near East, as noted by J.C. de Moor:<sup>7</sup>

Now there exists some evidence that this date too may have been regarded as a New Year at Ugarit. ... king Krt had to bake bread during the fifth and the sixth months for his campaign against Udm. Thus it is likely that the campaign started in the seventh month. After a week's march his army encounters firewood gatherers... As the gathering of firewood took place in September and early October it is almost certain that ... refer to a year be-

1. For references to and/or discussions of the Ugarit calendar see Gordon *Ugaritic Textbook*, 414; J.-M. de Tarragon, *Le culte à Ugarit*, *Cahiers de la revue Biblique* 19 (1980) Chapitre I: Le calendrier cultuel, 17-29; J.P.L. Olivier, "Notes on the Ugaritic Month Names," *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages* 1 (1971), 39-45 and "Notes on the Ugaritic Month Names II," *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages* 2 (1972), 53-59. The month *šm[ ]* occurs in KRU 1.87 (transliterated G. del Olmo Lete, *Aula Orientalis* 5 [1987], 269).

2. RS25, 455 quoted by Gordon *Ugaritic Textbook*, 401; RS 34.169 nos. 2 and 25 in *Une bibliothèque au sud de la ville Ras Shamra - Ougarit VII*, ed. P. Bordreuil (Paris, 1991).

3. C. Schaeffer, *Mission de Ras Shamra* 12, no. 101, ii, 5'.

4. C. Schaeffer, *Mission de Ras Shamra* 12, no. 107 11.

5. See AHw 577.

6. C. Schaeffer, *Mission de Ras Shamra* 12, no. 152, 4.

7. J.C. de Moor, *The Seasonal Pattern in the Ugaritic Myth of Ba'lu*, AOAT 16, 61-62.

1. The scribe placed the twelfth month of the Elamite calendar in this position and repeated the twelfth month of the Ur calendar (ezem-[d]Me-ki-gál) as the twelfth month of the Elamite calendar.

ginning about the time of the vernal equinox. ... Whereas the Ugarit cultic year appears to begin in autumn and the civil year in the spring ...

The month *yrh riš yn* as 'Month of Head-of-Wine' refers to the first month of wine production, which should occur around September.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, as de Moor demonstrates, this month was one of the starting points of the cultic calendar. Thus this month should correspond to the seventh month of the civil calendar.

The month *hry* occurs during the harvest period.<sup>2</sup>

UT 1088 contains the months *hry*, *hlt*, *gn*, and *itb* in sequence. UT 1106 contains four sequential months: *riš yn*, *nql*, *mgmr*, and *pgrm* and UT 1099 precedes *riš yn* with *itbnm*. UT 1160, however, lists *nql*, *mgmr*, followed by the month name *dbhm* instead of *pgrm* as in UT 1106. Olivier notes the possibility that *yrh dbhm* may have been the Canaanite alternative for the Ugaritic-Alalakh month *pgrm*. However, de Tarragon, following the suggestion of Virolleaud, asserts that *yrh dbhm* was not an actual month name, but rather was descriptive: "the month of sacrifices."<sup>3</sup> According to UT 2012 *itbnm* preceded *riš yn*. Therefore most of the months can tentatively be positioned within the Ugaritic calendar:

- i. *yrh ib'lt*
- ii. *yrh hiyaru*
- iii. *yrh halatu*
- iv. *yrh gn*
- v. *yrh itb*
- vi. *yrh itbnm*
- vii. *yrh reš yani*
- viii. *yrh nql*
- ix. *yrh magmaru*
- x. *yrh pgrm*
- xi. *yrh šm[ ]/išigu*
- xii. *yrh šm[ ]/išigu*

i. *yrh ib'lt*

Based on ritual text KTU 1.119, the month *yrh ib'lt* may be the first month (March/April) of the year:

1. Gordon *Ugaritic Textbook*, 414.

2. J.P.L. Olivier, "Notes on the Ugaritic Month Names," *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages* 2 (1972), 52.

3. De Tarragon, *op. cit.*, 27-28.

- > KTU 1.119 details a seven day festival during this month which creates the symmetry with the seven day festival of the seventh month (*yrh riš yn*), although the seven day festival in *yrh ib'lt* began on the 17th or 18th (cf. the Hebrews' seven-day festivals of the first and seventh months);
- > this festival involved special offerings for the royal dynasty which would be appropriate for the first month of the civil calendar, the month from which kings counted the reigns; moreover the reference to libations for primordial kingship (*mtk mlkt rišyt*) reinforces the likelihood that this was a festival of kingship;
- > the special offerings to Ba'al and the references in the prayer to Ba'al to a banquet in his temple is reminiscent of the dedication of Ba'al's temple with its banquet as described in the myth of Ba'al (CTA 4:VI 40-43, 55-59) which de Moor assigns to the March/April time period.<sup>1</sup>

ii. *yrh hiyaru*

For *hry* as the month of the "Donkey Festival," see our discussion of the month *Hi-ia-ri* at Alalakh.

v. *yrh itb*

Olivier suggests that the Ugarit month *itb* is related to the Alalakh month *Aš-ta-bi*.<sup>2</sup>

viii. *yrh nql*

At Emar a month name *Ni-qa-li* is attested, possibly to be identified with the Ugaritic month *nql*.<sup>3</sup>

ix. *yrh magmaru*

Gordon suggests that the month *mgmr* (*magmaru* in cuneiform script) is a nominal derivative of the verb *gmr*, "to complete."<sup>4</sup>

1. De Moor, *op. cit.*, 155: "Since the typical Oriental house-warming is related in a part of the myth that must be dated about the time of the vernal equinox it is likely that the dedication of the temple of Ba'lu was celebrated at the civil New Year, but further evidence corroborating this hypothesis must be awaited."

2. J. P. L. Olivier, "Notes on the Ugaritic Month Names," *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages* 1 (1971), 43.

3. For discussion of possible other occurrences, see p. 374.

4. Gordon *Ugaritic Textbook*, 380.

x. *yrh pgrm*

The month *pagrû* occurs at Alalakh and possibly Terqa, as well.<sup>1</sup> Gordon quotes Virolleaud who suggests the term means 'corpses', and refers to funerary activities.<sup>2</sup> At Mari there were special libations called *nîq pagrê* and the god Dagan had the epithet *bêl pagrê*.<sup>3</sup> Whether these cultic allusions are related to the ritual of a month *pagrû* cannot be determined.

The month *yrh dbhm*, "the month of sacrifices," (which is used to describe this month [see p. 378]), may be analogous to the Phoenician month *zbbšmš*. This Phoenician month name has been understood as referring to a specific month during which special sacrifices were made to the sun.<sup>4</sup>

xi/xii. *yrh šm* [ ] / *išigu*

A partially preserved term which some have suggested may be a month name occurs on one of the Ugaritic alphabetic texts, which de Tarragon suggests be read as either *šim*[...] or *šm*[...].<sup>5</sup> De Tarragon *apud* Olivier draws attention to the Alalakh month *šamme/šammena* which might be related to the Ugaritic month if the reading *šm*[...] is correct. As noted below, one of the Ugaritic texts utilizing the Akkadian script lists a month *šigi*. Perhaps this is a variant of the Ugaritic month *šim*[...] in the alphabetic script and not a distinct month name.

At least one of the Standard Mesopotamian calendar months is attested on tablets containing the alphabetic-script from Ugarit or Hana.<sup>6</sup> The month *yrh kslm* is attested on an alphabetic-script tablet from Hana, probably of the same time period as the Ugaritic tablets (Syria [1980], 352 no. Hani 78/14). And another Standard Mesopotamian month, *Addaru*, is possibly attested in the expression *gšm 'dr*, "the rains of *Addaru*?", (although the term *yrh* does not occur).<sup>7</sup>

There is an Akkadian literary composition for which there is a copy written at Ugarit in which a knowledge of the Standard Mesopotamian calendar

1. For *pagru* at Alalakh, see p. 373; for the *pagrû* sacrifice at Terqa, see p. 372. However, A. Podany, *The Chronology and History of the Hana Period*, diss., UCLA (1988), 189-191 suggests reading the Terqa month as *Ma-ag-re-e-num*, identifying it with the month *Magrānum* attested at Mari.

2. Gordon *Ugaritic Textbook*, 466 *apud* Virolleaud, CRAIBL (1952), 230.

3. See AHw 809 sub *pagrū'm*.

4. See Olivier, *op. cit.*, 56 for references to this interpretation.

5. See de Tarragon, *op. cit.*, 19 for a discussion as to whether this is a month name.

6. See p. 327 note 1 for *yrh 'šrt* having been erroneously read *yrh tšrt* and, as a result, being understood as a reference to the seventh month of the Standard Mesopotamian calendar.

7. P. Bordreuil, "La mention du mois d'Adaru dans une lettre du roi de Tyr au roi d'Ougarit (RS 18.59 i.14)," *Semitica* 40 (1991), 28-30.

is demonstrated. The first month of the Standard Mesopotamian calendar was *Nisannu*, denoted by the Southern-Mesopotamian Sumerian first month *iūbāra-zag-gar*. This relationship, as well as the derivation of the name *Nisannu* from *nisag*, "first," is intertwined in the composition "The Message of Lú-Dingir-ra to His Mother," wherein a syllabic rendering of *iūbāra-zag-gar* as *pa-ra-za-an-kar* occurs in the Ugaritic version. The non-Ugaritic recension parallels *zag-mu*, "the new year" (translated loosely into Akkadian as "early") with *nisag*, "the first produce": *gurun-zag-mu-a nī-tu-ḥu-um* (var.: *giš.Ú.SAR; ú.giš.SAR*) *nisag-gá inbu pan šatti muṭhummu nissāni* "An early fruit, the yield of the first month."<sup>1</sup> In the Ugaritic version the month *iūbāra-zag-gar* has replaced *nisag* but is still translated by *nissannu*: [*gurun-zag*]-*mu G[URU]N<sup>2</sup>. Giš.KIRI<sub>6</sub> [iū]bāra-zag-gar ku-ru-um za-an-ku mu-ut-ḥu pa-ra-za-an-kar inbu ša pana [...]* MU *x ti muṭhummi nissāni*.<sup>2</sup> Thus the Ugarit scribe was aware that *iūbāra-zag-gar* was the first month of the Standard Mesopotamian calendar and that it was an orthography for *Nisannu*.

### *Festivals at Ugarit*

Some of the festivals which comprised the Ugarit cultic year can be discerned from mythological contexts as well as from monthly offering lists.<sup>3</sup>

As suggested above, the month *yrh ib'lt* may have been the first month of the year. The one-day festival occurred on the 7th. A seven day festival whose basic theme seems to have been the reaffirmation of divine and temporal kingship began on the 17th or 18th of the month. On the 17th the king participated in a ritual lustration, followed by sacrifices of cows to the gods Ilu and Ba'al, and to the 'lord' and 'lady'. Thereafter a fire was lit in the assembly-room(?) ('d) of the temple of Ba'al, and a lamb and a dove were offered for the dynastic line(?) ('t). On the 18th day (which either began a seven-day festival or was a continuation of the festival of the 17th) an ox was sacrificed in the tower of Ba'al's temple, a burnt-offering was made, the king performed a sacrifice, offerings were presented to Išharayu and Ba'al at the temple of Ilu, and an ass was sacrificed. The festival ended at sunset on the seventh day.

The *ḥiyaru* festival, which may well have been the occasion for celebrating the birth of domesticated animals, in particular that of the newborn don-

1. M. Civil, "The Message of Lú-Dingir-ra to His Mother," JNES 23 (1964), 1ff.

2. *Ugaritica* V 314.

3. The following presentation is limited to an overview of those cultic events which appear to be annual celebrations. For rituals for the new moon and other monthly rituals, see de Tarragon, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-30, wherein de Tarragon discusses the entire ritual calendar at Ugarit in depth.



keys, was observed in Ugarit on the 18th of the second month (*yrh hyr*). A schedule of offerings<sup>1</sup> for this month specifies that on the 18th of the month the king participated in a ritual washing and various types of offerings to many deities were offered at three sites: the cultic place (*gb*) of Mt. Šapānu (the mythologized site of Ba'al's temple), at the cultic place of *ršp* "the Mighty," and at the cultic place of *hyr*, a special site somehow associated with this festival.

De Moor observes that on the 1st of the month *yrh riš yn*:

The king had to sacrifice *b. gg 'ar[b'] 'arb' mšbt 'azmr. bh* 'on the roof on which there are four by four dwellings of cut-off foliage.' In my opinion this clinches the matter: important elements of the Hebrew Feast of Tabernacles originated with the Canaanites.<sup>2</sup>

The wine festival (*riš yn*) of Ugarit commenced during the full moon of the seventh month (*yrh riš yn*).<sup>3</sup> On the 13th of the month the king participated in a ritual washing. On the 14th there was an offering for the first of the purple dye (*riš argmn*). De Moor, in his seasonal interpretation of the myth of Ba'al, interprets the passage as relating the goddess 'Anat's adorning herself with the purple snail as a reference to this observance. Offerings were then made to several deities followed by a ritual washing for the king, who then performed an expiation rite (*mhy*) and officially proclaimed the seven-day festival. On the first day a bunch of grapes was offered to Ilu. Various types of offerings to various deities were performed, and at sunset of the seventh day the festival was over, i.e., the king was no longer in a state of holiness (*hl mlk*). De Moor observes that "according to one tablet a man was allowed to drink his fill on the first day [of the festival]. Even the dead received libations of wine. Thus it becomes fully understandable why Eli took it for granted that Hannah was drunk at the festival (1 Sam. 1:13)!"<sup>4</sup> Concerning the wine libations for the dead, one text records "the hill of the libation-pipes", i.e., the burial mound, receives three jars of wine. This offering is hardly different from ... 'and into the mountain fourteen jars of wine'.<sup>5</sup> Based upon the myth of Ba'al, De Moor suggests that during this wine festival ritual combat (perhaps lasting as long as four days) may have been performed, symbolizing the goddess 'Anat's bloody combat, the shedding of

1. G. del Olmo Lete, *Aula Orientalis* 6 (1988), 190ff. For a discussion of the term *hyr* at Ugarit, see de Tarragon, *op. cit.*, pp. 22ff., which was written before Durand's suggestion that the month *hyr* probably refers to a Donkey Festival. For a discussion of the meaning of the term *hyr* in other calendrical systems, see pp. 374-375.

2. De Moor, *op. cit.*, 59.

3. See G. del Olmo Lete, *Aula Orientalis* 5 (1987), 258ff.

4. De Moor, *op. cit.*, 59.

5. De Moor, *op. cit.*, 79.

blood perhaps being an act to ensure the coming rains.<sup>1</sup> De Moor notes:<sup>2</sup>

Official Judaism celebrated the Feast of Tabernacles at this time of year. According to Zech. 14:17 it depended on the celebration of this Feast whether people might expect enough rain in the following agricultural year. Thus prayers for rain occupy a prominent place in the liturgy and the Mishna states that libations of water and wine should be poured on each day of the Feast (Sukka IV.9). Because this rite was designed to promote rainfall, it may originally have been a rite of sympathetic magic.

A cuneiform text found at Ugarit refers to the festival of Kubaba (EZEM : *i-si-nu ša dKu-bā-bā*).<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately the tablet does not record the name of the month. Moreover, it is not certain that the author of the letter is referring to a festival at Ugarit.

### Other Calendars

A limestone slab discovered in 1908 has been dubbed the Gezer Calendar, though it is not a true calendar, but rather a seasonally ordered listing of agricultural activities.<sup>4</sup>

His two months are (olive) harvest, (*'sp*)

His two months are planting (grain), (*zr'*)

His two months are late planting; (*lqš*)

His month is hoeing up of flax, (*'šd pšt*)

His month is harvest of barley, (*qsr s'rm*)

His month is harvest and feasting; (*qsr hl*)

His two months are vine-tending, (*zmr*)

His month is summer fruit. (*qs*)

According to Albright "recent discoveries establish its relative archaism and point to the second half of the tenth century or the very beginning of the ninth as its probable time. ... The language is good biblical Hebrew, in a very early spelling; it is written in verse and seems to have been a kind of mnemonic ditty for children."<sup>6</sup> Wirgin suggests that the content is a prayer: "Rather should we call it a silent prayer that nothing should happen which

1. De Moor, *op. cit.*, 94.

2. De Moor, *op. cit.*, 99.

3. *Ugaritica* 5, 159 no. 63 (R.S. 20.182c): "My brother, don't you know that the festival of Kubaba is upon us?"

4. Published by R.A.S. Macalister, *Excavations at Gezer*, II, 24ff.; translation according to W.F. Albright in J. Pritchard, *ANET*, 320.

5. Talmon, "The Gezer Calendar and the Seasonal Cycle of Ancient Canaan," *JAOS* 83 (1963), 177, noting the lack of evidence supporting the growing of flax in Palestine before the middle of the first millennium B.C., supports Tur-Sinai's suggested translation: "cutting of sundry herbs and grass."

6. W.F. Albright, *op. cit.*

would interfere with the normal order of things in nature. The hole in the stone served for fastening the tablet on the wall of a public holy place for everyone to see and to watch and to behave according to the divine commandments, so the community should deserve divine grace."<sup>1</sup> Talmon places the authoring of this document between 950–925 B.C. and suggests "One may surmise that the G[ezer] C[alendar] is an official document which presents in proper chronological sequence the main farming seasons in the district of the lowlands of ancient Palestine. Most probably it was drawn up for the purpose of tax-collections on behalf of the royal administration."<sup>2</sup>

This document lists an agricultural activity for each month or two month period, although never providing the actual month names. The list concludes with the summer months, which has raised the possibility that the starting point of the activities in this tablet mirrors the start of the local calendar, i.e., the calendar began in the autumn. Note that a Sumerian text, popularly called the Farmers' Almanac, describing the yearly agricultural activities, begins with spring activities, which coincides with the beginning of the Mesopotamian calendar year.

From the last centuries B.C. most of the months of the Phoenician calendar are attested in Semitic inscriptions from Sidon, Kition, Idalion, Tamosos, Larnax Lapethos, Pyrgi, and Carthage: *yrh bl*, *yrh mp*,<sup>3</sup> *yrh mpr*,<sup>4</sup> *yrh zbhšmš*, *yrh 'tnm*, *yrh p'lt*, *yrh krr*, *yrh zhh*,<sup>3</sup> and *yrh hyr*.<sup>4</sup> Two of these months, *yrh 'tnm* and *yrh bl*, are attested in I Kings (6:37–38, 8:1) and equated with the seventh

1. *Eretz Israel* 6 (1960), 9\*–12\*.

2. Talmon, *op. cit.*, states that the document "did not precede the rebuilding of Gezer as an Israelite fortress by Solomon" and "cannot be dated later than the destruction of that city by Pharaoh Shishak in the fifth year of Rehoboam's reign."

A Syriac prayer (ca. 400–800 A.D.) is somewhat reminiscent of the contents of the Gezer tablet and might provide support for Wirgin's interpretation (S.P. Brock, "A Dispute of the Months and Some Related Syriac Texts," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 30 [1985], 188):

Through your mercies, Lord, may the months  
be for us the source of joys, the years, of delight;  
let them bring us (their products) in peace, Lord:  
Nisan its flowers, Iyyar its lilies too,  
Ḥaziran its sheaves, Tammuz its heaps of grain;  
let Ab and Illul bring along clusters (of grapes) on poles,  
let the two Teshris give response to each other in the (grape-)pressing;  
let the two Kanuns bring rest, Shebat and Adar, the Fast.  
To you, Lord, be the praise.

3. For *yrh zhh* see OA 4 (1965), 175.

4. There is a reference to *mzrh* (Cooke NSI no. 33 found at Piraeus, dated to 96 B.C., but concerns individuals from Sidon), which might be a month name, but omits the term *yrh* ("month") expected before month names. For a discussion of this entry see Langdon *Menologies*, 25 n. 3 and cf. <sup>14</sup>Marzāḥani at Emar (p. 344 with note 2). There is a reference to *yrh mp' lḥny*, which might refer to a second month by the same name, or to the same month in the previous year (Donner and Röllig *Inschriften* no. 43).

and eighth months respectively.<sup>1</sup> A third month attested in I Kings, *yrh zv* (month 2), is probably also from the Phoenician calendar:

*yrh zv* - "In the four hundred and eightieth year after the Israelites left the land of Egypt, in the month *zv*—that is, the second month—in the fourth year of his reign over Israel, Solomon began to build the House of the Lord" (I Kings 6:1).

*yrh 'tnm* - "All the men of Israel gathered before King Solomon at the Feast, in the month '*tnm*—that is, the seventh month" (I Kings 8:1).

*yrh zv* and *yrh bl* - "In the fourth year, in the month *zv*, the foundations of the House were laid; and in the eleventh year, in the month *bl*—that is, the eighth month—the House was completed according to all its details and all its specifications" (I Kings 6:37–38).

We have serious reservations as to whether the Hebrews of Israel and Judea ever utilized the Phoenician calendar with any regularity. All references derive from the account of Solomon's construction of the temple, a project which necessitated the cooperation of and coordination with Hiram of Tyre—who most certainly did use the Phoenician calendar. Quite possibly the use of the Phoenician calendar in this account of the temple construction may be partially based upon Phoenician source documents or upon royal correspondence between Solomon and Hiram, which, for international purposes, utilized Hiram's Phoenician calendar. The absence of even one reference to the Phoenician calendar in any other section of I Kings or in any other biblical book is a strong argument against the hypothesis that the Phoenician calendar, at some period, was the official calendar of the Hebrews.

Exodus and Deuteronomy refer to a spring month (March/April) as *Abib* (Exodus 13:4, 23:15, 34:18, Deuteronomy 16:1), a month unknown from any other source.<sup>2</sup> The month *hōdeš h<sup>a</sup>abib* is attested in more than one section of the Bible, although always in the same context, i.e., laws concerning the festivals of the spring. One unusual aspect of the term is the form *hōdeš h<sup>a</sup>abib*, rather than \**hōdeš abib*. If *hōdeš* is the Judean term for month, then this might be a month from the Judean calendar. However, the form *h<sup>a</sup>abib* does raise the possibility that this is not a month name, but rather a reference to an agricultural or seasonal event, "the month of the ...," a practice in many of the cuneiform documents of the Old Babylonian period.

The most pervasive method of designating particular months in the Bible is simple ordinal enumeration, i.e., "the first month," "the seventh month,"

1. The month *yrh 'tnm* may be related to the Alalakh level VII month *at-ta-na* and *at-ta-na-ti(m)* and to the Nuzi month *Attanašwa*.

2. *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, 485 sub *Calendar* interprets *Abib* as the "green heads of grain appearing in this month"; H.L. Ginsberg, *Israelian Heritage*, 44 n. 60 translates "milky grain."

etc. Aramaic documents refer to *yrh smnh*, which might be a month name or the ordinal "eighth month" and *yrh sb*, an ordinal: "the seventh month."<sup>1</sup> However, since actual month names occur in Aramaic documents these ordinal month references were probably not part of a system which used numbers instead of proper month names, as has been suggested for the Hebrew calendar in some periods.

The Jews, the Nabateans, the Palmyrans, and other Aramaic-speaking peoples adopted the Standard Mesopotamian calendar.<sup>2</sup> All biblical references to the Standard Mesopotamian month names occur in books dealing with the Persian period, the period of the Jews return from exile.<sup>3</sup>

The Standard Mesopotamian month names appear also in the Elephantine papyri from the end of the fifth century B.C. These documents are legal documents which were dated to both the Egyptian and local Jewish calendars, i.e., the Standard Mesopotamian calendar.<sup>4</sup>

In addition to months from the Standard Mesopotamian calendar in the Aramaic texts, there are other months from unidentified calendars. There is a receipt of silver for the two months *yrh yr* (the second month of the Standard Mesopotamian calendar) and *yrh trlt*.<sup>5</sup> Another month *yrh tsrh* (translated by Lipinski as "the month of Purification") is attested in an Aramaic document.<sup>6</sup>

The month *Adnātum* is found on an early second millennium text from Mari. The term *adnātu* is attested in Standard Babylonian as a plural tantum "world" (CAD A/1 128). However, no Old Babylonian references exist. The tablet containing this month name was probably written in Carchemish.<sup>7</sup>

1. F.M. Fales, *Aramaic Epigraphs on Clay Tablets of the Neo-Assyrian Period*, Università degli studi "La Sapienza" (1986), 230 nos. 50 and 51.

2. For the variations among these calendars, see pp. 299-300.

3. *Nisan*: Neh. 2:1 and Esth. 3:7; *Sivan* (= *Simanu*) Esth. 8:9; *Elul* Neh. 6:15; *Kislev* (= *Kis(s)limu*): Neh. 1:1; *Tebet* (= *Tebētū*): Esth. 2:16; *Sevat* (= *Sabāfu*): Zech. 1:7; *Addar*: Ezra 6:15 and Esth. 3:7 and following. The months *Nisan*, *Elul*, *Kislev*, *Sevat* and *Addar* are also mentioned in several of the books of the Apocrypha.

4. For such documents, cf. E.G. Kracling, *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri* (New Haven, 1953).

5. E. Lipinski, *Acta Antiqua* 22 (1974), 383 O.3656.

6. F.M. Fales, *op. cit.*, 230 no. 49 = Donner and Röllig *Inschriften* no. 236.

7. ARM 8 no. 78: *Ja Kar-su-um*<sup>ki</sup>.

## FESTIVAL THEMES

*The maid-servant, the sailor, and the school-boy, are  
the three beings that enjoy a holiday beyond all the  
rest of the world.*

*Leigh Hunt*  
The Maid-Servant

## Festival Traditions

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Our understanding of the nature and development of the cultic calendar of Mesopotamia is, to a large measure, at the mercy of the vagaries of archaeology. This is a caveat tacitly accepted by Assyriologists in all areas of Mesopotamian research. Theory which withstood decades of excavation and research may suddenly have to be abandoned or reformulated in light of just one, newly unearthed tablet. Thus generalizations and comparisons of the cult from place to place, from period to period, are inherently flawed. In one city the tablets may have been excavated in temple remains, in another among royal archives, and at a third site in the storeroom of a commercial enterprise. The tablets at each of these locations fulfilled different requirements, and any reconstruction of cultic life will be skewed according to the perspectives of these sources. This relationship between our ability to reconstruct the cult and the nature of our sources is typified in the study of pre-Sargonic Lagaš, where we are, for the most part, restricted to the administrative records of the governor's wife. Most cultic activities for which she was not responsible are hidden from us.

The abundance of economic documents from the third millennium, particularly from Puzriš-Dagan, whose very charter was to serve the cultic requirements of Sumer, depicts a relationship between the festival cycle and agricultural life. There were observances to mark the grain harvest, the plowing and planting seasons, the making of malt, and the gathering of the fall produce. However, although there are scattered references to ritual objects and sacred locations, little information concerning the use of these objects, places, or rites is available. The opposite holds true beginning with the end of the second millennium. From excavations at Emar, Babylon, Nineveh, and Uruk there are detailed accounts of festival rituals—schedules of activities in the temples; the role of divine statues, priests, artisans, singers, and the king; procedures for making offerings; and the timing and contents of prayers to the gods. Yet the economic documents are generally silent on cultic activity, and, perhaps as a result of this, understanding of the relationship between the cult and the agricultural cycle in the first millennium is almost entirely lacking, (with the exception, perhaps, of the cult of Tammuz).

And in all periods our appreciation of the cult is restricted to those elements of society serviced by the clay tablet—usually the palace and the temple. There are but glimpses into the citizen's involvement in the cultic life of his city—pre-Sargonic accounts of festival disbursements to artisans and workers or ritual comments, such as at Emar: "When young and old of the city of Šatappu observe the *kizzu*-festival for Dagan ..."; "and all the men and women of the city, each and every one of them, takes in their presence the breads made from thirty of those dough strips and the buckets (of bitters, sweets, and barley-beer)."<sup>1</sup>

Despite these limitations imposed by the source material, we are aware of certain festivals which transcended time and place: the *akītu*-festival, festivals for the netherworld, festivals for Dumuzi/Tammuz, the observance of the 7th day of the 7th month, and the *elūnum*, *ḫumṭum*, *kinūnum*, and *nabrūm* observances. Unfortunately, with the exception of the *akītu*-festival, we have but fleeting references to these observances, little substance with which to develop an understanding of each holiday.

Two of the major observances of the Ur calendar were the *á-ki-ti* festivals of the first and seventh month, observances which marked the beginning of the equinox cycles<sup>2</sup>—the perceived struggle between the moon (the chief god of Ur) and the sun. The pageantry of Nanna triumphantly entering his city Ur appealed to other Mesopotamian cities, which in turn adopted the festival, celebrating it two times a year, as at Ur. The festival was adapted for the chief deity of each city and no longer had any overt connection with the equinoxes. As at Ur the others cities constructed an *akītu*-building outside the city walls in which the god resided until his grandiose entry into the city. Having entered the city, the god then performed ritual activities which symbolized his setting in order the administration of his new home. (For a full discussion of the development and ritual associated with the *akītu*-festival, see the following chapter.)

A festival dealing with netherworld spirits of deceased family members was a common observance throughout Mesopotamia. In Nippur the festival was the *ne-IZI-gar*, a term probably based upon the lighting of lamps and torches to aid the ghosts through the dark corridors leading out of the netherworld at night. At other Sumerian cities the name of the observance was *ab-è*. Another observance, perhaps of Amorite origin, was the *ab/pum*, a term denoting a mound which covered a passageway to the netherworld through which the deceased could return to the surface or through which the living could provide offerings to the dead.

1. For these references, see p. 352.

2. For a discussion of this equinox cycle, see p. 6.

Festivals involving gods consigned to the netherworld were also observed throughout many cities of Mesopotamia. These festivals were tied to the cult of the disappearing god, occasionally becoming intertwined with observances for deceased kings—rulers identified with those disappearing deities. In most cities it was Dumuzi who had gone to the netherworld, while at Ur it was Ninazu, and at Lagaš Lugalurubara, Lugalurub, or Baba. This cult of Dumuzi or Tammuz persisted vigorously not only into the first millennium B.C., but rituals involving the dead Tammuz were performed at Harran in Syria as late as Medieval times. (For a full discussion of festivals of the netherworld, see pp. 454ff.).

### *The 7th Day of the 7th Month*

Thomas Mann observed: "Seven is a good handy figure in its way, picturesque, with a savour of the mythical; one might say that it is more filling to the spirit than a dull academic half-dozen."<sup>1</sup> The importance of the seventh in Near Eastern cult is perhaps best-known in the Hebrew's Feast of Weeks, seven weeks of seven days, and can be discerned at Emar by the seven-year cycle of the *zūk/gru* festival. The 7th day of any month was unfavorable in many Mesopotamian traditions (cf. Landsberger, LSS 6 1/2, 119-126) and all the more so, then, the 7th day of the 7th month.

Hemerology tablets from first-millennium B.C. Aššur record lucky and unlucky days, as well as unpropitious acts for each day of the year. And for no day are there more warnings than for the 7th day of *Tašritu*, the seventh month.<sup>2</sup> The term for this most-unlucky of days was *sebūt sebīm* "7th (day) of the 7th (month)." The unfavorable nature of this day was typified by the need of the Sumerians to cleanse themselves (scrubbing away any possible evil) on this day: *i-nu-ma se-bu-um se-bi-im ša-al-ma-at* SAG.D[U] *i-te-el-li-la* "on the '7th (day) of the 7th (month)' the black-headed [=Sumerians] cleanse themselves."<sup>3</sup> These same cleansing activities on the 7th day of the 7th month may be alluded to in Assyrian Astrolabe B.<sup>4</sup> At Mari the 7th day of the 7th month (*sebūt sebīm*), the day before the *kinūnu* festival, was a special day.<sup>5</sup> One Mari text, dated to the 7th of *Kinūnum*, lists a special distribution of clothing for the day and another, dated to the 6th of *Kinūnum*, records oils for divine lustrations.<sup>6</sup> Special observances for the day were practiced to the east at Susa. Charpin suggests that the Susa month name *Se-bu še-bi-i* denotes

1. *The Magic Mountain*, Chpt. 6.

2. KAR 147 rev. 8-23, 177 rev. ii 18-40, and 178 iv 32-66.

3. CT 58 no. 45:3. We are indebted to A. Cavigneaux for bringing this passage to our attention.

4. See p. 327 for our tentative interpretation of this passage.

5. Discussed by D. Charpin, NABU 1989/4, 66.

6. ARM 22 113 and ARM 23 351, both cited by Charpin *ibidem*.

the 7th (day) of the 7th (month) and again refers to special observances on this unlucky day at Susa, as well. A somewhat obscure passage in a first millennium B.C. *Šurpu* incantation alludes to the ritual associated with this day: "the pure quay, the horn-like soap-plant, the pure water he [Enki] gave you, to perform correctly the New Year (festival) for seven days. In the seventh month on the seventh day (iti-7 u<sub>4</sub>-7-kām) (at) the place which may not be entered [...] arrived."<sup>1</sup>

### *Kinūnum*

Throughout Mesopotamia the Brazier Festival occurred at the onset of cold weather or during the middle of the cold season.<sup>2</sup> The brazier was a common ceremonial object in the temple cult throughout the year. But one time a year, at the *kinūnu*-festival, the braziers throughout many of the temples of the city were ritually lit as part of a city-wide ritual to mark the use of braziers and other type of heating devices throughout the coming winter to counteract the cold and early darkness. The timing of the festivals, however, does not indicate any specific connection to the winter solstice or a need to replenish a weakening sun.

The earliest reference to a month or festival called *kinūnu* ("brazier") is probably the personal name *Gi/Ki-nu-na*, "(born in the month) *Kinūnum*" or "(born during) the *kinūnum*-(festival)," attested in Ur III documents.<sup>3</sup> However, among the documents from the Sumerian cities during this period there are no references to a *kinūnu* festival.<sup>4</sup> However, at third millennium Ebla the eighth month was named NE.GAR (a term possibly meaning "braziers"/"lamps"), as well as there being a NE.GAR observance (p. 31), perhaps indicating a Brazier Festival in the third millennium.

From the Old Babylonian period on, when documentation from many of the more northerly sites becomes plentiful, there are references to a month and festival *kinūnu*. *Kinūnum*, the Brazier Festival, provided the name for the seventh month at Mari, Ešnunna and Tell Rimah, and the ninth month at Nuzi.

1. E. Reiner, *Šurpu*, AFO Beiheft 11 (1958) p. 47:65-66. Reiner translates this key section differently: "to perform correctly the New Year (festival) for seven days, seven months, seven days, (at) the place ..."

2. Note the Book of Jeremiah which specifically mentions the use of the brazier in the ninth month to keep one warm (36:22): "Since it was the ninth month, the king was sitting in the winter house, with a fire burning in the brazier before him."

3. Gelb, MAD 3 148; some references are YOS 4 254, PDT 1 216, PDT 2 nos. 903 and 1333.

4. There are months and festivals at Lagaš and Nippur named for torches or braziers (see p. 126). However, these festivals occur in the spring or summer, and, at least at Nippur, is related to the netherworld cult.

A Tell Rimah text relates the *nabrû* ritual to the *kinūnu* observance: "On the 20+[x]th day of this month, for the occasion of the *nabrû* of the *kinūnu* (festival)" (OBT Tell Rimah 110). The *nabrû* ceremony may have been a rite involving the reading of omens to foretell the coming year,<sup>1</sup> and since the *nabrû* ceremony may well have been performed several times throughout the winter months (see below), it is to be expected that it would have been performed at a major winter celebration such as the *kinūnu* festival.

In some cities there may have been individual Brazier Festivals perhaps at different times of the month at various temples, as noted in the references from Mari. In one Mari text the *kinūnu* festival of Dagan is mentioned (ARM 3 72) and in another, occurring on the 8th of the month, the *kinūnu* of Bēlet-ekallim. And yet another tablet records oil being disbursed for the *kinūnu* festival in Mari on the 12th day of the seventh month.<sup>2</sup> Four tablets from Sippar mention a month ITI *Kinūnu*<sup>3</sup> and a tablet from Dēr mentions the *kinūnim* of Ištar, though this latter reference may refer to the brazier of Ištar rather than to a specific *kinūnum* festival. An Old Babylonian text records *pihu*-containers of beer brought to Babylon (kā-dingir-ra<sup>ki</sup>) for the *kinūnu* festival (ezem-KI.NE) (YOS 13 406).<sup>4</sup> And the Brazier Festival occurred at Nuzi, where the term was *isinni gi-nu-ni-ti*, *isinni ginūni*, or simply *gi-nu-ni-ti*.<sup>5</sup>

In late first millennium B.C. Uruk the Brazier Festival was observed throughout the temples of the gods. The instructions for the ninth month for the staff of the Eanna complex state:<sup>6</sup>

In the ninth month on the 1st, 2nd, 6th, 7th, 14th and 15th days the [...] are on duty.<sup>7</sup> He [...] the brazier of The-Lady-of-Uruk, Nanna-amassu, and Aškajaitu. [...] gives drink [...], sits at the side of The-Lady-of-Uruk, and serves the meal. [...] Fire is thrown into the brazier. Nanna-amassu and Aškajaitu [...] the censer ... the brazier of Nanna-amassu and Aškajaitum [...] for The-Lady-of-Uruk along with the braziers of all the other gods [...]

The reference to the braziers of the other gods in the closing line raises the possibility that this was, indeed, the brazier festival, and not merely a special ritual of the Eanna. The celebration of the *kinūnu* festival at Babylon in the ninth month is perhaps noted in a ritual text which mentions decorations for

1. See pp. 394-395 for the *nabrû* festival. Dalcy, *et. al.* interpret *nabrû* in this reference as referring to a special type of offering usually given at the *nabrû* festival, but now being offered at the *kinūnum* festival.

2. TH 82.105, D. Charpin, MARI 3 (1984), 87 no. 21.

3. For references see CAD K 395.

4. For KI.NE, *kinūnu*, see CAD K 393.

5. For references see CAD K 395.

6. LKU 51 rev. 13-18.

7. On the basis of the instructions for the other months the break regarding those on duty should be restored by one or a combination of *kalû*-priests, diviners, and musicians.

the brazier of Lugal-asal in Babylon: "on the 8th of *Kissilimu* the brazier of the god Lugal-asal will be clad in *nībiḫu*-garments."<sup>1</sup> There is a possibility that in Assyria the *kinūnu* festival was observed in the tenth month (*iḫAB*) and that the name of the tenth month in Assyria was, at least in some periods, *Kanūnu*.<sup>2</sup> This observation is based upon the Neo-Assyrian eponym lists in which the eponym for the year 671 B.C. (and probably to be restored for 666 B.C.) is written *iḫAB-a-a* in some texts, but written *Ka-nun-a-a* in others. The Brazier Festival began in Assyria on the evening of the 10th day:<sup>3</sup> "The days of the brazier (festival) should not be left on the loose! The brazier is on the evening of the 10th. Huge sacrifices will be (performed) on the 11th (and) the 12th day." A month *Kinūnu* is attested at the end of the first millennium B.C. at Palmyra, where the eighth month was named *knun*.

### *Nabrûm*

The *nabrû* festival is attested at Ur during the Ur III period, where it was observed as a festival of *Ulmašitum* and *Annunitum* in the eighth month. The *nabrû* festival of *Bēlat-šuhner* and *Bēlat-terraban* was observed in the ninth month, most likely at Uruk. The festival occurred also at Ur III Mari: *a-mu-wa-tim sā na-ab-ri-i* "omina for the *nabrû*-(festival)"<sup>4</sup> and 1 UDU in *na-ab-ri-i[m]* PN [*ta*] *mḫur*, "PN received one sheep for the *nabrû*-(festival)" (ARMT 19 324). The festival is attested in the Old Babylonian period at Sippar, Nērebtum, Šubat-Enlil, Chagar Bazar, Mari, Kish, Šaduppum, and Tell Rimah.

Ungnad (MVAG 20/2, 69) related the term to *barû*, "to divine," whereas Langdon *Menologies*, 30 also assumed the root *barû*, but interpreted the festival name as meaning 'manifestation', corresponding to the winter display of lights in honor of the resurrection of the sun-god at the winter solstice. The term *nabrû* may, indeed, be a derivative of *barû*, "to observe omens," in which case the festival might have been an occasion for determining the destiny of the city for the coming year. This hypothesis fits well with the above quoted Ur III Mari reference: *a-mu-wa-tim sā na-ab-ri-i* "the omens of the *nabrû*-(festival)."

In addition to the Mari references from the Ur III period previously cited, the *nabrûm* festival is mentioned in Old Babylonian Mari texts.<sup>5</sup> Dossin has suggested that the *nabrû* festival may be attested at Mari in another undated

1. SBH p. 144:12.

2. CAD K 395 sub *kinūnu*; AHw 482 sub *kinūnu(m)*. The reading *Kanūnaja* instead of *Ṭebētaja* was noted by Ungnad, RIA 2, 456. For Neo-Assyrian month names which may have differed from those at Babylon, see p. 299.

3. ABL 49, translation Parpola AOAT 5/1, 267.

4. Jean, RA 46 (1952), pl. i no. 5 = ARMT 19 no. 311 (wherein *a-mu-wa-tim* has been translated "omina"). I.J. Gelb, RA 50 (1956), 8 interprets *a-mu-wa-tum* as the plural of *amūtum*, "liver," "omen."

5. See Greengus, JAOS 107 (1987), 222 for references and add ARM 23 no. 595 for *iḫ na-ab-ri-i*.

tablet: "silver and ebony ... which he purchased at the *nabrium* house."<sup>1</sup> There are, however, no other attestations of a special *nabrium* house and thus this restoration is questionable—perhaps to be restored [*ana na*]-*ab-ri-im* "at the house for the *nabrû* (festival)." The Mari references to the *nabrû* festival do not indicate the month. However, elsewhere throughout Old Babylonian Mesopotamia, the *nabrû* festival occurred in the ninth month. Perhaps the references to a festival of Ištar at Mari in the ninth month might, in fact, be a reference to the *nabrû* festival.<sup>2</sup>

The *nabrû* festival was celebrated in Šaduppum, as noted in a letter to Warḫum-magir in which Imgur-Sin states: "When you have received and delivered your *kiprû*, have the god brought in for the *nabrû*-(festival)."<sup>3</sup> A reference to the *kinūnu* festival at Tell Rimah indicates that the *nabrû* ritual occurred during the *kinūnu* observance: "On the 20+[x]th day of this month, for the occasion of the *nabrû*-rite of the *kinūnu* (festival)" (OBT Tell Rimah 110).<sup>4</sup> At Šubat-Enlil the *nabrû* ritual is attested on the 6th of the tenth month, *Mammītum*. Thus, noting that the *nabrû* rite occurred in two months other than the month *Nabrû*, it would appear likely that this ritual was performed throughout the winter in order to detect any changes to the previous month's predictions, probably concerning the upcoming harvest and planting. Perhaps this *nabrû* ritual had originally been confined to one month, thus the naming of a month *Nabrû*. However, the importance of predicting the future year—with an assumed ability to alter that future through ritual acts—may have led to several *nabrû* rites in order to reinterpret the omens throughout the winter.

The *nabrû*-(festival) was celebrated throughout much of Mesopotamia in the second millennium B.C., but only a few references are attested from the entire first millennium B.C. One of the references records that the *nabrû*-(festival) occurred in the tenth month, *Ṭebētu* (BIN 2 129): "(oil for) four (festivals) in *Ṭebētu*, including the *nabrû*-(festival), and four in *Šabātu*, including the vigils." The *nabrû*-(festival) is also mentioned as occurring at the Eanna in first millennium B.C. Uruk—but the month is not mentioned (YOS 6 239). The other two references are protases which associate the season of the *nabrû*-(festival) with cold weather (*kuššu*): "if it is cold during the *nabrû*-(festival)," possibly based upon the observance of the *nabrû*-(festival) in a month which was not always cold.<sup>5</sup>

1. RA 64 (1970), 27 no. 13: *i-na É [na]-ab-ri-im [i-š] a-mu*.

2. See p. 292.

3. Sumer 14 (1958), 23 no. 7 (translation CAD K 400 sub *kiprû*).

4. See p. 258.

5. For references see CAD N/1 30. See p. 268 note 3 for a reference to the term *na-ab-ra-tum*, perhaps related to *namritum* "festival(?)"

## Humtum

The earliest reference to the term is from the reign of Ib-bi-Sin of Ur (RA 13 [1916], 134:8): <sup>iti</sup> *Hu-um-tum*. The provenience of the tablet is unknown. All five individuals named in this text possess names that are neither Sumerian nor clearly Semitic (Ku-u-a, Hu-ma-a, I-bi-lu-lu, Hu-NE-nir, and AN-ti).

In the Old Babylonian period there are several references to the *humtum* festival of Šamaš, some from Sippar, which have been collected and analyzed by Greengus.<sup>1</sup> In a tablet of transactions (VAS 9 191a) the following months occur in the following order: *Sibūt šattim*, *duḡ-kū*, *šu-numun-a*, *ab-ē*, <sup>iti</sup> *Hu-um-tum*. As Greengus and Kugler<sup>2</sup> have observed, the known months are out of order if this truly represents transactions from the same year. A more informative reference is a fragmentary Old Babylonian historical inscription: "The (sacrifice for) the *humtum* festival [*i-si-in hu-um-tim*] I offered to Šamaš and Adad in Arrapha. (In) *še-kin-ku*, on the 20th of that month, I crossed the Zab ..."<sup>3</sup> Greengus notes "Subsequently, after a break in the text, the inscription (col. iii 10) speaks of conquering the district of Urbil in *itu Magrānum*." Goetze suggests that the unknown monarch is Daduša of Ešnunna.<sup>4</sup> The only city whose known calendar employed both *Magrānum* and *še-kin-ku* was Ešnunna. This tablet places a *humtum* observance either in the twelfth month or before the 20th of the first month. The twelfth month in Ešnunna was the occasion of the *kinkum*-festival of the storm-god, Tišpak. Thus the coupling of offerings to Šamaš and unexpectedly to Adad in the aforementioned historical inscription might represent the king of Ešnunna's fulfillment of his obligations to the weather-god for the *kinkum*-festival. This passage may refer to a native Arrapha *humtum* celebration, one in which the king of Ešnunna participated for political reasons.

Goetze cites a Sippar contract concerning the hiring of harvesters in advance of the harvest in *Humtum*.<sup>5</sup> This would support placing *Humtum* at the end of the year. The "Cruciform Inscription of Maništusu" lists the *humtum* festival before the festivals of the months *ne-IZI-gar* (v) and *apin-dug-a* (viii).<sup>6</sup> However, this document is believed to be a Neo-Babylonian expansion of a shorter original, thus it sheds little light on Sargonic Sippar.<sup>7</sup> The *humtum*

1. Greengus, *op. cit.*, 219.

2. SSB II 245.

3. RA 7 (1910), 151-156; col. ii (translation Greengus).

4. RA 46 (1952), 155ff.

5. JCS 11 (1957), 29 no. 17.

6. CT 32 pl. i-iv.

7. M. Powell, "AIA = EOS," *Studies Sjöberg*, 448: "... the so-called 'Cruciform Monument of Maništusu,' ... is a Neo-Babylonian pastiche put together for the consumption of Nabonidus by some ecclesiastical forger at Sippar."

festival of Šamaš is attested at Assyria around the eleventh century B.C. (KAR 178 ii 40): *ezem hu-un-ī[i šā] dŠamaš* and, according to a first millennium B.C. incantation text it occurred on the 18th of the month: UD-18-KÁM *lip-šur EZEM hu-un-ī šā dUTU*.<sup>1</sup> An Old Babylonian Mari text which lists rituals spanning several months, beginning with the twelfth month, refers to a ritual involving the king and the term *hu-um-tim*, which Birot believes is related to the *humtum* festival:<sup>2</sup> "[...] to the *humtu* [...]. The king takes the front(?) of the *humtu* and brings it into the temple of Dagan."<sup>3</sup> However, the orthography *humtim* and *humtam*, instead of *humtim* and *humtam*, may indicate that this ritual is unrelated to the *humtu* festival.

Von Soden suggests that *humtum* is related to *hamātu*, "to heat."<sup>4</sup> Although the month occurs at the end of winter, and thus is not a hot month, this does not negate von Soden's suggestion. Since the festival was a celebration of the sun, a meaning "to heat" is quite appropriate. Possibly the festival was to beseech Šamaš to increase his heat in these cool months, or to pray that there will be enough warmth in the coming months.

In summary, the *humtum* festival to Šamaš probably occurred in the twelfth month of the year. It was celebrated, at a minimum, in Sippar, possibly Ešnunna, and later in Assyria. The timing of the festival and its probable derivation from *hamātu* indicate that the observance marked the onset of the warmer months. The objective of the observance may have been to ensure that the sun's warmth would be sufficient to guarantee the success of normal warm-weather agricultural activities.

## Elūnum

The reading è/é-lu-núm is based upon the Old Babylonian orthographies è-lu-nu-um and e-lu-nu-um.<sup>5</sup> The cult of Bēlat-terraban and Bēlat-šuhner at Ur and Uruk included the observance of the è-lu-núm festival in the second or first month:<sup>6</sup> grain-fed bulls for the celebration of the è-lu-núm (YOS 4 240); grain-fed sheep for the è-lu-núm šā Uriki-ma (AnOr 7 67); grain-fed sheep for the é-lu-núm of Bēlat-šuhner (RA 19 192 no. 4); grain-fed sheep for the è-lu-núm of the temple of Bēlat-šuhner (PTS 830); and 3 grass-fed

1. D.J. Wiseman, "A Lipšur Litany from Nimrud," *Iraq* 31 (1969), 77.

2. M. Birot, "Fragment de rituel de Mari relatif au *kispu*," CRRA 26, 139ff.

3. Birot, *op. cit.*, 143: [...] *ana humtim* [...] *šarrum ana pān humtim išabbatma humtam ana bit Dagan ušerrib*.

4. AHw 355 and OrNS 22 (1953), 255.

5. See CAD E 136 sub *elūlu* for references.

6. Perhaps the texts dating to the first month were recorded on the last day of the month, indicating that the è-lu-núm was observed at the beginning of the second month. Note that one text, whose month is not preserved, is dated to the 30th of the month (Jones-Snyder SET 44).



sheep and 1 large grain-fed goat for the è-lu-núm of the temple of Bēlat-šuhner and Bēlat-terraban (SET 44). An è-lu-núm observance for Inanna occurred during the second month in Ur III Uruk (RBC 2496).

| Festival | Related context                   | Date   | Reference       |
|----------|-----------------------------------|--------|-----------------|
| è-lu-núm | Bēlat-šuhner/Bēlat-terraban<br>Ur | Š41 ii | AnOr 7 67       |
| é-lu-núm | Bēlat-šuhner/Bēlat-terraban       | Š42 30 | SET 44          |
| é-lu-núm | Bēlat-šuhner                      | Š44 i? | RA 19 192 no. 4 |
| è-lu-núm |                                   |        | YOS 4 240       |
| è-lu-núm | Innana at Uruk                    | Š47 ii | RBC 2496        |
| è-lu-núm | Bēlat-šuhner                      | AS8 i  | PTS 830         |

During the Ur III period there was an è-lu-núm of <sup>d</sup>Geštin-an-na-SIA-tum recorded on an Umma tablet (MVN 15 162) dated to the eighth month (é-iti-āš): 30 sa gi 1 gú gīšma-nu <sup>d</sup>Geštin-an-na-SIA-tum-ma. The tablet includes the note "withdrawn in Ur."

The Old Babylonian references to the *elūnum* observance at Ur refer to an *elūnum* for Ningal (the moon-god Nanna's wife), recording the withdrawal of ghee, cheese and dates from the storhouse of Ningal for the *elūnum* during the second and sixth months of the year.<sup>1</sup> The second month in the Amorite calendar at Ešnunna was named for the *elūnum* observance, *iti e-lu-nu-um*.<sup>2</sup>

An apparently unique aspect of the festival scheduling at Tell Rimah was the observance of the *elūnum* festival during the 15th day of the ninth month *Nabrū*: a-na UD.15.KAM *iti na-ab-ri-i e-lu-un-nam e-ep-pé-eš* "On the 15th day of the month *Nabrū* I shall perform the *elūnum* celebration" (*OBT Tell Rimah* 64). At Ur the *elūnum* festival occurred in the second and possibly the sixth months. Unfortunately it cannot be determined whether in Ur the transition into the Old Babylonian period involved a switch from Bēlat-šuhner to Ningal for the *elūnum* observance or whether at Ur the *elūnum* was observed in the second month (and perhaps in the sixth) for various deities, not just for one goddess.

At Šubat-Enlil, however, the *elūnum* festival was celebrated in the eighth and tenth months, where a document dating to the 2nd day of the month *Tamḫīrum* of the eponymy of Išme-AN states: "king's drink at night when he leaves the house of [the goddess]; total 24 containers of wine which were

1. H. Figulla, *Iraq* 15 (1953), 116 no. 42 (*e-lu-nu-um*, month 2, Sumuel 5), no. 43 = UET 5 787 (*e-lu-nu-um*, month 2, Abisare 9), p. 173 no. 56 = UET 5 755 (*e-lu-nu-um* <sup>d</sup>Nin-gal, month 2, Sumuel 9), p. 173 no. 55 = UET 5 781 (*e-lu-nu-um* <sup>d</sup>Nin-gal, no date preserved), p. 117 no. 44(?) (*é[...]*), month 6, Sumuel 15), p. 179 no. 63 = UET 5 768 (*é-lu*, month 6 Sumuel 28), and UET 5 786 (*ni-dab<sub>5</sub>-e-lu-nu-[um]*, no date).

2. For references see S. Greengus, *op. cit.*, 209ff.

used up for the *e-lu-un-ni* festival" (Ismail no. 30). There is a delivery receipt for the *elūnum* to the É.UZU on the 11th of *Tamḫīrum* in the eponymy of Amer-Ištar *i-nu-ma e-lu-un-ni* (Ismail no. 127). During the eponymy of Ḫabil-kinu, however, deliveries of rings, vases, silver palm leaves(?), garments, fine oil, wine, fish, oxen, sheep, and goats for the *elūnum* observance are attested on the 14th to 17th of the tenth month, *Mammītum*.<sup>1</sup>

Both the CAD and AHW relate the month and festival name *elūnum* to the month name *elūlu*, presumably on the basis of two Old Babylonian references to an *elūlu* observance, as well as the apparent similarity between the month names *iti Elūnum* and *iti Elūlu*.<sup>2</sup> Edzard *Tell ed-Dēr* notes that the seventh Sippar month, *iti Elūlu*, should be distinguished from the month designation ITI *elūnim* "the month of the *elūnum* festival" on the basis of his text no. 117 which contains separate entries for the months ITI *e-lu-ni-im* and ITI *e-lu-li*.

Greengus demonstrates the likelihood that the contract VAS 8 36 indicates that an *elūnum* observance was held during the second month at Sippar.<sup>3</sup> Another Old Babylonian reference indicates that at Sippar an *elūnum* observance occurred in the temple of Šamaš, the sun-god and chief deity of Sippar.<sup>4</sup> At an unspecified Old Babylonian site there is an *elūnum* attested for Inanna (BIN 9 331: *e-lu-núm* <sup>d</sup>Inanna). There is a reference to the participation of the Larsa king Sin-iddinam (1849–1843 B.C.) in the *elūnum*-festival: "this is the (appearance of the) liver which fell to the lot of King Sin-iddinam when he sacrificed (a sheep) in the temple of Šamaš at the *elūnum*-festival" (YOS 10 1:3).

In summary, the meaning of the term *elūnum* is unclear. In the Ur III period at Ur and Uruk the festival is attested only in the spring. However, during the Old Babylonian period, the festival was not relegated to one particular season. Most likely, then, the festival was not a celebration of a seasonal phenomenon. The *elūnum* observance was usually part of the cult of a goddess. Although there are references to the observance of the *elūnum* at the temple of Šamaš, this does not preclude the possibility that the *elūnum* at the Šamaš temple may have been part of the cult of Aja, Šamaš' spouse.

1. Vincente nos. 57 (14th), 62 (14th; duplicate of no. 57), 70 (15th), 133 (16th), 109 (17th).

2. U<sub>4</sub>SAKAR<sub>x</sub> *ša e-lu-li-[x] ša* <sup>d</sup>Inanna URU.AN.NA (MDP 10 p. 36 no. 24) and *kīma tidu e-lu-lu qurrubu ZIZAN.NA ana šakān kurummatija ul išu*, "as you know, the (days of the) *elūlu*-festival are approaching and there is no emmer-wheat for the presentation of my food offering" (PBS 7 120, translation CAD E 136 sub *elūlu*).

3. Greengus, *op. cit.*, 220.

4. YOS 10 1.

## FESTIVAL THEMES

# The *Akītu* Festival

The Mesopotamian cultic calendar was influenced by the seasonal cycle and the lunar cycle. However, the Mesopotamians were affected by a third cycle—the period between the equinoxes, a period when the sun and the moon vied with each other for time in the sky.

This concept is attested in the first-millennium B.C. observation: <sup>i4</sup>SE <sup>i4</sup>KIN SAG MU.AN.NA *ki-i ša* <sup>i4</sup>BĀR <sup>i4</sup>DU<sub>6</sub> “(this year) the months *Addaru* [=Feb./Mar.] and *Ulūlu* [=Aug./Sep.] begin the equinox-year, what the months *Nisannu* [=Mar./Apr.] and *Tašritu* [=Sep./Oct.] (normally) do.”<sup>1</sup> The ancient Hebrews recognized the significance of this cycle, referring to the equinoxes, the times when the year turns, as *l'qūfat haššānā* (Exodus 34:22): “You shall observe the Feast of Weeks, of the first fruits of the wheat harvest; and the Feast of Ingathering at the turn of the year” (the autumnal equinox) and as *l'šūbat haššānā* (2 Samuel 11:1): “At the turn of the year, the season when kings go out [to battle],” (probably referring to the vernal equinox). The Israelite incorporation of this six-month cycle into its ritual can further be detected in the duration and timing of the festival of the first month, the Feast of Unleavened Bread, and the festival of the seventh month, the Feast of Ingathering.<sup>2</sup> The Amorite calendar at Nērebtum included a reference to a month *Šaḥarātum*. Noting the term *saḥār ūme*, “evening,” literally “turning of the day,” and the use of *saḥāru* as indicating temporal points in the day,<sup>3</sup> perhaps the month name *Šaḥarātum* denoted a month which marked a major change, again this concept of “the turning (of the year),” thus indicating the seventh month of the year.<sup>4</sup>

This concept of a six-month equinox year was a major factor in the establishment of the cultic calendar throughout the Near East. In many locations there were parallel major festivals in the first and seventh month—suggesting that rather than considering one of these festivals as marking the begin-

ning and the other the half-way point of the year, the ancients viewed each as a beginning, the onset of this 6-month equinox year.

The *ā-ki-ti* festival is one of the oldest recorded Mesopotamian festivals, the earliest reference being from the Fara period (middle of the third millennium), probably referring to an *ā-ki-ti* building or celebration in Nippur.<sup>1</sup> In the pre-Sargonic period the *ā-ki-ti* festival is attested at Ur, providing the name for one of its months. Economic documents indicate that in the Sargonic and Ur III periods (2350–2100 B.C.) the *ā-ki-ti* was a semi-annual festival, being observed at Ur, Nippur, Adab, Uruk, and probably Badtibira. However, in each of these cities the timing of the festival varied. In Ur it was celebrated at the beginning of the first and seventh months, at Nippur and Adab around the full moon of the fourth and twelfth months, and at Uruk during at least the eighth month.

Although the *ā-ki-ti* festival is attested at both pre-Sargonic Ur and Nippur, Ur was probably the original site of the *ā-ki-ti* festival. Two Girsu texts refer to “the *ā-ki-ti* of Ur in Nippur” (*ā-ki-ti* *Urī<sup>ki</sup>-ma ša Nibru<sup>ki</sup>*).<sup>2</sup> One of these texts<sup>3</sup> is dated to the third month, thus the *ā-ki-ti* festival referred to must be the upcoming *ā-ki-ti* in Nippur during the fourth month. Yet the scribes use the expression “the *ā-ki-ti* of Ur in Nippur.” These two references are acknowledgments that the *ā-ki-ti* festivals of Nippur (albeit in different months) were believed to have derived from the *ā-ki-ti* at Ur.

Being a semi-annual event, the *ā-ki-ti* festival in Ur was not a celebration of the New Year of the seasonal cycle. Rather, it would seem to have been based upon an event occurring twice a year, six months apart. The most obvious event occurring around the first and seventh months of the year was the equinox. The Mesopotamians unswervingly adhered to fixing all annual festivals to the lunar cycle, even if this meant that the observance would not coincide exactly with the solar or seasonal event being celebrated. Thus Ur fixed the celebration of the vernal and autumnal equinoxes, the beginning of the equinox-years, to the months in which they usually occurred, the first and seventh months.

There may have been at least two factors which determined the days of the month in which to celebrate the event. Since the festival marked the beginning of the equinox-year, the six month cycle between equinoxes, it seemed only proper that the new year should begin on the new moon. However, a more mythical underpinning may have been involved. The equinoxes began a period of disharmony between the moon and the sun. During the equinox-year between the seventh and the first month the moon was visible longer in

1. RMA 16:5. Parpola (AOAT 5/2, 187). For the possible significance of the term MU.AN.NA, see p. 7 with note 1.

2. See p. 6 note 4 for this six month year concept in Ezekial 45.

3. See CAD S 36 sub *saḥār ūme*.

4. See p. 266.

1. Jestin TSS 881 obv. ii 1'-2'.

2. Lafont Tello 29 and ITT 6756: *maš-da-ri-a ā-ki-ti* *Urī<sup>ki</sup>-ma ša Nibru<sup>ki</sup>*.

3. LaFont Tello 29.

the skies, the reverse during the other equinox-year. In Ur, the city of the moon, the á-ki-ti was a celebration of the triumph of Nanna, the moon—particularly the á-ki-ti of the seventh month, when Nanna would begin having visible superiority over the sun, Utu. This may be the reason why at Ur the á-ki-ti of the seventh month was more important than that of the first month (as noted in the seventh month being <sup>iu</sup>á-ki-ti and possibly the greater length of the festival of the seventh month). By celebrating the á-ki-ti at the new moon, the waxing moon represented the arrival of Nanna into his city (as the moon became larger and larger, Nanna seemed to be coming closer and closer)—an arrival which was reenacted by a triumphal entry of the statue of Nanna back into Ur from the á-ki-ti building.

The form of the new moon resembles a boat, the image frequently cited by the Sumerian poets to describe the moon, who was even identified as a ship: "Father Nanna, when you sail (across the sky) like a ship on flood waters."<sup>1</sup> In fact, in Ur on the 3rd day of the á-ki-ti of the first month special offerings were made to the Boat of Nanna.<sup>2</sup> An ezem-má-nu-ru festival was part of the á-ki-ti festival in the seventh month in Ur during the Old Babylonian period.<sup>3</sup> The term *elip nūri*, "the boat of light," referring to the moon, occurs in a first millennium text.<sup>4</sup> The term nu-ru in má-nu-ru is a loanword from Akkadian *nūrum* "light," thus "the festival of the boat of light" or "the festival of the boat of the moon." From the tablets of Ur III Ur there is a reference from the seventh month in the reign of Ibbi-Sin to a sheep and a lamb for the ezem-má-dSuen "the festival of the Boat of the Moon" (UET 3 190). Thus the Old Babylonian ezem-má-nu-ru is most likely an evolved name for ezem-má-dSuen from the Ur III period, both indicating a sub-festival during the á-ki-ti festival, evidence that the á-ki-ti festival is intricately tied to the moon.

The length of the festival, at least in the seventh month, of eleven days may have been to enable the moon to nearly complete its waxing, its full arrival into Ur. Perhaps the festival lasted as long as the moon retained the shape of a barge—once the moon became almost full, the illusion was gone.

At Nippur and Adab the á-ki-ti festival also was celebrated twice a year, however, in the fourth and twelfth months, eight months apart. Clearly this was not a festival of the beginning of the equinox-year. Moreover, the festival occurred during the full moon. None of the symbolism which surrounded the festival at Ur existed at Nippur and nearby Adab. As part of its function-

1. CT 15 17 11; for other references to Nanna as a ship and to his being identified with the deified *magur*-ship, see Å. Sjöberg, *Mondgott*, 27.

2. Jones-Snyder SET 59.

3. H. Figulla, *Iraq* 15 (1953), 174 no. 58; UET 5 748, 752, and 782; D. Loding, JCS 28 (1976), 240 no. 8: u<sub>4</sub>-ezem-má-nu-ru.

4. Delitsch AL<sup>3</sup> 88 5 40.

ing as a religious center, Nippur provided a focal point for the diverse religious practices throughout Sumer. Various gods—not native to Nippur—were honored with small niches and cellas in its temples.<sup>1</sup> Nippur's adoption of the á-ki-ti of Ur (albeit at a very early period) may well have been part of this process. However, Nippur placed the two Ur observances ("the *akitu* of the harvesting season [še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>]" of Ur month 1 and "the *akitu* of the seedling season [šu-numun]" of Ur month 7) in its ritual calendar in the same months as in the names of the two Ur festivals, thus the fourth (<sup>iu</sup>šu-numun) and twelfth (<sup>iu</sup>še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>) Nippur months. These two months at Nippur already contained two major Nippur agricultural festivals (the šu-numun and še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub> festivals), and so the á-ki-ti was fully integrated into these two pre-existing festivals. Adab, whose calendar shared certain affinities with Nippur, presumably adopted the integrated á-ki-ti from Nippur.

At Ur the á-ki-ti festivities were conducted in Ur proper and at a building named á-ki-ti, which was situated outside Ur at a nearby site called Gaeš, where the Ekazida temple-complex of the moon-god Nanna was located. A Middle-Assyrian ritual text indicates that the *akitu*-house (though not specifically mentioned in the preserved portions) was outside the walls of Aššur and had to be reached by barge. Texts from first millennium B.C. Assyria indicate that the *akitu*-house again was located outside the walled-city of Aššur and that the area was, at times, referred to as the steppe or park land (*šēru*). Sennacherib makes a point of noting that he rebuilt the *akitu*-house outside the city walls, where it used to be. (At Nineveh, however, the *akitu*-building of Ištar may have been inside the walled city—unless Aššurbanipal's statement "in Nineveh" meant metropolitan [not walled] Nineveh.) In first millennium B.C. Uruk the *akitu*-house was outside the city wall. And although the location of the *akitu*-house at Babylon was not specified, it was far removed from the Esagil, necessitating a long procession and barges to reach it. And a Demotic text recording the observance of assuredly the *akitu* festival by exiles from Raš states that events were held in a temporary structure outside the city, near a graveyard.

In addition to this apparent prerequisite of the *akitu*-house being placed outside the city walls, the other unexpected feature is that nothing unusually significant occurred at the *akitu*-house. Of course, the expected offerings and prayers were presented to the god at the *akitu*-house—the gods had to be fed wherever they resided. However, at Babylon the reading of the *Enuma Eliš* to Marduk and the humbling of the king before Marduk occurred back in the Esagil. And at both Babylon and Uruk the determining of destiny by the gods took place in the Esagil or the Rēš-temple, not at the *akitu*-house. In Middle Assyrian Aššur the Throne-of-Destiny, where the fate of the city

1. Cf. MVN 10 144.

was determined; was in the temple of Marduk in Aššur, not at the *akitu*-house. Thus the gods did not meet at the *akitu*-house to determine the destiny for the city and its people.

What then was the importance of this *akitu*-house? The solution is the obvious. Perhaps the best-known child's riddle is "Why did the chicken cross the road?" The answer to this riddle is the obvious: "to get to the other side." Why then was an *akitu*-house built outside the city? The answer: "so that the gods could march back into the city." This is the essence of the *akitu*-house. Its main function was to serve as temporary residence for the chief god of the city until the moment arrived for his glorious reentry into his city—it was a holding station from which Nanna returned to Ur by barge, just as the Boat of the Moon was approaching in the sky.<sup>1</sup> This is the reason the *akitu*-building had to be outside the city proper—the statue of the god had to be escorted into the city with great pomp and circumstance—and why Sennacherib choose to rebuild the *akitu*-house outside the city, although, as he acknowledged, the rites for Aššur had been observed inside the walled-city. And this is the reason the expression "to escort Bēl" (literally, "to grasp the hand of the Bēl") was the synecdoche in the Babylonian chronicles for holding the festival. This act was the essential ceremony of the occasion—the actual escorting of the god's statue into the city, not the humbling of the king before Marduk, or the reading of the *Enuma Eliš*, or the myriad of offerings, or even the determination of destiny. These were all adjuncts, superimposed upon the basic theme of the festival, i.e., the god has just entered his city and been declared chief god of the city. And it was this procession, bringing the chief god into his city, that so captured the minds of the Mesopotamians and enabled the *akitu*-festival to proliferate, each city observing it for its own chief god. It is highly unlikely that a procession to some obscure building outside the city would have captured the imagination of an entire civilization for over thirty-five hundred years; this could have, at most, limited relevance for these towns. However, each city could relate to reenacting the mythologized, original, glorious entry of its own chief god into his city. This had universal meaning and appeal. These towns assuredly had other, native festivals. But possibly the *akitu* was modified locally and integrated with an existing celebration or, due to the appealing nature of the festival, may have been added anew to the cultic calendar. In Assyria a new mythological basis was assigned to the *akitu*-festival and the significance of the *akitu*-house was altered as a result of political events as well as contention with the cult of Aššur (see below).

1. Falkenstein (Falkenstein *Topographie*, 42) suggests that the grand *akitu*-procession was from the city temples to the *akitu*-house. So too Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, 115. We believe the more important procession was in the opposite direction.

Gelb and Von Soden suggest that Sumerian *á-ki-ti* is a loanword from Akkadian.<sup>1</sup> CAD A/1 267-272 lists *akitu* as a foreign word and states that the etymology of the term is unknown. The one Fara attestation, the pre-Sargonic texts from Ur, and the post-Sargonic Sumerian economic texts all contain the orthography *á-ki-ti*, never *\*á-ki-tu(m)* or *\*a-ki-tu(m)*, which indicates that the term is not Akkadian, but perhaps, then, Sumerian. Perhaps Sumerian *á* in the term *á-ki-ti* may indicate a moment in time<sup>2</sup> and that the term may mean "(the house where the god) temporarily dwells (on) earth." Thus *á-ki-ti* may represent a mythological, ancient residence removed from the realm of man, where the god had once resided before choosing his city. The *á-ki-ti* procession commemorated the god leaving his temporary residence and entering his new, permanent residence in his chosen city for the very first time.

There had to be two processions associated with the *akitu*-house, one going, the other returning. The late Uruk ritual text BRM 4 7 describes the procession going to the *akitu*-house, depicting no unusually significant events—only the expected priests attended, neither a great host of gods nor the king is mentioned as having accompanied Anu. In Babylon the opulence of the procession way between the Esagil and the *akitu*-house, as well as the richness and decoration of Marduk's barge, is described by Nebuchadnezzar. But this luxuriance obviously was applicable to the return trip as well as to the procession to the *akitu*. The chief god was usually accompanied by a large retinue of gods on his procession to the *akitu*-house—in most cities it assuredly was a wonderful spectacle. But the return trip had to be at least as magnificent—it is hard to imagine the god being given a lesser reception upon his return than on his departure. The Uruk ritual for the *akitu*-festival for *Nisannu* indicates that the return procession was the more important of the two. It is clear from the ritual that Anu left for the *akitu*-house on the first day, remaining there for seven days. During these first seven days the ritual just summarizes the significant events. It is only on the 7th day, the day of the return procession, that this ritual notes: "processions, barques and the *akitu*"; no such note exists for the first day, indicating that the return procession was considered the major procession of the festival. This was the great moment of the festival, the recreation of Anu's mythical entry into Uruk and his assumption of suzerainty. From the 8th to the 11th days all activity occurred back at the Rēš-temple, which contained the sanctuary of Anu and Antu.

So too at Aššur and Nineveh the return procession on the 7th of *Nisannu* appears to have been the more important, for it celebrated Bēl's release

1. I. J. Gelb, MAD 3 25 and Von Soden, AHw 29a; the Akkadian plural is written *á-ki-a-ti* or *á-ki-tum.MES*.

2. For references to *á* indicating a point in time, see Wilcke *Lugalbandarpos*, 149.

from the *akitu*-house where he had been held prisoner, undergoing trial by ordeal: "The man who on the 7th of Nisan ... is the messenger of Šamaš and Adad. He brings him (Bēl) out of the prison" (Livingstone, *Court Poetry* no. 34: 2 and no. 35: 45).<sup>1</sup>

In summary, the *akitu* festival probably originated in Ur as a celebration of the onset of the equinox-year. The major theme of the festival was the coming of the moon-god Nanna, symbolized by the waxing of the moon in the sky and reenacted by the entry of his statue by barge into Ur from outside the city, where it had temporarily resided in a building called á-ki-ti. The festival was adopted at Nippur as part of its function as a religious center representing all Sumer, but was adapted to Nippur's own calendar, losing much of the significance of the Ur cult. The festival had great appeal to the other cities of Sumer and eventually the rest of Mesopotamia, for each city saw the occasion as a reenactment of the original entry of its own chief god into the city. It was a spectacular opportunity to welcome its god and show him the respect he deserved, for which in turn the god would administer his city justly and decree a good fate for it. In some cities this welcoming of the god occurred with other deities, such as Ištar, at other times of the year, when it would not conflict with the *akitu*-of the chief god.

The basic ritual format of the festival was rather straight-forward. The statue of the god left the city in fitting procession for temporary residence in the *akitu*-house, where it received the standard offerings and prayers during its stay. The statue returned to the city in a grand procession, after which the god set in order the administration of his city, including the determination of the city's fate.

### *The Akitu Observances through the Millennia*

During the first month at Ur the á-ki-ti festival was celebrated in at least three locations throughout metropolitan Ur: at the dug-úr-sanctuary in Ur, at the Ekišnugal-temple of Nanna in Ur, and at the Ekarzida in Gaeš, a small town on the outskirts of Ur. The full name of the festival of the first month was ezem-á-ki-ti-še-kin-kuš, "the á-ki-ti festival of the harvesting (season)."<sup>2</sup> However, the *akitu* festival was a semi-annual event in Ur, being observed in the same three cultic sites during the beginning of the seventh month, which was differentiated in documents from the festival of the first month as ezem-á-ki-ti-šu-numun, "the *akitu* festival of the seeding (season)."

1. See below for further discussion of the significance of this ritual.

2. Sauren *NY Public Library* 374.

An Ur month named á-ki-ti is attested as early as the pre-Sargonic period, where it probably served as the name for the seventh month (as it was later in the Ur III period).<sup>1</sup>

According to the Temple Hymns the temple of Nanna in Gaeš was the Karzi-da, which included a cattle pen, probably a remnant of the original site upon which the temple and city had been built, and a *gipar*-building, the residence of the *entu*-priestess of Nanna. The name "Dependable Quay" indicates that the temple complex was built along a canal and included a quay as part of its design. The determinative KI attested in Kar-zi-da<sup>ki</sup> (Sauren *NY Public Library* 48) clearly identifies Karzida as a geographic location and not solely as a temple name. The Ur III economic documents refer to the temple as the é-kar-zi-da, "the temple of Karzida," which included an é-kišib-ba for storing barley (UET 3 888). Thus the Karzida area of Gaeš, which was situated along the canal, may have consisted entirely of the temple complex, explaining the alternation of the names Karzida and Ekarzida when referring to the temple of Nanna in Gaeš. Economic documents refer to the temple also as simply "the temple of Nanna in Gaeš."<sup>2</sup>

The site of Karzida and/or Gaeš may have originally been a stockyard, which eventually developed into a small suburb of Ur. The Sumerian Temple Hymn no. 12 to the temple of Nanna in Gaeš begins "Shrine, great sanctuary(?), founded at a cattle-pen, small town, moonbeam(?), Karzida, ... ." The Ekišnugal temple of Nanna at Ur is described as the moon: "Ekišnugal, beaming moonlight, which comes forth in the land"<sup>3</sup> and tiny Gaeš/Karzida but a moonbeam emanating from Ur.

The building of the Karzida temple may have been completed by the ninth regnal year of Šulgi (or at least a major restoration having then occurred), the year being named after the installation of Nanna in the Karzida: "The year Šulgi, the mighty man, king of Ur, king of the four quarters, brought Nanna of the Karzida, into (his) temple." Twenty-seven years later there may have been another restoration or remodeling of the Karzida under Šulgi's auspices, for his thirty-sixth regnal year is "The year Nanna of the Karzida was brought into his temple a second time." The year AS9 was named "The year the high-priest of Nanna who loves Amar-Suen, was installed as high priest of Nanna of the Karzida" and a building inscription of Amar-Suen's refers to his building the *gipar*-building for the *entu*-priestess of Nanna of the Karzida.<sup>4</sup>

1. UET 2 Supplement nos. 41 and 46(?).

2. UET 3 207 and 1540; Kang *Drehem* 199.

3. Temple Hymn no. 8, translation Sjöberg, TCS 3, 23.

4. SAKI 198 e.

The á-ki-ti complex was also situated along a canal as noted in an Ur text which records workmen for restoring the basin of the canal of the á-ki-ti: kun-zi-da-i7-á-ki-ti gi4-a (UET 3 1432; cf. ITT 3:6431, 8). In the month á-ki-ti special barges for Nanna and Ningal moved along this canal, laden with ghee, oil, dates and cheese (UET 3 377). Workmen were hired and sent to Ur to pull these barges to Gaeš (má gu4 udu gid-da ezem-á-ki-ti) (MVN 3 214 [Š46/AS3]). However, although documents refer to the á-ki-ti of Gaeš, no document indicates the relationship between the Ekarzida and the á-ki-ti complex.

The á-ki-ti complex included a royal storehouse (é-gi-na-ab-tum-lugal-á-ki-ti) at which, throughout the year, provisions such as reeds, date-palm fronds, bitumen and copper implements were stored.<sup>1</sup> The á-ki-ti grounds included a field on which farmers on the payroll of the king grew barley<sup>2</sup> and a courtyard (MVN 3 331: kisal ša á-ki-ti) for cultic activities.

There are references which could be construed as referring to an á-ki-ti building in Ur proper. A Drehem text (MVN 3 331) dated to the first month (túše-kin-ku5) of IS5 (involving the celebration of the še-kin-ku5 festival) records: kisal ša á-ki-ti Uriki-ma zi-ga "(garments) disbursed (for) the courtyard in the á-ki-ti of Ur." Another tablet from Drehem (Limet, RA 62 [1968] no. 4 [ŠS6 vii]) refers to the delivery to the palace of a mašdaria offering of dates destined for the á-ki-ti of Ur.<sup>3</sup> Note also Durand, RA 73 [1979] no. 2 for Uriki-ma á-ki-ti-a sag-u4-sakar-še. Ur in these Drehem texts may connote metropolitan Ur, encompassing Gaeš. In other instances the goods intended for the á-ki-ti-building in Gaeš may have been sent from Drehem first to the palace complex in Ur for subsequent shipment by barge to the á-ki-ti in Gaeš as royally provided offerings. It is unlikely that these texts refer to an actual á-ki-ti building inside Ur proper.

The á-ki-ti celebration in the first month lasted at least from the 1st through the 5th of the month, as noted in a series of tablets all dating to IS7. The festival may have continued past the fifth of the month. A tablet dating to ŠS4 records 2 grain-fed oxen for the á-ki-ti, and although partially illegible, the day appears to be the 6th of the month (Dhorme, RA 9 [1912], SA 217). Indication of the 6th of the month being part of the á-ki-ti festival may be discerned on an Umma(?) tablet dated to the 6th day of the first month (AS5 túše-kin-ku5) which records two tin standards for Nanna for the mid-night ceremony at the temple of Nanna for the á-ki-ti festival of the first

1. UET 3 295 (ša é-gi-tum-á-ki-ti), 839 (é-gi-na-tum-á-ki-ti-lugal), 840, 851 (é-gi-na-tum-á-ki-ti), 1050 (é-gi-na-ab-tum-lugal-á-ki-ti), 1188 (ša é-tum-gi-na-á-ki-ti), 1191 (é-gi-na-ab-tum-ma-lugal-á-ki-ti).

2. UET 3 1384: a-ša-á-ki-ti; UET 3 1766: clothing rations for "the royal farmers who harvest the barley at the á-ki-ti-complex" (túg-ba nam-engar-lugal še KIN.KIN-da-bi ša á-ki-ti).

3. Durand *Catalogue EPHE* 419: máš-da-ri-a á-ki-ti Uriki ki-PN gir PN é-gal-la ba-an-ku4; this text also records offerings for the á-ki-ti being brought into the palace.

month (<sup>d</sup>Nanna-še 2 šu-nir-an-na ša á-ki-ti á-gi6-sag-a zi-ga èš-èš-lugal ša é-<sup>d</sup>Nanna-ka u4-6-kam) (YBC 11751 [AS5 xii 6]). A Drehem tablet (Nakahara *Sumerian Tablets* 46, ŠS9 i) most probably refers to offerings intended for the á-ki-ti celebration at Gaeš on the 7th of the month: "6 grain-fed oxen, 13 grass-fed sheep, and 1 goat as mašdaria-offerings for the place of the entu-priestess of Nanna in Gaeš; via PN; on the 7th day."

Delivery documents provide a glimpse into the ritual activities during the five days. The activities occurred at three sites: (1) the du6-úr-sanctuary in Ur, presumably similar in concept to the Sacred Mound at Nippur, a representation of that primordial mound from which the gods and civilization sprang; (2) the Ekišnugal temple of Nanna in Ur; and (3) the Ekarzida temple complex in Gaeš, outside Ur. The high point of the festival was Nanna's entry by barge into Ur from the á-ki-ti-house in Gaeš. This occurred probably on the third day, when a special offering to the Boat of Heaven (perhaps Nanna's transport from Gaeš) was offered. Moreover, there were no offerings at Gaeš on the third and fourth, indicating Nanna's absence from that complex. On the fourth day the Great Offering (sízkur-gu-la) was conducted at both the du6-úr and the Ekišnugal, indicating Nanna's presence in Ur proper. The following schedule of events can be reconstructed for the festival in the first month:

|             | Day 1  | Day 2 | Day 3 | Day 4   | Day 5   |
|-------------|--|-------|-------|---|---|
| Evening     | du6-úr;<br>Nanna (at the<br>Ekišnugal);<br>at Gaeš |       |       |   | du6-úr;<br>Nanna (at the<br>Ekišnugal);<br>funerary shrines |
| Midnight    |  |       |       | Nanna (at the<br>Ekišnugal);<br>Gate for Haya;<br>Place of the<br>Throne              | Nanna (at the<br>Ekišnugal);<br>Utu(?) in a field           |
| Daybreak    | á-ki-ti at Gaeš                                    |       |       | Great Offering<br>at the du6-úr;<br>Great Offering<br>for Nanna (at<br>the Ekišnugal) | at Gaeš   |
| Unspecified |  |       |       | Boat of Heaven<br>Nanna (at the<br>Ekišnugal);<br>du6-úr;<br>Ninhursag                | Nanna; Ningal;<br>du6-úr;<br>Place of the<br>Throne         |

The following events are described on tablets all dating to IS7:

DAY1 (UET 3 230)

- 1) midnight(?) offerings: a bundle of reeds for the offering at the du<sub>6</sub>-úr-mound in Ur; 2 bundles of reeds and 2 bundles of plants for Nanna (for the offering in the Ekišnugal);
- 2) daybreak offering: 1 bundle of figs for the offering in the á-ki-ti-complex in Gaeš.

DAY4 (UET 3 231, 232)

- 1) midnight offerings: dates for the temple of Nanna (the Ekišnugal), for the "Gate," for Haya and for the "Place of the Throne."
- 2) daybreak offerings: 1 bundle of reeds for the Great Offering for the du<sub>6</sub>-úr-mound in Ur and [...] for the Great Offering at the temple of Nanna (the Ekišnugal).

DAY5 (UET 3 233, 235)

- 1) evening offerings: 1 sheep, 1 goat, beer, ghee, oil, dates and various types of meal at the du<sub>6</sub>-úr in Ur; beer, pea flour and [...] for the temple of Nanna in Ur (the Ekišnugal); a sheep and a goat for the royal funerary shrine (ki-a-nag) in Ur.
- 2) midnight offerings: an ox, sheep, goats and lambs for Nanna (in the Ekišnugal); 1 goat for Utu(?) and a sheep [offered in(?)] the [...] field;
- 3) daybreak offerings: various types of meal, a date and flour mixture, an ox, sheep, goat and lambs for Nanna in the á-ki-ti in Gaeš.

Tablets from other years display a similar pattern of celebration:

DAY1 (MVN 8 189 [IS6])

- 1) Evening offerings: 2 bundles of reeds for the du<sub>6</sub>-úr-mound; bundles of reeds and plants for the offering at the á-ki-ti-complex;
- 2) Daybreak offering: 1 bundle of figs for the á-ki-ti complex.

DAY3 (JONES-SNYDER SET 59 [AS3])

- 1) Offerings of grain-fed sheep for the "Boat of Heaven," for Nanna, for the du<sub>6</sub>-úr-mound, and for Ninḫursag.

DAY5

- 1) Š48 (AUCT 2 175): 2 sheep and 2 lambs for Nanna, 1 sheep and 2 lambs for Ningal, 1 sheep and 1 lamb for the du<sub>6</sub>-úr-mound, and 2 sheep for the "Place of the Throne";
- 2) AS3 (AUCT 1 327): deliveries for the á-ki-ti-še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>.

The á-ki-ti festival of the seventh month lasted for at least the first eleven days of the month, compared to perhaps only five to seven days for the á-ki-ti festival of the first month. (The first millennium *akitu*-festivals at Uruk and Babylon were also eleven days in duration.) As with the festival of the first month, the three central ritual sites were the du<sub>6</sub>-úr-sanctuary, the Ekišnugal temple of Nanna, and the á-ki-ti building in Gaeš.

The Great Offering, a major event of any festival celebration, was performed during the á-ki-ti on several occasions at the Ekarzida in Gaeš, being attested on the 1st, 8th, 9th, and 11th days of the month. At the onset of night the Great Offering was performed in Gaeš for Nanna at the á-ki-ti-complex. A Drehem tablet dated to IS2 (Holma-Salonen *Cuneiform Tablets* 27) detailing the offerings for the beginning of the seventh month (<sup>iti</sup>á-ki-ti) has the entry: 1 gu<sub>4</sub>-niga <sup>d</sup>Nanna sízkur-gu-la šà Ur<sup>ki</sup>-ma u<sub>4</sub>-8-kam "The 8th day: 1 grain-fed ox (for) Nanna, the Great Offering in Ur." Another occurrence of the Great Offering as part of the celebration is from the 30th day in the sixth month (<sup>iti</sup>á-ki-ti) of AS1 (Or 47-49 no. 8): 4 gu<sub>4</sub>-niga <sup>d</sup>Nanna igi-šu-nir sízkur-gu-la šà á-ki-ti "4 grain-fed oxen for Nanna, before (his) emblem; the Great Offering in the á-ki-ti complex." Midnight offerings (á-gi<sub>6</sub>-sa<sub>9</sub>-a) occurred in Ur at the du<sub>6</sub>-úr-mound and at the Ekišnugal, followed by the daybreak offering to Nanna (probably at the Ekišnugal) (UET 3 193): "2 lambs for the du<sub>6</sub>-úr-mound and 1 ox, 2 lambs and 1 goat for the temple of Nanna ... in Ur. 1 Sheep and 1 lamb as the midnight offering to Nanna; 2 lambs as the daybreak offering to Nanna; 1 two-year old cow, 1 sheep and 1 lamb from the ... building(?) and 1 reed-fed pig from the preserve as the nightly Great Offering for Nanna at the á-ki-ti. Disbursed on the 11th of the month á-ki-ti as royal offerings." Another Drehem text records ovine offerings destined for Ur, Gaeš and the á-ki-ti in Gaeš through at least the first nine days of the seventh month (Jones-Snyder SET 98). An undated Ur tablet (UET 3 283) containing offerings for the 9th probably of <sup>iti</sup>á-ki-ti (rather than <sup>iti</sup>še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>) records midnight offerings: good quality black beer and farina for the du<sub>6</sub>-úr, quality beer and black beer poured into bowls, pea flour and farina for the temple of Nanna (in Ur), and cheese, ghee, [...] and farina for Nanna at the á-ki-ti in Gaeš; daybreak offerings for Nanna at the á-ki-ti in Gaeš consisting of black beer, pea flour and farina; and quality black beer for the Great Offering of Nanna at the á-ki-ti complex in Gaeš.

During the day Bēlat-šuhner and other deities travelled by barge from Ur to Nanna in Gaeš at the á-ki-ti, where there probably was a ritual lustration of Nanna's statue, followed by ceremonies wherein the visiting gods paid homage to Nanna (Sauren *NY Public Library* 48 = *Eames Coll.* E3) (§46/AS3 vi):

1 ewe and 1 goat for the temple of Bēlat-šuhner (at the occasion) of her going on Nanna's boat for the á-ki-ti; 1 grain-fed sheep as an offering to Nanna in the á-ki-ti; 2 grain-fed sheep, 1 duck, 2 ...-birds, 5 turtle-doves, 1 small reed-(fed) hog bred for roasting for the "place of the king" at Karzida; 2 lambs for the offering for the Place of Disappearance; [...].

A Drehem tablet records offerings for Inanna and Nanā for the á-ki-ti (Watson *Birmingham* I 68 [§47 vii 5]). But more interestingly the document lists one grain-fed sheep each for the procession-way(?) (ša kaskal-la) for Enlil, Ninlil, Nanna, Inanna, Ninsun, and Lugalbanda on the 5th day. This may refer to Nanna's reentry into Ur from the á-ki-ti house at Gaeš, the event which was the essence of the festival.

The king participated in some of the ceremonies, staying at his royal residence there, the "Place of the King" (ki-lugal) at Karzida (UET 3 186 and Sauren *NY Public Library* 48). During the festival the king held a banquet, although the site (Gaeš or Ur) is unspecified (YBC 16828 [AS8]): "3 grain-fed oxen for the royal banquet (kaš-dé-a-lugal) of the á-ki-ti-šu-numun (festival)." The presence of the king is attested in another Drehem text dated to the 5th day of the seventh month (<sup>iti</sup>ezem-<sup>d</sup>šul-gi) of AS9 (MVN 8 221) according to which ovines were disbursed and loaded onto a barge for when "the king goes to Gaeš" (lugal Ga-eš<sup>ki</sup>-šè gín-né má-a ba-na-a-gá-ar).

UET 3 1641 mentions clothing for young girl singers, who participated in the festivities. This use of special oxen for the á-ki-ti festival is recorded in two Ur texts, one listing rope for cowherds, cattle, and for the á-ki-ti oxen (gu<sub>4</sub>-á-ki-ti) (UET 3 1504) and another listing garments for the drivers of the á-ki-ti oxen and sheep (UET 3 1641). Another text records a royal máš-da-ri-a offering of silver ox nose-rings for the á-ki-ti-šu-numun festival (UET 3 380).

Many tablets record *mašdaria* and other offerings for the á-ki-ti-festival in Gaeš. One text records *mašdaria*-offerings of clothing, dates, and fish for the "place of the king" (ki-lugal) for the á-ki-ti-šu-numun festival (UET 3 186); *mašdaria*-offerings of sheep, goats and oxen for the á-ki-ti-šu-numun for both Ur and Gaeš are recorded on an undated Drehem tablet (AUCT 1 637). Other tablets list *mašdaria*-offerings of dates (Reisner *Telloh* 276 [IS5] and Virolleaud *Lagash* 73 [§§5 x]); animals (CTMMA 1 17 [AS4 vii]); and flour and beer (MVN 13 118 [§41 vi]: for the nī-GIS.DILI-šè šà á-ki-ti).<sup>1</sup> Hallo, *Acta Sum*

1. The term nī-GIS.DILI occurs also in broken context in Sauren *NY Public Library* 373 i 10. The copies preclude a reading nī-ú<sup>1</sup>-rum in these two passages.

3 (1981) YBC 16652 refers to the á-ki-ti-šu-numun-na; AASF B 92 298 and 510 also mention supplies for the á-ki-ti; MVN 12 414 mentions dates for maš-da-ri-á-ki-ti; a delivery of animals for the á-ki-ti-complex (unclear which festival since no month) (MVN 13 517); AUCT 2 239 (§§7 viii 10) records disbursements of sheep and goats originally intended as provisions for á-ki-ti-šu-numun festival for the *entu*-priestess of Inanna-of-Uruk; MVN 13 477 (AS9 vii) records a disbursement of goats for the á-ki-ti-šu-numun festival; an undated tablet (AUCT 1 316) records oxen, cows, sheep and ewes for both the á-ki-ti-šu-numun and the á-ki-ti-še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>. A broken reference (Durand *Catalogue EPHE* 419) mentions supplies for the á-ki-ti which were delivered to the palace. A fragment of an unpublished Drehem tablet (YBC 16652) lists provisions for various months. The only preserved entry for <sup>iti</sup>á-ki-ti is for the 26th and records barley for "the boat laden with *dabin*-paste for the brewers of the temples for the á-ki-ti-šu-numun festival" (má-dabin lú-bappir<sub>2</sub> é-n[e?...] á-ki-ti-šu-numun). The year name is not preserved, but presumably the tablet dates before §§4, thus to the sixth month of the year. This would explain the date of the 26th, i.e., four days before the á-ki-ti-festival in Ur.

There are references from Girsu to *mašdaria*-offerings for the á-ki-ti festival at Ur (ITT 6167; ITT 6922; ITT 6959). A contract from Girsu dated to the fifth month of AS7 concerns the delivery of oxen to Ur by the beginning of the month for the á-ki-ti (RA 73 [1979] no. 2): ... Ur<sup>ki</sup>-ma á-ki-ti-a sag-u<sub>4</sub>-sakar<sub>x</sub>-šè. Two Girsu texts refer to the á-ki-ti of Ur in Nippur (á-ki-ti Ur<sup>ki</sup>-ma šà Nibru<sup>ki</sup>).<sup>1</sup> Lafont *Tello* 29 is dated to the third month, thus the á-ki-ti festival referred to must be the upcoming á-ki-ti in Nippur during the fourth month. Yet the scribes use the expression "the á-ki-ti of Ur in Nippur." These two references are acknowledgments that the á-ki-ti festivals in Nippur (albeit in different months) were believed to have originated at Ur.

In Old Babylonian Ur, as at Ur III Ur, the first month marked the observance of the á-ki-ti-festival of the month še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>. However, the Old Babylonian texts mark this occasion also as the observance of the u<sub>5</sub>-gu<sub>7</sub> of Nanna, the ú-sag of Ningal, and, according to one text, the "Procession to Eridu" (kaskal-Eridu<sup>ki</sup>-ga).<sup>2</sup> The texts record the withdrawal of ghee, cheese, dates, milk and yellow milk from the storehouse of Ningal for the observances.<sup>3</sup>

In the Old Babylonian period at Ur the ér-gu-la, "Great Wailing," was an integral part of the á-ki-ti-celebration (UET 5 748, 752, and 782). It was performed during the fourth month as part of a ritual for Nanna, "provisions for the Great Wailing and the ... for Nanna" (nī-dab<sub>5</sub>-ér-gu-la-u<sub>5</sub>-gu<sup>1</sup>-<sup>d</sup>Nanna) (UET 5 744). Another text dated to the fourth month records the offering

1. Lafont *Tello* 29 and ITT 6756: maš-da-ri-a á-ki-ti Ur<sup>ki</sup>-ma šà Nibru<sup>ki</sup>.

2. For references to these rituals, see p. 229 note 1.

3. Edzard *Zwischenzeit*, 19 suggests reading UET 5 524 6': á-ki<sup>2</sup>.



for the Great Wailing (síkzur-ér-gu-la) (UET 5 734).<sup>1</sup> The introduction of the "Great Wailing" as part of the á-ki-ti festival may be an innovation in the Old Babylonian period. This observance may have been instituted as a remembrance of the terrible devastation of Ur by the armies of Elam and Šimaški (2004 B.C.), preserved in the two laments, the "Lamentation over the Destruction of Ur" and the "Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur."<sup>2</sup> Perhaps these two compositions were read aloud as part of the observance at Old Babylonian Ur.

Nippur, as did Ur, observed two á-ki-ti celebrations. However, unlike Ur, the Nippur á-ki-ti festivals occurred in the fourth and twelfth months (instead of the first and seventh) and were held during the middle of the month, not on the occasion of the new moon. Nippur consciously integrated the Ur festivals into the already existing Nippur agricultural festivals, changing the original intent of the á-ki-ti festival.

The term á-ki-ti is first attested on a list of barley rations from Šuruppak (Jestin TSS 881 obv. ii 1'-3'): [...] á-ki-ti é-kur é-zi, its tantalizing juxtaposition to the Ekur in this passage possibly indicating an early connection with Nippur. The festival name á-ki-ti-šu-numun for this festival of the fourth month in Nippur occurs in a Drehem tablet dated the 8th day, month four (itiki-síg-dNin-a-zu) in AS4: "1 grain-fed sheep and 1 grain-fed large goat each for Enlil and Ninlil ... for the *akiti-šunumun* (festival) ... for Nippur ... disbursed" (TLB 3 98). Although this disbursement occurs on the 8th, it is most likely that the actual observance occurred days later. A Drehem tablet dated to the fourth month (itiki-síg-dNin-a-zu) in AS7 records a day by day disbursement of bovines for Nippur and from the 11th of the month through the 13th grain-fed oxen were disbursed ša á-ki-ti-šu-numun (MVN 13 694). PDT II 1232 also places the *akiti-šunumun*-festival in Nippur around the 11th day of the fourth month: "[...] for the *akiti-šunumun* (ša-á-ki-t[i]-šu-numun-na); 1 grass-fed ox for Enlil and 1 grass-fed cow for Ninlil—it is a black ox—for the offering at daybreak at the entrance of the king in Nippur." A Drehem tablet from the fourth month (itiki-síg-dNin-a-zu) of AS4 records the withdrawal of 3 sheep which had originally been delivered for the *akiti-šunumun*-festival (AUCT 1 794). A Girsu document records *mašdaria*-offerings: *maš-dari á-ki-ti ša Nibru<sup>ki</sup>* (Lafont *Tello* 29); TuM NF 1/2 264 (ŠS8 iv 11): "1 grain-fed ox for Enlil and 1 grain-fed ox for Ninlil ... the midnight offering ša á-ki-ti-šu-numun"; and a Drehem tablet which record two grain-fed oxen ša á-ki-ti-šu-numun-a ... ša Nibru<sup>ki</sup> (PTS 138 [ŠS1 iv]). An á-ki-ti-street (e-sír á-ki-ti) in Nippur is mentioned in another Drehem text (PDT II 1050) as the location of an offering of a sheep and goat.

1. For é-ér-šà-bànda "the wailing for the minor shrine" at Ur, see Figulla, *Iraq* 15 [1953], 176 60).

2. S.N. Kramer, AS 12 and Michalowski *Sumer and Ur*.

The á-ki-ti festival at Nippur is mentioned in the "Message of Lu-Dingira to His Mother," in which a courier to Nippur is asked to hand a note from a loving son to his mother. One of the passages refers to the á-ki-ti-festival, (the Akkadianized forms á-ki-tum and a-ki-tum are used): "My mother fills songs (and) prayers with joy, her glance is *sparkling* in the Akitu-festival."<sup>1</sup> The mother's name was Šāt-Ištar and this, coupled with lines 15-16: "She stands humbly before the goddess, her lady, knows how to look after Inanna's place," raises the possibility that her participation in the á-ki-ti festival was more than that of an observer along the procession-way. She may have served the cult of Inanna in some capacity during the ceremonies.

The fourth month in the Sargonic Adab calendar, as at Nippur, was named for the á-ki-ti-festival. At both Nippur and Adab the fourth and twelfth (itše-kin-kuš) months were named for the same festivals. The fourth Nippur month was itšu-numun, during which an *akiti*-festival was held, whereas the fourth month in Adab was named for the *akiti*-festival. An Adab economic document (A 835+840) contains a passage, albeit somewhat unclear, that relates the Adab *akiti*-festival with the term šu-numun: 2½ sila še 2½ sila šu-numun ez[em]-á-ki-ti [...] ½ sila zíz nì-še-sag-kuš-rá [...]. The še-kin-kuš festival of the twelfth month in Adab is probably mentioned in another Adab text (OIP 14 98): ezem-še- [...].

There is a tablet which raises the possibility that the á-ki-ti-festival was observed at Uruk in the eighth month. As late as the third century B.C. the á-ki-ti-festival was celebrated in Uruk twice a year, in the first and seventh months, as at Ur III Ur.<sup>2</sup> The earliest attestation of the á-ki-ti-festival in Uruk is in an Ur III document which records offerings destined for the á-ki-ti-šu-numun festival in Uruk in the eighth month (AUCT 2 239 [ŠS7]): "3 grass-fed sheep and 2 grass-fed large goats for the *entu*-priestess of Inanna in Uruk; provisions for her *akiti-šunumun* festival." Another Drehem tablet, recording the repayment of silver as a *mašdaria*-offering for the á-ki-ti, does not mention any city (Limet, RA 62 no. 5). However, since this tablet also dates to the eighth month, it is quite likely that this too is a reference to the á-ki-ti-festival in Uruk.

During the Old Babylonian period the Sumerian form á-ki-ti was still used to denote the festival in Ur. However, documents from the more northerly cities indicated the festival in an Akkadianized form *akitu* (*á-ki-tum* or *a-ki-tum*).<sup>3</sup> Larsa documents utilize both the Sumerian and Akkadian forms.

1. Translation M. Civil, JNES 23 (1964), 5: 41-42.

2. See pp. 429ff. for the rituals accompanying these two late first millennium Uruk *akitu*-festivals.

3. MAOG 4 2:7; Landsberger, LSS 6 1/2, 12 n. 4, AHw and CAD all suggest that the É-sign frequently occurring before *akitu*, may, at least on some occasions, be a determinative to indicate a building, thus É-á-ki-tum.

As mentioned above, the á-ki-ti festival continued to be observed in Ur in the Old Babylonian period at the beginning of the first and seventh months. The innovations at Old Babylonian Ur were the inclusion of the Great Wail (ér-gu-la, presumably lamenting the destruction of Ur by invaders during the reign of Ibbi-Sin) and the formalizing of the ezem-má-nu-ru, "festival of the ship of the moon" during the á-ki-ti celebration, which is attested once during the Ur III period as ezem-má-dSuen.

A Larsa document (YOS 14 202) refers to the day of the á-ki-ti in Ur (u<sub>4</sub>-á-ki-ti ša Uri<sup>ki</sup>-ma) in the seventh month. Two other Larsa documents, also dating to the seventh month, mention the u<sub>4</sub>-á-ki-ti of Dumuzi of Badtibira (YOS 14 194): l-giš sızkur-dDumu-zi ša Bād-tibira<sup>ki</sup> u<sub>4</sub> á-ki-ti ù e-lu-lu "oil for the offering to Dumuzi of Badtibira for the day of the á-ki-ti-festival and the elūlu-celebration"; (YOS 14 265): l-giš u<sub>4</sub> á-ki-tum<sup>d</sup> Dumu-zi uru<sup>ki</sup> Bād-tibira<sup>ki</sup> "oil for the day of the ákitum-festival of Dumuzi of Badtibira." In Ur the á-ki-ti-festival was directed to Nanna, the moon and patron deity of Ur. These two Larsa references concerning Dumuzi of Badtibira are the earliest references to an á-ki-ti-festival for a deity other than Nanna. There is another Larsa document which refers to provisions for the á-ki-ti-festival (*Sumer* 34 [1978], 167 L.74186), but this may refer to the celebration in Ur or Badtibira. According to a royal inscription, king Warad-Sin of Larsa provided offerings for the á-ki-te festival, but this probably refers to the celebration at Ur, since Warad-Sin also claims to have built/rebuilt the é-AB/ÉŠ-ki-te for Nanna in Ur.<sup>1</sup> Thus, there is no evidence that an ákiti-festival occurred in Larsa.

The ákitum festival is attested in the year name of Sin-abušū, perhaps the same Sin-abušū who was ruler of Ešnunna: MU a-ki-tam<sup>d</sup> EN.ZU-a-bu-šu iš-ku-nu "the year Sin-abušū held the ákitum festival." A document delineating the borders of a house in Terqa refers to the "the open square of (the god) Mer's ákitu(-house)." Samuiluna's 27th regnal year is named after his commissioning of a statue of Adad of Babylon for the ákitu festival: "Year Samsuiluna dedicated for his life to Adad of Babylon his lord who helps and who listens to his supplications the most splendid offering such as is suitable for the feast of the new year, a brilliant image of silver, 10 talents in weight." Several letters from the reign of Ammišaduqa mention the bīt ákiti: "the sheep shearing will take place in the ákitu-house."<sup>2</sup> Thus, there appears to have been an ákitu-house in Babylon by the Old Babylonian period.

1. Nesag-á-ki-te, RIM 4, 222 line 97.

2. For references see CAD A/1 270. It is unclear whether this refers to a ritual shearing or to regular shearing performed in the ákitu-building because it was a simple, unused structure, located conveniently outside the city wall where the noise and smell of the shearing wouldn't bother the populace inside the walled city.

There are a few scattered references indicating the observance of an ákitu-festival at Sippar. However, there is no information as to the time of year the observance occurred or the deity around whom the festival was centered.<sup>1</sup>

From the Middle Babylonian period there is a reference from Nippur to the singers at the ákitu-gate (KÁ.GAL á-ki-te) and two references to the ákitu-house in Akkad.<sup>2</sup>

In the north, the ákitu-festival does not appear to occur at the New Year. It is a completely separate festival. In fact, the Old Babylonian letter of Šamši-Adad's (see below) records the festival as occurring in the middle of the second month.

Hildegard and Julius Lewy suggested that the observance of the ákitu-festival in Aššur is attested as early as the period of Cappadocian colonization, at the beginning of the second millennium at Level 2.<sup>3</sup> The reference in TC II 37 to a ten day procession, does, indeed bring to mind the ákitu-celebration (although the ákitu-festival was eleven days). However, there really is no evidence to indicate that the ákitu-festival is the subject of this letter. And Lewy's interpretation of TC II 15 seems somewhat contrived, since this could refer to any celebration, perhaps to even a native Cappadocian one. Moreover, the distant days referred to by Sennacherib may extend no further back than the Middle-Assyrian period (if, indeed, that far back!), from which there is a ritual indicating a procession to an ákitu-house outside of the city gates.<sup>4</sup>

During the period of the Amorite interlopers (ca. 1800 B.C.), an ákitu-festival was celebrated in the middle of the month ittiGUD, as noted in a letter from Šamši-Adad to his son Yasmah-Adad at Mari:<sup>5</sup>

The current month is ittiGUD; when the sixteenth day comes the ákitu-festival will be performed. The envoys of the ruler of the city of Ešnunna are already present. As to the [...]ceremony, let your teams of damdammu-mules and horses come here to the New Year's festival; the chariots and harnesses for the horses should be new. They will pull (the chariot) during the New Year's festival and will then be returned directly to you.

Your animals should depart for here the very day you receive this message without even waiting for next morning."

However, it is unclear whether Šamši-Adad was stationed at Šubat-Enlil or some more southerly location when this letter was written, particularly in

1. Note the personal name Mar-a-ki-tum (YOS 13 200). Harris Sippar, 20 notes references to an ákitu chapel (BM 81143: É.GAL ákitim) and an ákitu street (BE 6/1 82: 18 SILA a-ki-tim).

2. For references see CAD A/1 271.

3. "The Week and the Oldest West Asiatic Calendar," HUCA 17 (1942/43), 62-64. See pp. 244-245 for this text.

4. ZA 50 (1954), 192-202.

5. ARM 1 50; translation based upon Oppenheim Letters, 109.

view of the month being written <sup>iti</sup>GUD, which is unexpected from scribes at Subat-Enlil, where a different calendar was in use.

The observance of an *akitu*-festival for Marduk in Aššur during the Middle Assyrian period is attested in a ritual from Aššur.<sup>1</sup> Van Driel notes "The supposition that this Marduk was the statue of Marduk of Babylon brought to Aššur by Tukulti-Ninurta I and not that of a local Marduk from the temple of the god in Aššur itself seems acceptable, especially if one compares KAR 135+ ... [These texts may] belong to the period between the conquest of Babylon by Tukulti-Ninurta I and the return of Marduk to his residence, possibly in the reign of Ninurta-tukul-Aššur [ca. 1350–1250 B.C.]."<sup>2</sup> Although the preserved portions of the text do not actually name the festival, several passages indicate that it, indeed, concerns the *akitu*-festival: (1) the king is an active participant before Marduk; (2) Marduk is seated on the Throne-of-Destiny, (which occurs in the *akitu*-rituals of the first millennium B.C.); and (3) there is a procession of gods outside the city and the gods travel by barge. This text points to the existence of an *akitu*-house outside the walls of Aššur during the Middle Assyrian period and may be the period of time referred to by Sennacherib: "when the *akitu*-temple outside the walls had been forgotten for a long time."<sup>3</sup> According to this ritual the king presented gifts to the gods, some of which were sent to the temple of Ištar. The king, the *šangû*-priest and the statues of the other gods stood before Marduk, as Marduk sat on the Throne-of-Destiny, receiving libations and offerings. The procession to the *akitu*-house outside the city wall then began. At certain points along the procession-way hymns to soothe Marduk were sung and offerings of sheep and wine were made. After exiting the city gate, the gods boarded barges. After arriving at the *akitu*-house a ritual meal was presented by the king to Marduk and the other gods.

(beginning of obverse destroyed)

...  
[one] artificial [lapis lazuli bottle] (filled) with wine ...  
... all these [gifts ...]

... white [garment] and one garment ...  
... of stone, decorated with gold ...  
[one] artificial lapis lazuli [bottle] (filled) with wine ...  
... all these gifts ...  
[places] these gifts at the entrance to the temple of Ištar.

1. F. Köcher, "Ein mittellassyrisches Ritualfragment zum Neujahrsfest," ZA 50 (1954), 192-202.

2. Van Driel *Aššur*, 54.

3. OIP 2 136 26f.

As soon as the king [has given] these gifts,  
the priest stands by the gods and the king places himself in front of the gods.

[The king] and the priest set Marduk on the Throne-of-Destiny.  
Over a brick kiln the ... shake out coals.

Before Marduk they cut a live lamb in half and place (the halves) over the charcoal.

The king, instead of the priest, scatters over the lamb a half liter of juniper, a half liter of cedar chips, and three bowls of flour made from roasted grain.

He empties out a bottle of wine and a bottle of beer onto the ground at both sides of the kiln.

The priest offers water for (washing) the hand(s) of Marduk.

The priest stands by Marduk and the king walks before Marduk.

He walks (a distance of) two *ikû*-field measures. They appease Marduk (with prayers). The king offers up two sheep before Marduk.

They set the (sheep) heads before Marduk.

The king pours out two bottles of wine onto the ground.

When Marduk and the (other) gods leave via the door of the city gate, and

when Marduk turns around and stops during the traversal(?) of the gate, they appease Marduk (with prayers).

The king offers up two sheep before Marduk. They set the (sheep) heads before Marduk.

[The king] empties out two bottles of [wine] onto the ground.

Marduk sets out and [goes to the river bank].

The king offers up two sheep before Marduk. He sets [the (sheep) heads before] Marduk. [The king empties out] two bottles [of wine].

Marduk, Šarpanītu, and Nabû board [barges]. Ea ...

... [god]s to the barges ...

...

...

[The king] ... salt ...

The king ... bowls ...

ten ... three of the same ...

Oxen and sheep ...

He scatters [over them ...]

On both sides [of the kiln] he empties out [two bottles of wine and beer].

... the gods ...

... the priests ...

On the off[ering table ...] roasted meat. [He ...] four bowls of ...

The king [sets] on [the offering table] roasted meat and ... [He ...] six bowls of ...

The king [sets ...] on [the offering table] and blesses Nanâ. He offers as before.

Before Nabû and Šamaš ...

The king [sets ...] on the offering table. He blesses ...  
He offers roasted meat and ... [He ...] five bowls of ... wood.

The king [sets ...] on the offering table. He blesses ...  
He offers roasted meat and ... [He ...] bowls of ... wood.

... Ea(?) and ...

...

...

(remainder destroyed)

An Assyrian ritual commentary, preserved in widely divergent versions from Aššur and Nineveh, is an etiology for various customs and rituals associated with the *akitu*-festival in Assyria.<sup>1</sup> More important, this text reveals a mythological background to the *akitu*-celebration in Assyria, according to which Marduk/Bēl transgressed against Aššur and was imprisoned in the *akitu*-house, where he underwent trial by ordeal, being released after seven days.

The evidence against Bēl may have been the *Enuma Eliš* itself: "The *Enuma Eliš*, which is recited and sung before Bēl in Nisan, concerns his imprisonment" (Livingstone, *Court Poetry* no. 34: 34 and no. 35: 28). According to these commentaries, Bēl committed an offense against Aššur, for Bēl protests "I only did what was good to Aššur. I waged battle by the order of Aššur, so what is my crime?" (Livingstone, *Court Poetry* no. 35: 29). This "order of Assur's" presumably was Anšar's (whom the Assyrian equated with Aššur<sup>2</sup>) instruction to his grandson Marduk to save the gods and to fight against Tiamat.

The seeming intrusion into this commentary of the explanation for the races in *Kissilimu* (Livingstone, *Court Poetry* no. 34: 57-60) as a commemoration of Ninurta's triumph over the *anzû*-bird is integral to the accusation against Marduk/Bēl—a counter argument against Bēl's claim to deserving supremacy over the gods as a result of his victory over Tiamat. When Aššur commissioned Ninurta to defeat *anzû*, Ninurta obeyed, yet did not venture to usurp Aššur's position afterwards, despite his victory. However, Bēl, also commissioned by Aššur to fight for the gods, did dare to usurp Aššur's position after his victory. Therefore Bēl's crime was his claim to supremacy over the gods, in effect, usurpation of his grandfather Anšar's supreme position—through-

1. The most recent editions of these two versions, as well as references to all previous treatments, is in A. Livingstone, *Court Poetry* nos. 34 (Aššur) and 35 (Nineveh).

2. Cf. Livingstone, *Court Poetry* no. 34: 54.

out the *Enuma Eliš* it is Anšar who assumes the role of the leader of the gods; it is Anšar who gives Ea and then Marduk their commissions to defend the gods.

There was another, unrelated, charge against Marduk, the dispute between Marduk and Aššur regarding the *wearing of the water*, perhaps an allusion to the waters of Tiamat. The commentary cites the *Enuma Eliš* as a proof-text, according to which the water originally covered Aššur, not Bēl (Livingstone, *Court Poetry* no. 34: 55-56 and no. 35: 44-47):

[The *oufit*] which is on him and of which it is said: "That is water"—that is a lie. It is said in *Enuma Eliš*: When heaven and earth were not created, Aššur came into being. (Only) when city and temple (already) existed, did he come into being. It is the water which was over Aššur. His criminal [*oufit*] is gathered in the storeroom. He is not clad in water. The storeroom ... the daughter of Anu. They kil[led her].

Perhaps Aššur is claiming that he, not Marduk/Bēl, had defeated Tiamat and that Bēl was pretending to this victory, draping himself with waters which he falsely claims to be those of the vanquished Tiamat, waters which rightfully should have been worn by the true vanquisher of Tiamat, Aššur. To support his charge, Aššur claims that Marduk had not yet come into existence at the time of this primordial battle and thus could not possibly have defeated Tiamat. The reference to the daughter of the sky-god Anu may indicate the real source of Marduk's waters which he falsely claimed to be those of Tiamat(?).

These two charges are, of course, irreconcilable, and, if our interpretations are valid, they represent separate traditions as to the perfidy of Marduk. If Aššur, not Marduk/Bēl, had defeated Tiamat, then Marduk could not have shown disrespect for Aššur after fulfilling Aššur's order to slay Tiamat.

Bēl, branded a criminal by Aššur, was detained in the *akitu*-house, where he underwent trial by ordeal: "The *Akutu*-house where he goes is the house at the edge of (the place of) the ordeal; they question him there" (Livingstone, *Court Poetry* no. 34: 7 and no. 35: 7). Thus the *akitu*-house, which elsewhere represented a temporary, mythological residence of the god before claiming residence in his new city, was transformed into a temporary jail for Bēl in the Aššur and Nineveh rituals.<sup>1</sup>

Bēl, however, is released, as noted in Sennacherib's naming of the *akitu*-house at Aššur: "upon an omen and an oracular order of Šamaš and Adad I (re)built the *akitu*-temple outside the walls whose location had been forgotten long ago, I named it House-That-Fetters-Death,"<sup>2</sup> apparently a reference

1. The "accomplice" of Bēl described in Livingstone, *Court Poetry* no. 34: 24 might be Ea, Anšar's son and Marduk's father. The reeds (no. 34: 24 and no. 35: 15) seem to represent Bēl's accomplice (perhaps an allusion to Enki/Ea's association with the reeds of Eridu). And no. 34: 27 mentions the exorcists (*lû-maš-maš*) who go in front of him (the accomplice?). Ea was the patron deity of diviners.

2. OIP 2 139 (translation CAD A/1 270).

to Bēl having escaped a judgment of death. (Note that it was Šamaš and Adad who sent the emissary to rescue Bēl from the *akitu*-house [Livingstone, *Court Poetry* no. 35: 4].) And the commentary states that on the 7th day of *Nisannu* an emissary of the gods brought Bēl out of the *akitu*-house.

The evolution of ritual is rarely a simple process; many factors are involved. However, identifiable political considerations may well have influenced the development of the Assyrian *akitu*-ritual. During the last half of the thirteenth century B.C. the Assyrian monarch Tukulti-Ninurta I defeated the Babylonian Kassite king Kaštiliašu IV, bringing both the king and the statue of Marduk to Aššur. The capture of Marduk avenged the perceived insults by Babylonia against Assyria, of Marduk's usurpation of Aššur's rightful position. The Assyrians assumed responsibility for maintaining the cult of the captured Marduk, for performing the *akitu*-festival. However, the background for the event was greatly altered in Assyria. Not only did Aššur replace Marduk/Bēl as the chief deity honored during the festival, but it included the trial of Marduk to avenge these historical wrongs. This may be the reason that this commentary surprisingly states at the end that "whoever crushes this tablet or throws it into water, or sees it but does not tell about it to one who does not know it" (Livingstone, *Court Poetry* no. 34: 70) be cursed, i.e., it was pro-Assyrian propaganda intended for dissemination. During the *akitu*-festival Aššur was acknowledged as the legitimate supreme ruler—he was Anšar, who, according to the *Enuma Eliš*, had continually assumed the leadership of the young gods against Tiamat and her cohorts—he was the true hero of the *Enuma Eliš*. It was Anšar/Aššur who had been wronged by Marduk whom he had commissioned for battle. Although there is no information as to the outcome of Marduk's trial by ordeal other than his being set free on the 7th day, perhaps Marduk/Bēl admitted his wrong-doings and acknowledged Aššur as his supreme lord. Thereafter Marduk/Bēl would have been allowed to return to the city to participate in the determination of destiny and other functions befitting the great god of Babylon.

According to this commentary the goddess Lady-of-Babylon (Bēlet-Babli) was the jailor in charge of the Assyrian *akitu*-house. Her statue did not participate in the procession to the *akitu*-house, but rather she greeted the procession upon its arrival, (either her statue was permanently displayed there or the goddess' portrait was in relief near the entrance). On the 8th day of the festival Bēlet-Babli was involved in the offering of a pig, the significance of which is unclear.

During the *akitu* the statue of Bēl returned to the city on the 7th of the month. Either at the *akitu*-house or back in Aššur, meat and flour were presented to Bēl, special hand-waters for lustration were offered, a cloak was draped about the statue of Bēl, and the *Enuma Eliš* was recited to him.<sup>1</sup> The *Enuma Eliš* recounted Marduk's victory over Tiamat, the primary event re-

sponsible for his election to kingship over the gods, (although, as we have noted above, at Aššur it was used to document the charge against Bēl). This battle served as a motif for the decoration of the door to Sennacherib's *akitu*-house, which included ten gods in front of Aššur and fifteen parading behind him. W.G. Lambert has noted that the same gods depicted as preceding Aššur are also mentioned in an Assyrian ritual<sup>1</sup> which mentions these ten gods going to the *akitu*-house.<sup>2</sup> This has led Lambert to suggest "a combination of these two items of information suggests, if it does not prove, that the procession of gods from the city to the *akitu*-house was construed as a setting out for battle with Tiamat. Presumably the battle took place inside the house."<sup>3</sup> Lambert also notes that the victory over Tiamat was probably a motif in the *akitu*-house in Babylon as well, suggesting (based upon several textual allusions) "the Sea (Tiamat) was no doubt a small cultic structure in the *akitu*-house (probably a dais) and when the statue of Marduk was taken there, it was set on the dais to symbolize victory over Tiamat."<sup>4</sup>

An Assyrian ritual text records the seven names of Marduk at different stages in the pageantry of the *akitu*-festival of Marduk in Aššur.<sup>5</sup> It is not clear whether this document describes the events comprising just one day of the observance or those which spanned several days. The seven stages were:<sup>6</sup>

Residence in Marduk's chapel;  
Between the curtains;  
At the sacred dwelling of Enmešarra;  
On the Throne-of-Destines;  
A procession through the streets;  
The journey by barge;  
Residence in the *akitu*-house.

According to a ritual description of the events of the *akitu*-festival of the first month, Aššur left his temple for the *akitu*-house in a chariot drawn by white horses on the 2nd of *Nisannu*, after a ritual meal.<sup>7</sup> Van Driel suggests: "Probably he [Aššur] was back on the 4th, or perhaps even on the 3rd—or even on the 2nd itself—if the *mūšu ša u<sub>4</sub>* 4.kam of BM 121206 VII 20' is the night between the 3rd and the 4th, which is rather certain, when the king

1. See the Middle-Assyrian ritual translated above for the offering of roasted meat and the presentation of hand-waters as part of the ceremonies.

1. KAV 49.

2. W.G. Lambert, "The Great Battle of the Mesopotamian Religious Year—The Conflict in the Akitu House (A Summary)," *Iraq* 25 (1963), 189-190.

3. W.G. Lambert, *op. cit.*, 189.

4. W.G. Lambert, *op. cit.*, 190.

5. KAR 42 and CT 46 53.

6. CT 46 53 omits the sixth stage (the journey by barge) and instead of *ina ē á-ki-ti* for the seventh stage has *ina ē-uzu-diri*. We thank W.G. Lambert for bringing these passages to our attention.

7. VAT 13596.

visited the cult-room and the chapel of Ninlil, a visit without much purpose if the gods were not present.<sup>1</sup> Another text indicates that Aššur stayed in the *akitu*-house on the 8th of the month. Unfortunately the name of the month is not preserved and thus we cannot be sure that this ritual is the *Nisannu akitu*-festival.<sup>2</sup> A Neo-Assyrian commentary mentions gifts: "the gifts that are given in the month of *Nisannu* from the 6th to the 12th day," presumably a custom related to the *akitu*-festival.<sup>3</sup> It is unclear whether the gifts are presented to the gods or whether there may have been an Assyrian custom of exchanging gifts among the populace at this time of year.

In the Neo-Assyrian period Sargon, who had subjugated Babylon, assumed the monarch's responsibility for escorting Marduk in the Babylonian *akitu*-procession: "(In) the month *Nisannu*, the month when the Lord-of-the-Gods goes out in procession, I conducted Marduk, the great lord, (and) Nabû."<sup>4</sup> According to an inscription of Aššurbanipal's, Sargon also commissioned the building of an *akitu*-house back home at Nineveh for Ištar: "at that time the *akitu*-temple of my lady Ištar which stands in Nineveh, (and) which Sargon had built, had become old—I cleared away its rubble ... I ushered Aššur and Ninlil into it, celebrated the festival of the *akitu*-temple [*isinni Ê á-ki-it*], (and) presented them with splendid offerings and gifts, whenever Aššur and Ninlil enter that *akitu*-temple to celebrate the joyful festival (they should look with favor upon [me])."<sup>5</sup> Ištar of Nineveh dwelled in this *akitu*-house on the 21st of *Ṭebet*.<sup>6</sup> Thus this *akitu*-house seems to have serviced both Ištar of Nineveh and the pair Aššur and Ninlil. According to Aššurbanipal's inscription, this *akitu*-building was located in Nineveh, which may refer to metropolitan, not walled, Nineveh.

An *akitu*-house at Aššur was built by Sennacherib:<sup>7</sup> "in connection with this very undertaking, I conceived the idea of (re)building the *a[kitu]*-temple (for?) the festival of the banquet [*isinni qirēti*] of Aššur, the king of the gods, when the *akitu*-temple outside the walls ["of the plain"] had been forgotten for a long time because of disturbances and disorders, (and) the rite

1. Van Driel *Aššur*, 145.

2. Ph 4123 (see Van Driel *Aššur*, 164). Frankena *Tākultu*, Chapter VI suggests that the *tākultu* observance was part of the *akitu*-festival in Assyria. Van Driel *Aššur*, 164 sees no evidence to support Frankena's thesis and concludes that without further evidence the connection of the two observances is uncertain.

3. CT 13 32 r. 6.

4. Lie Sar. 384 (CAD B 193).

5. Thompson *Esarh.* pl. 17 v 33ff. (translation CAD A/1 267).

6. Van Driel *Aššur*, 149.

7. OIP 2 136 26f. (translation CAD A/1 267). Cf. another Sennacherib statement (Ebeling *Parfumrez* pl. 27:5, quoted CAD Z 12 sub *zgmukku*): "in the month of *Nisannu* at the beginning of the year, when Aššur had to go for the banquet into a garden within the city (instead of into the *akitu*) on account of the disturbances and rebellions."

of Aššur, the king of the gods, had been celebrated within the city." Sennacherib also states: "upon an omen and an oracular order of Šamaš and Adad I (re)built the *akitu*-temple outside the walls whose location had been forgotten long ago, I named it House-That-Fetters-Death, I named its chapel the House-of-Repose(?) [*é-dúb-dúb-ba*], the exalted [...]" (followed by description of the decoration of the door depicting the battle of Aššur and Tiamat).<sup>1</sup> The previously discussed Middle-Assyrian *akitu*-ritual of Marduk states that the procession went outside the walls of Aššur and used barges to reach its destination. Thus it appears that there was an *akitu*-house outside the walled city of Aššur already in the Middle-Assyrian period.<sup>2</sup> The fact that excavators could find no evidence of this older structure beneath what is assumed to be Sennacherib's *akitu*-house, increases the likelihood that Sennacherib did not rebuild the house on the same spot as its Middle Assyrian predecessor—for as Sennacherib noted: "its location" had been forgotten long ago."

Parpola suggests that an *akitu*-festival of the seventh month is mentioned in a Neo-Assyrian letter:<sup>3</sup>

Yesterday, on the 3rd, Aššur (and) Ninlil set out safely (and) entered (the *akitu*-temple) intact; all the gods who set out with Aššur took up their residences safely. The king, my lord, can be happy. ... Now, in the month *Tašritu*, they have filled neither the libation wine nor the vats in front of the god Aššur ...

Throughout the Assyrian cities, however, there were several *akitu*-festivals during the year, occurring in different months.

The Old Babylonian letter of Šamši-Adad (translated above) mentions an *akitu*-festival being observed on the 16th day of the second month (*it<sup>u</sup>GUD*). As noted the use of the Southern-Mesopotamian calendar month name, rather than the Šubat-Enlil calendar, raises the possibility that this *akitu*-festival, at which envoys from Ešnunna attended, may not have been held in Assyria. Another reference to an *akitu*-festival in the second month is in a Neo-Assyrian letter which states that on the 6th day of the second month Adad will take up residence in the *akitu*-house.<sup>4</sup> An Assyrian record of the distribution of wine for various occasions throughout the year notes that the 13th of the second month was a festival, although the name or nature of the occasion is not mentioned.<sup>5</sup> However, according to an Assyrian ritual tablet from

1. OIP 2 139 (translation CAD A/1 270).

2. Van Driel *Aššur*, 58, disagrees with this conclusion: "It is rather speculative to think of a possible *akitu*-house near Aššur to which the Marduk procession of VAT 16435 went." Rather, Van Driel interprets Sennacherib's construction of the *akitu*-house outside the city wall as an innovation.

3. ABL 42 translation Parpola, AOAT 5/1, 267.

4. ABL 1197.

5. KAV 79.

the reign of Sennacherib, the 13th of the second month marked the observance of the *emaš* of Ištar in the *akītu*-house:<sup>1</sup>

On the 13th of Ajaru the *emaš* of Ištar within the town in the *akītu*-house they make; Aššur, Ninlil, Ninurta and Adad go to the *akītu*-feast; he arranges the tables, slaughters the sheep, offers the cooked meat, ... bread, a grain-fed sheep is brought, an unblemished one year old goat, *kaṁānu*-cake, burnt cynoglossum, a *ḥariu*-pot [...] he gives the Sibitti to eat [...]. He finishes the *pagulu*-container [...] two singers, one (sings [...]), the other sings [...]. When they have finished the [...], they place two necks in the [...] of the bread, the *sangū* [...]. Before the god he raises three times [...]. They raise their arms before [...]. They pass the [...]. They heap up the aromatics [...]. The gods start to move, in [...]. The whole town in the [...] house [...] they enter, the chariot of [...] before the father of the gods [...].

There is a reference in the Assyrian Astrolabe B to an *akītu*-festival during the eighth month: "The month *Araḥsamna*, the releasing of the plow, the hoe and plow hold a disputation in the field, the *akītu*-festival of the seeding (season) is celebrated, the month of Adad, the canal inspector of heaven and earth." The *akītu*-festival called a-ki-tu ur seems to have evolved from á-ki-ti-šū-numun, "the *akītu*-festival of (the month) of seeding."<sup>2</sup> Since the *akītu*-festival involved a procession in which the deity returned back to his home city (after his temporary stay in the *akītu*-house), perhaps the above Astrolabe reference to an *akītu* of the seeding season, might refer to the plow returning to its "home" (i.e., the shed, where it hung until next year).

During the Ur III period Uruk observed an á-ki-ti festival in the eighth month. However, by the close of the first millennium the Uruk *akītu*-festivals were observed in the first and seventh months.

There is a reference to the goddess Ninlil staying in the *akītu*-house on the 21st of the tenth month *Ṭebētu*.<sup>3</sup>

Van Driel notes another *akītu*-festival, perhaps to Ištar in Nineveh, during the twelfth month: "... *Addaru* the month of the feast of the *akītu*-house of the queen of the goddesses, which the gods [my?] fathers(?) ..." <sup>4</sup>

In the Neo-Assyrian period the *akītu*-festival was observed at many Mesopotamian sites. One letter refers to the statue of the moon-god Sin going to the *akītu*-house in Harran on the 17th of an unspecified month:<sup>5</sup>

On the 17th Sin will leave and take his place in the *akītu*-(house). The king should give the (necessary) orders. The *kuzippu*-cloaks of the king go (there),

1. BM 121206 (Van Driel *Aššur*, 89).

2. The Sumerian term ur in á-ki-tu ur (rendered into Akkadian as a-ki-it e-re-ši) is a variant for uru<sub>4</sub> e-re-ši.

3. Van Driel *Aššur*, 149.

4. Van Driel *Aššur*, 149.

5. ABL 667.

every year they go (there) in this way. We will perform (the rites of) the *eršahun-ga*(-prayers) [...]. (Sin) will bless my Lord.

There is an undated reference to the statue of Tašmētum going to the *akītu*-house in Calah. This letter also mentions a ritual in which a cultic reed object is smashed:<sup>1</sup>

Tomorrow is the banquet of the gods—afterwards Tašmētu will go out (and) take her seat in the *akītu*-house (in Calah). Sacrifices will be made before her. She will smash her ... (*qanītu*)

Aššurbanipal constructed an *akītu*-house for Ištar of Arbela in Milkiya, wherein he celebrated the "festival of the *akītu*-house" on the 17th of *Ulūlu*.<sup>2</sup> And a Neo-Babylonian tablet lists distributions to individuals involved with the *akītu*-festival of the sixth month: *iūkin á-ki-it*.<sup>3</sup>

In the south, the *akītu*-festival was celebrated in Uruk for Anu, in Babylon for Marduk,<sup>4</sup> in Dilbat for Uraš, in Nippur for five deities during the first month, and in Sippar for Bēlit-Sippar.<sup>5</sup>

In Seleucid Uruk the *akītu* festival was an eleven day event observed at the beginning of the first and seventh months, just as it had been observed two thousand years earlier at Ur. In Uruk the festival was directed to the sky-god Anu, who, though always considered to be among the elite of the gods, experienced a resurgence of popularity during the Seleucid period, as noted in the construction of his temple, the Rēš-temple, in Uruk.<sup>6</sup> There are references to several other *akītu*-festivals in Uruk from the Neo-Babylonian period: the *akītu* of Bēltu-ša-Uruk, the *akītu* of Ušur-amassu, and the *akītu* of the Steppe (*šēri*) (though this latter reference may refer to one of the other *akītu* observances).<sup>7</sup>

An inscription of Nabu-našir (747–734 B.C.) mentions the rebuilding of the *akītu*-house for the goddess Ušur-amassu.<sup>8</sup> According to this inscription Bēl-ibni and Nabū-zēra-ušabši, the sons of Bulluṭu of Uruk, rebuilt the *akītu* temple for the goddess Ušur-amāssu, a goddess of Uruk, who could then "sit on high in the dwelling of her great divinity."<sup>9</sup> Apparently the building had fallen into such disrepair that "its walls had collapsed and their foundations

1. ABL 858.

2. Streck *Asb.*, 248 Inscription L and, 320, K. 2637 7; *Iraq* 23 (1961), pl. 23; Van Driel *Aššur*, 149.

3. L. Jakob-Rost and H. Freydank, VS 20 no. 98.

4. The supremacy of the *akītu*-festival for the Babylonians is evident in the following passage (BHT pl. 6 ii 11 [quoted CAD Z 12]): "I will omit (all) festival(s, even) the New Year's festival I will order to cease."

5. For references see CAD A/1 269-270.

6. For the construction of the Rēš-temple see Falkenstein *Topographie*, 4ff.

7. For references see Falkenstein *Topographie*, 42.

8. J.A. Brinkman, "The Akītu Inscription of Bēl-ibni and Nabū-zēra-ušabši," WO 5/1 (1969), 39ff.

9. For references to this goddess, see RAcc., 101 ii 13 and 114 8; J.A. Brinkman, *op. cit.*, 44 n 12.

crumbled; its outlines had been forgotten and their shape changed." It is possible that rather than being a separate *akitu*-house, as Falkenstein suggests, it may have been the regular *akitu*-house of Anu. The *akitu*-house at Aššur was the permanent residence of Bēlet-Babili, who was considered the jailor of the house according to the motif in which Bēl/Marduk was imprisoned there. Ušur-amassu may have had permanent residence in the *akitu*-house in Uruk, although her exact function there is unclear. The *akitu*-house at Uruk included a garden/orchard planted by the entrance to the building.<sup>1</sup>

More of the ritual for the seventh month, than for the first month, has been preserved and it is for this reason that the *akitu*-festival of the seventh month is presented first. The preserved ritual instructions for the *akitu*-festival of the seventh month describe activity in the Rēš-temple of Anu and Antu (with the possible exception of a sacred marriage the first day in the Eanna(?)).<sup>2</sup>

The only mention of the *akitu*-house is two short notations, i.e., Anu's two chariots accompanied by musicians travelled back and forth to the *akitu*-house the first seven days and on the 7th day there were "processions, barques and the *akitu*." The *Nisannu* account of the *akitu*-festival describes the ceremonies at the *akitu*-house. But no similar instructions have been preserved for the *akitu* of the seventh month at Uruk. Rather the intent of these documents is to instruct the High Priest on the conduct of that part of the festival which occurred in the Rēš-temple only. This is the reason that the ritual instructions for the first seven days are either lacking or greatly abbreviated.

The festival lasted eleven days. During the first seven days Anu resided in the *akitu*-house outside the city wall of Uruk. The two chariots of Anu apparently transported meals and other ritual necessities to the *akitu*-house during those seven days. The omission of any mention of Anu or of any other gods as going to the *akitu*-house with the chariots suggests that Anu remained at the *akitu*-house during this entire period, rather than returning at the end of each day. At the end of the 7th day the great *akitu*-procession occurred (referred to in the ritual text as "processions, barques and the *akitu*"), returning from the *akitu*-house to the Rēš-temple inside the walled city. This was the great moment of the festival, the recreation of Anu's mythical entry into Uruk and his assumption of suzerainty. From the 8th to the 11th days all activity occurred back at the Rēš-temple, which contained the sanctuary of Anu and Antu.

1. E. Gehlkin, *Uruk: Spätbabylonische Wirtschaftstexte aus dem Eanna Archiv*, Teil I (Mainz, 1990) no. 114.

2. Marriage rites are performed in the Eḫilīkuga, the bed chamber(?) of the Eḫilīana, the temple of Nanā. In the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian periods this temple of Nanā was part of the Eanna complex in Uruk. Falkenstein *Topographie*, 41 raises the question as to whether it might have been moved to the new Rēš-temple during the Seleucid period.

The procession described in the ritual BRM 4 7 is probably not the main *akitu*-procession, but rather the escorting of the statue of Anu on the 1st day of the festival from the Rēš-temple to the *akitu*-house, where he was to reside for seven days. According to Falkenstein's reconstruction of the procession route,<sup>1</sup> the statue of Anu and the High Priest departed from the Enamenna, Anu's cella in the Anu and Antu temple in the Rēš-temple complex, and exited by the northeast side of the Rēš-temple through the High Gate, where Anu was greeted by an entourage of exorcists and assorted temple personnel. (During the Neo-Babylonian period, before the construction of the Rēš-Temple, the *akitu*-procession began at the Eanna complex.) From the High-Gate the procession moved southeast along the Street-of-the-Gods (*sūqa ilāni*) until reaching the Holy-Quay, the wharf of the Boat-of-Anu, where the party sailed northeast along the Ištar(?)-canal until reaching the upper wharf of the Holy-Quay. Upon disembarking, the procession moved through the district of the Adad-Gate, the district of the Ištar-Gate, and the district of the Šamaš-Gate, finally exiting the city through the King's-Gate. Outside the city the procession, despite the absence of any mention in the ritual, must have forded a branch of the Euphrates before arriving at the *akitu*-house, which perhaps is to be identified with a 120 by 140 meter rectangular building about 500 meters outside the city wall.<sup>2</sup>

During the last four days of the festival, at the Rēš-temple, Anu performed all the functions expected of a ruler who had just entered his new domain. He met with his counsel of gods who would help him rule, determined the destiny of his subjects, and bestowed plenipotentiary power upon the king.

The following is a translation of ritual instructions, dating to 251 B.C., on escorting Anu from the Rēš-temple in Uruk to the *akitu*-house outside the walled city on the first day of the festival. As mentioned above, this probably was not the important *akitu*-procession which was to subsequently occur on the 7th day and in the other direction, i.e., from the *akitu*-house back to the Rēš-temple:<sup>3</sup>

... After Anu has gone out from the cella, the Enamenna, and arrives at the High-Gate, all the exorcists chant the (Babylonian) spell "The King Has Gone Out" three times. The exorcists stop and then the High Priest, the exorcists, the temple personnel and the brewers who are tied to the carrying-poles shall greet Anu, (saying) "Great Anu, heaven and earth greet you!"

After the prayers the exorcists chant the (Babylonian) spell "The King Has Gone Out" four times along the Street of the Gods. The High Priest, the

1. Falkenstein *Topographie*, 45ff.

2. Falkenstein *Topographie*, 42.

3. BRM 4 7; treated by A. Falkenstein, *Topographie von Uruk*, 45-46 and F. Thureau-Dangin, RA 20 (1923), 107ff.



exorcists, the temple personnel and the brewers who are tied to the carrying-poles shall greet Anu, (saying) "Great Anu, heaven and earth greet you!" After the prayers along the Street-of-the-Gods the exorcists chant the (Sumerian) spell "The King, Who in Heaven and Earth Surpasses All Other Kings" four times.

They stop and the High Priest, the exorcists, the temple personnel and those tied to the carrying-poles shall recite the same (prayer) to Anu as before.

After the prayers the exorcists chant the (Sumerian) spells "The King is Coming to the Festival" and "From the Holy Water Basin" seven times until (they arrive at) the Holy-Quay, the wharf of the Boat of An, (along) the path of the gods. They stop and the High Priest, the exorcists, the temple personnel and those tied to the carrying-poles greet Anu.

Upon Anu's arrival at the wharf of the Boat-of-Anu, the exorcists and the temple personnel chant the (Sumerian) spell "He has Sailed the (Cargo)-Ship," a *šulla*-prayer for Anu. Afterwards the High Priest, the exorcists, the temple personnel and those tied to the carrying-poles shall recite the same prayer to Anu as before.

From the upper wharf of the Holy-Quay to the King's-Gate the exorcists will recite the spell "He who surpasses all kings, after he has passed by in the holy street" seven times. They stop and at the King's-Gate the High Priest, the exorcists, the temple personnel and those tied to the carrying-poles greet Anu.

From the King's-Gate to the *akitu*, the house of prayer, the exorcists chant the same spells as at the Street-of-the-Gods. They stop (chanting) the spells and the High Priest, the exorcists, the temple personnel and the brewers tied to the carrying-poles recite the greeting seven times and greet Anu.

When Anu arrives at the *Akitu*-house the exorcists recite the (Sumerian) spells "Holy House, House of the Gods," "Anu, My King, Your Good Heart," "(In) the Banquet Hall, At the Evening Meal of Anu," "He Befitting the Lofty Dais" and the (Babylonian) spells "The House Has Been Purified" and "The Dwelling of the Great Gods."

"Great Anu, may heaven and earth greet you!

May Enlil, Ea and Bēlet-ili joyously greet you!

May the pair of gods Sin (the moon) and Šamaš (the sun) greet you with their countenance.

May Nergal and the seven gods greet you with kindness in their hearts.

May the Igigi of heaven and the Anunnaki of earth greet you!

May the gods of the subterranean waters and the gods of the sacred mound greet you!

May they greet you daily, each day, month and year."

This is the greeting with which the High Priest, the exorcists, the temple personnel and the brewers tied to the carrying-poles greet Anu seven times (on the way) from the Rēš-temple to the *akitu*-house.

The spell: "The King Goes Out! The King Goes Out!"

The following is a translation of the Uruk Ritual for the *akitu*-festival of the seventh month, *Tašritu*.<sup>1</sup>

On the first day of the month *Tašritu*, Enlil, Ea and the other (gods) of Uruk are robed. The silver chariot of Anu and the golden chariot of Anu go each day until the 8th day together with the second course of the morning (meal) to the exalted *akitu*-temple of Anu. The musicians walk before them. The marriage rites in the Ehlilukuga-chapel, the *bedchamber* of the Ehliliana, the temple of Nanā, are performed.

On the 6th day Adad, Šamaš, Lugalbanda, and Ninsun are robed. The holy water basin is set up during the first watch of the night.

On the 7th day: the Arousing-of-the-Temple (ceremony) by the singers and the musicians; the bakers of bread and songs of jubilation; roasted meat, both beef and mutton, the regular provisions for the singers, all kinds of fine wines, including "drawn wine" and milk, date-confection, fine *billatu* and moistened *billatu*, ..., vats and receptacles, the *entering* of Papsukkal and Kusigbanda at the sanctuary; the raiment for An and Antu and the raiment for Ištar, the placing of an ox into the curtained-off cubicle; the songs of the musicians and singers; offerings for after the clothing-(ceremony) and the (presentation of) food offerings; the purification of the temple; the street processions, the barques and the *akitu*-house; the preparation and removal of the morning and evening meals; (all this is carried out) as on the 7th of *Nisannu*.

On the 8th day he opens the gate before Anu and Antu. He picks up (the statue of) Papsukkal and brings it down to the main courtyard and in the KAKESDA.HU.HU-cella, its standing place, he sets it facing Anu. (The gods) Nusku, Usmû, and Kusu are picked up and placed beside Papsukkal. The golden carrying poles for use inside (the temple) are taken. The symbols of the sun and the chariots are picked up and placed in the main courtyard facing Anu. Adad, Šala, Sin, Šamaš, Ninurta, Pisanunuk, Palil, Lugalbanda, and Ninsun are taken up from their sanctuaries and brought down to the main courtyard and set facing Anu. (The priest) offers a (bowl of) hand water to Anu and Antu and sprinkles the king and the (other) attendees. He makes a libation with a golden goblet and offers a meal and hot, roasted meat on a golden tray to Anu. He passes around the golden tray which is before Anu to the other gods in the main courtyard. Papsukkal goes over and stands by the Einimbiduga-cella. A member of the temple staff offers a libation from the golden goblet. Papsukkal and the exorcists grasp the hands of Anu and together with the exorcists (Anu) departs and the member of the temple staff whose duty it is to tie the girdle carries the Mace-of-Kingship before him. A soon as Anu has reached the curtained-off cubicle, he sits down on a golden seat inside the cubicle. (The priest) offers a (bowl of) hand water. At the place of offerings he scatters aromatics and offers up before Anu an offering of an ox and a sheep. He sets the heart of the ox and the head of the sheep before (Anu). He spills a golden cup full of fine flour over the heart. With a cup of wine he makes a libation over the sheep's head. He offers (a bowl of) hand water to Anu and [sprinkles the king and the other attend-

1. AO 6459 and AO 6465 (TCL 6 39 and 40); RAacc., 89ff.

ces]. He makes (another) libation with the golden goblet and Papsukkal and Nusku ... The exorcists and the musicians ... (*break of several lines*)

[On the 9th day ... ..] The chief singer goes [...], the ecstatic [pours water?] from the bucket [onto ...], the rest of the water [he pours] over the hands of the chief singer. [The chief singer] stretches out his hands and offers up to Anu [the Sumerian composition]: "Lord, the Respected One of Heaven [...]," which is a *šulla*[Hand-raising]-prayer. [(The priest) [offers] (a bowl of) hand water to Enlil and [sprinkles the king and the (other) attendees.] The charioteers ... the corpses of the oxen [...]. The king offers a libation with a golden goblet, [...] enters the High-Gate, and before the Throne-of-Destiny [...] the sheep which from the evening ceremonies at the gate to the courtyard [...] its rites [be performed] as on the 8th day in the same manner. The door of the great shrine, [Urugal...] does not leave. He writes upon it. The golden carrying poles [for use inside (the temple) are taken] and the king offers Anu a libation from the golden goblet. [Papsukkal and the exorcists] escort Anu from the Throne-of-Destiny, but [the meal] is not removed [...]. As soon as Anu reaches the curtained-off cubicle, [...] he is placed in the curtained-off cubicle facing east and [...] sits on a seat of gold. Adad [sits] on a large seat in the middle of [the curtained-off cubicle] and all the (other) gods stand at their places [facing Anu]. All the goddesses are facing Antu and [...]. (The priest) offers (a bowl of) hand water to Anu and Antu and [he sprinkles] the king and the (other) attendees. He offers a libation from the golden goblet and an offering of an ox and a sheep as on the [8th day]. He sets the heart of the ox and the head of the sheep before th[em]. He spills a golden cup full of fine flour over the heart. With a cup of wine he makes a libation over the sheep's head. He offers (a bowl of) hand water to Anu and Antu and sprinkles the king and the other attendees. In two golden bowls with handles he offers hand water jointly [for Anu and Antu]. The king makes a libation with a golden goblet. Papsukkal, the king, and the exorcists escort Anu from the curtained-off cubicle and he enters and takes his seat on the Throne-of-Kingship in his sanctuary. [The male-deities?] (then) enter and stand to the right and left (of Anu). The king makes a libation with a golden goblet. The king, the exorcists and the goddesses escort Antu and [she enters ... and ...] Bēlit-ilī, Šala, the Daughters-of-Anu, Aya, [Gula ... accompany her] and she takes her seat in the ... of the courtyard of Antu. Just as the [...], the king [offers] a libation from a golden goblet to Enlil and [Ea?]. Nusku, Kusu, Usmū, and the king escort [...] to the entrance of the chapel, facing [...]. Šamaš, Aya, Bunene, Ninurta, [...] and Šubula, Pisansagunuga, [...] face [...]. The king [offers a libation] from the golden goblet to [...] and the king [takes ...] to the Ubšukkinaki-sanctuary, along with the exorcists, the singers, and the musicians, [the linen curtain, and the golden goblet. ...] (*break of several lines*)

He sits in his place in the courtyard. They offer up the liver and set it before the throne of Anu. The diviner and priest of Adad take the liver. The grand (repat) is removed and he serves the second course. He refills the censer and the musicians play. They recite (the Akkadian composition): "He is reconciled (to) the house. *She is filled with peace*" and (the second course) is not removed. At night it is removed and the great repast of the evening is served. The golden censer is refilled and an offering of an ox and a sheep is

performed. The musicians play. The great repast is removed and the second course is served. The musicians play and they recite (the Akkadian composition): "He is reconciled (to) the house. *She is filled with peace*" and (the second course) is not removed. It continues through the night. The door is locked.

On the 10th day at night (the Sumerian lamentation): "Lord, the Respected One of Heaven and Earth" (is recited) to Anu and (the Sumerian lamentation): "The Honored One of Heaven" (is recited) to all the gods. In the Ubšukkina-sanctuary the Arousing-of-the-Temple (ceremony) is performed. At dawn the door is opened, whatever remains from overnight is removed, and a (bowl of) hand water is offered. Oil is provided. The great repast of the morning is served. The musicians play and the great (repat) is removed and the second course is served. The second course is removed and the great repast of the night is served. The musicians play. The second course of the night is removed and the door is locked.

On the 11th day at night (the Sumerian lamentation): "The Bull in His Fold" (is recited) to Anu and (the Sumerian lamentation): "The Honored One who Wanders About" (is recited) to all the gods. In the Ubšukkina-sanctuary the Arousing-of-the-Temple (ceremony) is performed. At dawn the door is opened and a (bowl of) hand water is offered. (The gods) Adad, Sin, Šamaš, Ninurta, Pisanunuga, Papsukkal, Nusku, Usmū and Kusu arise and face Anu in the main courtyard. They take their places and await Lugalbanda and Ninsun. (The priest) serves the great repast of the morning to Anu, Antu, and all the other gods. When Lugalbanda and Ninsun arrive, they enter the courtyard of Anu and face him. The great (repat) is removed and (the priest) offers a libation from the golden goblet to Lugalbanda, Ninsun and those other gods and they (then) return to their seats. The great (repat) and the second midday course, as usual, (is performed) in the same way.

These are the rites for the month *Tašritu*—complete

The ritual instructions for the *akitu*-festival of the first month, *Nisannu*, provide a somewhat different perspective on the events. First, Ištar is more prominent, being treated as Antu's equal. Secondly, the text describes the procession order of the gods and chariots as they journey from the Rēš-temple to the *akitu*-house. And thirdly, the text provides ritual instructions for events at the *akitu*-house.

The number of the day or days when these events occurred is not preserved. However, if the *akitu* of the first month basically paralleled that of the seventh month, then all the events described in this ritual tablet pertain to the first day of the festival.

It is not inconceivable, however, that great differences may have existed between the two celebrations—an assumption of parallelism perhaps being unwarranted. If the two *akitu*-festivals were identical, then there would have been no need to have separate ritual tablets for each of the *akitu*-festivals, as was done. Secondly, since the *Nisannu akitu*-festival occurred at the New Year, there may have been a synthesis of the *akitu* and New Year's festivals,

altering the nature of the celebration. These factors may explain why the procession to the *akitu*-house in *Nisannu* seems so much grander than that described for *Tašritu* in BRM 4 70, for in the *Tašritu*-procession to the *akitu* not only are the other gods not mentioned, but neither is the king.

The participation of the king is mentioned in this text. If this text does in fact pertain to the first day of *Nisannu*, this would be rather convenient for the king—who also had to participate at the *akitu* in Babylon—for in Babylon his participation was needed towards the middle, not the beginning of the festival. Of course, his schedule might also have had to consider participation in the *akitu*-festivals at Dilbat and Sippar as well. The king assuredly could not have participated at every *akitu*-festival each year, but probably appeared at each city only sporadically, as political, diplomatic, or military events dictated.

The following is a translation of the Uruk *akitu*-ritual for the first month, *Nisannu*.<sup>1</sup>

(Beginning not preserved)

He passes [a golden tray] to [Anu], Enlil, and whatever gods are in the main courtyard. He passes a golden [tray] to Antum and to the (other) goddesses who are in the courtyard. He passes a golden [tray] to Ištar and whatever gods are in the Ubšukkina. [Enlil], Ea, Adad, Sin, Šamaš and all the gods, the symbols of Šamaš and the chariots move from their places in the towboat which is a present from the king. They descend to the main courtyard and face Anu. Enlil enters and takes his seat to the right of Anu on the (chair called) "Beloved and Faithful." Ea enters and takes his seat to the left of Anu on the (chair called) "Beloved and Pure." Sin, Šulpaea, Ninurta, Mišarri, Nusku, Inninlal, and Haruru stand by the right door of the chapel beside Adad. Šamaš, Bunene, Girra, Zababa, Nergal, Lugalgirra, Il-amurri, Kusu and Usmû stand by the left door of the chapel. The king goes to the chapel of Antu and prostrates himself. Bēlet-ili, Šala, the Daughters-of-Anu, Aya, Gula, Ninešgal, Amasagnudu, Sadaranunna, Ašrat, and Šarrat-šamê move from their places in the towboat which is a present from the king and face Antu. The king offers a libation to Antu from a golden goblet. He, along with the exorcists, the singers, and the musicians, takes the linen curtain and the golden goblet and goes to Antu, places himself in his station in the main courtyard facing east on a golden seat and sits down. All the goddesses stand facing Antu. The exorcists, the singers, and the musicians stop (their procession) before her. The king and a member of the temple staff go to the great shrine, Urugal; a member of the temple staff offers (a bowl of) hand water to Ištar; the king presents the towboat, which is a gift, to Ištar; he brings Ištar and Anu's chair in the chapel of Ištar, along with the exorcists, the singers, and the musicians, the linen curtain, and the golden goblet; Nanâ, Ninsianna, Ninigizibarra, Išartum, Ninmeurur, Abeturra, Šagepada, the Daughters-of-

1. VAT 7849 (RAcc., 99ff.).

Uruk, the Daughters-of-the-Eanna, Ninsun and Šarrat-parakki face [Ištar], descend to the main courtyard and [stand] at their stations.

(break in the text)

Sin, [Šulpaea, Ninurta, Mišarri, Nusku, Inninlal, and Haruru stand] by Adad. [Šamaš, Bunene, Girra, Zababa, Nergal], Lugalgirra, Il-amurri, [Kusu and Usmû ...] stand by Ea. Bēlet-ili, Šala, [the Daughters-of-Anu, Aya], Meme, Baba, Ninešgal, Amasagnudu, [Sadaranunna], Ašrat, and Šarrat-šamê stand behind Antum. [Nanâ, Ninsianna, Ninigizibarra, Išartum, Ninmeurur, [Abeturra], Šagepada, the Daughters-of-Uruk, [the Daughters-of-the-Eanna, Ninsun] and Šarrat-parakki go and [stand behind Ištar]. [...] goes and stands to the right of Nanâ. [...], Lugalbanda, the Seven-Gods, Palil, Meslamtaea, [...], Hendursagga, and Šubula stand before her. [...] are placed and stand there. Ušur-amassu, [...], Ninurba, Ninimma, Šilamkurra, [...] stand behind Ninsianna. [...] stand by the door of the great shrine. [...] stand before [...] by the wall opening of the great shrine. [...] the ritual slaughterer [...].

(break in the text)

Next, two [...]. Next, four [...]. Next, two cooks [...]. Next, the chariot of (the constellation) Auriga, (the chariot-star). Next, the chariot of Ninurta and the chariot of [...]. Next, the chariot of Šamaš and the chariot of [...]. These are the chariots and the personnel [...]. The golden quiver of Anu and Antu [...]. He walks alongside the chariot of Anu. Next, [...] and Lugalbanda. Next the Seven-Gods, Palil, [...], Hendursagga, and Šubula. Next Lugalgirra, Meslamtaea, [...], Inninlal and Haruru, Maštabba, Tumamu, [...]. Next Ninurta, Bunene, Zababa. Next Šamaš and Adad. Next Papsukkal, Nusku, Girra, the musicians and singers. Next, the ..., Il-Amurri, Kusu, Asarri and the exorcists. To the right and left of the exorcists, two offering supervisors pull wooden ... inlaid with lapis-lazuli. They bring out to (the god) cedar (shavings burning) in a clay brazier. Next, (the priest) offers (a bowl of) hand water to Anu and Antu and sprinkles the king and the (other) attendees. Papsukkal, Nusku, and Usmû face Anu and the king makes a libation to Anu from a golden goblet. Papsukkal, Nusku, Usmû and the king escort Anu from the Throne-of-[King]ship, Enlil proceeds at his right and Ea proceeds at his left, and for a second time ... Next Antu, [Ištar], and Nanâ. Next, Ninsianna, Šala, and [the Daughters-of-An]. Next, Aya, Meme, Baba, and Ninešgal. Next Amasagnudu, Sadaranunna, Ašrat [and Šarrat-šamê ...].

(break in the text)

[They place the throne] of Anu on the ramp of [the ...-sanctuary]. All the gods face him. [...] The wooden stand is assembled and [...]. The king [makes a libation] to Anu with a golden goblet. Papsukkal and the king face Anu, escort Anu and enter the courtyard of the *akitu*-house, and (Anu) takes his seat on the great throne in the courtyard of the *akitu*-house facing east. Enlil and Ea enter and sit (respectively) to the right and left (of Anu). Antu, Ištar, and Nanâ sit on seats behind Anu. Adad sits beside Enlil to the right of Anu. All the other gods enter and stand before (Anu) in the courtyard of the *akitu*-house. (The priest) offers (a bowl of) hand water to Anu and Antu and sprinkles the king and the attendees. The king offers a libation to Anu and Antu with a golden goblet. Pap-

sukkal and the king escort Anu from the great throne and he enters and takes his seat in his chapel. Next, Enlil and Ea enter and sit (respectively) to his right and left. Antu enters and sits on her seat. Šala and the Daughters-of-An sit (respectively) to the right and left of Antu. Ištar enters and takes her seat. Nanā and Ninsianna sit (respectively) to the right and left of Ištar. Adad enters and sits beside Enlil to the right of Anu. Šamaš enters and sits beside Ea to the left of Anu. Papsukkal stands by the ... of the door to the chapel. They lift up the golden carrying pole [of Anu]. They do the same for (the carrying-poles) of Enlil, Ea, Antu, Ištar, Adad and Šamaš. As soon as (her) carrying pole *has been produced*, Papsukkal comes and sits at her place. [The chief singer] stands to the side and chants the *šulla*[Hand-Raising]-prayer: "O, Great Anu." [...] come and take their seats in the courtyard. Išum comes [and sits by the side of] the king on the right. Pisansagunuga comes and sits [by the side of] Anu on the left. [...] Anu they [...] in front of them. [...].

An Uruk ritual text is preserved which lists two compositions to be recited to Anu on the 10th and 11th of *Nisannu*. The beginning and end of the tablet are no longer preserved and the extant portions do not state whether these prayers constituted part of the *akītu*-festival ritual. However, in view of the *Tašritu* festival lasting eleven days, it is likely that this *Nisannu* text does, indeed, refer to the last two days of the *akītu*-festival of the first month.<sup>1</sup> The main body of the text contains a bilingual *šu-íl-la* (Hand-Raising) prayer for recitation to Anu on the 10th day of the festival. The text then names a prayer to be recited on the 11th day:

On the 11th day of *Nisannu*, when Anu takes his seat on the throne of Anu, the Throne-[of-Kingship], the singers take their positions and, to the accompaniment of harp(s), sing the Hand-Raising prayer "Mighty Anu, (full of) self-respect, he alone is lord in heaven and earth."

The following partially preserved ritual describes special ceremonies for Ištar at the *akītu*-house.<sup>2</sup> The fact that the Mace-of-Kingship stands at the side of Ištar and not by the side of Anu, as in the other Uruk *akītu*-rituals, and the absence of any mention of Antu, may possibly indicate that this is a separate festival for Ištar and not merely part of the regular two *akītu*-festivals. At Nineveh there had been a special *akītu* for Ištar. Moreover, a special *akītu*-house of Ištar [*É a-ki-tum ša Ištar*] in Uruk is mentioned in economic documents.<sup>3</sup> However, as mentioned above, Ištar assumed a prominent position in the *Nisannu akītu*-festival in Uruk, thus the possibility that the following ritual pertains to the *Nisannu akītu*-festival.

1. AO 6461; RA., 108ff.

2. AO 7439 (TCL 6 42); RA., 114ff.

3. E.g. BRM 2 22; D. Weisberg, *BiMes* 24 no. 1.

(Beginning not preserved)

[...] in the courtyard [...]. [...] descends to the main courtyard. [...] Adapa [...] the Eulmaš-temple [...]. [...] the performers from the ...-temple [...]. [...], Sagepada, Ašdu [...], She-Who-Gives-Him-Advice, Palil, [...], Ušur-amassu, the two divine high priests, and the three [...], Belili and Bariritum [...] from the ...-temple. [...] four *urmaḫkullā* from the temple of the divine Genie-of-the-Steppe, the Daughters-of-the-Eanna, [the Daughters-of-Uruk, ...], and Lamašaga arise and descend to the inner courtyard and [...]. [...] Silabad, Igibarluti, Inimbilusig, Ada, [...], Ninḫenunna, Enuranna, SESAN-tur, Nineanna of [...], Šarrat-šamē and Sadaranunna, Ninimma, Šarrat-parakki, Mišari, and Išartum arise from their seats and, as the sun rises, all the gods face Ištar. The king performs the prayer "Ud-en-na." (The king) is robed in his clean attire. Šaraḫitu comes and prostrates herself. Šaraḫitu arises [and ...]. The golden carrying-poles of the inner area are given to Ištar. [...]

(break in the text)

[... the golden] carrying-poles [...]. All the gods and chariots [enter and sit down in their seats]. He places the ... in the hands of the king. ... Usmū [and the king] escort the Mace-of-Kingship and Ištar and [Ištar] enters the courtyard of the *akītu*-house and she takes her seat on the great throne in the courtyard of the *akītu*-house. The Mace-of-Kingship stands at her side. All the (other) gods enter and stand before her in the courtyard of the *akītu*-house. A linen curtain surrounds them. The performers and cult personnel (of Ištar), who have donned masks of (the goddess) Naruda, as before, go around them from left to right. (The priest) offers (a bowl of) hand water to Ištar and sprinkles the king and the (other) attendees. (The king) performs a libation from a golden goblet. Usmū and the king escort Ištar and she enters and takes her seat in her chapel. The Mace-of-Kingship stands at her side. Bēltu-šareš enters and sits to the left in the chapel of Ištar. Anu's armchair and Nanā enter and sit down in their cella, all the gods and the chariots enter, and they sit down in their seats in the courtyard. The exorcist, who lifts the bowl for Ištar and all the gods, libates water and the copper kettledrum, (set on) a stand, [is played to her]. [...] is taken. The copper kettledrum arises and the golden carrying-poles of Ištar [...]. A golden [...] is set up before Ištar. A silver table [is set] before all the gods. [...] (The Priest) fills the golden censer (set) before Ištar. [...] (The priest) fills the golden [censer] (set) before Nanā and Bēltu-šareš. [...]

The *akītu*-festival at Uruk followed a clear, logical schedule, beginning with a seven day stay at the *akītu*-house, followed by the grand entrance of Anu into Uruk, and his subsequent arrangement of the city's administration. Such clarity of schedule is not apparent, however, in the *akītu* at Babylon.

Babylon also celebrated *akītu*-festivals in the first and seventh months. The schedule of events at Babylon for the *akītu*-festival in *Nisannu* can partially be reconstructed based upon ritual texts, commentaries and historical inscriptions. However, large gaps in our knowledge of events remain:

DAY 2

Morning prayers to Bēl in the Esagil.<sup>1</sup>

DAY 3

Morning prayer to Bēl in the Esagil; craftsmen are instructed to fashion two figurines to be kept in the cella of the god Madānu until their ritual use on the 6th day.<sup>2</sup>

DAY 4

Morning prayers to Bēl and Bēltiya in the Esagil and the blessing of the Esagil-temple<sup>3</sup>; after the evening meal the High Priest's recitation of the *Enuma Eliš* to Marduk<sup>4</sup>; a procession from the Ezida temple in Borsippa to the Ezida chapel in the Esagil complex in Babylon, in which the statue of Nabû, Marduk's son, entered Babylon: "The Ezida of the Esagil, the chapel of 'Nabû-of-the-Courtyard', whence at New Year's [*zagnukku*], at the beginning of the year, for the *akitu*-festival [*i-si-in-ni á-ki-it*], Nabû, the valiant son, proceeds from Borsippa."<sup>5</sup>

DAY 5

Morning prayers to Bēl and Bēltiya in the Esagil; exorcist purifies the Esagil and the Ezida; ritual slaughterer slaughters a sheep for the exorcism; exorcist and the ritual slaughterer leave Babylon until Nabû departs; cry of distress uttered by High Priest and artisans in the Ezida; High Priest recites a prayer to Bēl; the king is humbled before Bēl; the High Priest, having placed the accoutrements of kingship before Marduk, fetches the king. The High Priest strikes the king's cheek, presumably to instill within the king the feeling of penitence, and drags him by his ear before Marduk. The king, forced to kneel like a servant, swears to Marduk that he has not sinned against Babylon, that he has fulfilled his obligations. Thereafter the High Priest strikes the king's cheek once more and, according to the ritual, if tears flow, then Marduk has accepted him. If tears do not flow, however, Marduk will have the king overthrown. A white ox and bundled reeds are burned in a pit in the courtyard.<sup>6</sup>

1. RAcc., 127ff.

2. RAcc., 127ff.

3. RAcc., 127ff.

4. RAcc., 127ff.; the *Enuma Eliš* was also recited to Marduk during the *akitu*-festival in Babylon in the seventh month; note the Assyrian ritual text translated above, which mentions that (tablets of) the *Enuma Eliš* were among the possessions Bēl was carrying when he was attacked.

5. VAB 4, 152 47-52.

6. RAcc., 127ff.

On the 5th and the 11th days the statue of Nabû of Borsippa resides at the Ezida: "the official dais within Ezida on which Nabû ... rests on the 5th (and) 11th day going to and returning from Babylon, whenever he goes to Babylon at the beginning of the year, the occasion of the *akitu*-festival."<sup>1</sup>

DAY 6

Nabû arrives at the Eḫursagtila where the two statues are beheaded and burned before Nabû<sup>2</sup>; Nabû sits on the Throne-of-Destiny [...] Bēl<sup>3</sup>; beginning of a period of gift-giving.<sup>4</sup>

DAY 8

Gods assemble at the Sacred Mound in the *ubšukkina* to determine destiny<sup>5</sup>; procession to the *akitu*-house<sup>6</sup>; Marduk takes his seat in the *akitu*-house<sup>7</sup>;

DAY 10

Marduk and the gods assemble in the *akitu*-house;<sup>8</sup>

DAY 11

Gods celebrate a festival at the *akitu*-house (*é-sizkur*)<sup>9</sup>; Marduk returns from the *akitu*-house<sup>10</sup>; Marduk, Nabû, and other gods assemble at the Sacred Mound in the *ubšukkina* to determine destiny<sup>11</sup>; Nabû resides in the Ezida in Babylon before returning to Borsippa<sup>12</sup>; marriage of Marduk and Šarpanītum.

1. VAB 4 210 i 35 (translation CAD A/1 268).

2. RAcc., 127ff.

3. Reference courtesy W.G. Lambert, for which see p. 441 note 1.

4. New Year's commentary (CT 13 pl. 32 +).

5. VAB 4 126; the events for this day are reconstructed from different sources, thus we cannot be sure of their order. We have suggested the order presented here, since this would fit with our hypothesis as to the events of the *akitu*-festival.

6. See W.G. Lambert, *Iraq* 25 (1963), 189-190.

7. New Year's commentary (CT 13 pl. 32 +); W.G. Lambert, "Myth and Ritual as Conceived by the Babylonians," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 13 (1968), 107 noted in Marduk's sitting on the dais at the *akitu*-house a reenactment of his victory over Tiamat: "Here Marduk achieved victory, apparently by having his statue (or cult symbol) placed on top of a dais representing the sea. At this the accompanying gods heaped presents on him and extolled his victory."

8. VAB 4 282.

9. SBH no. VIII.

10. WVDG 4 pl. 14.

11. Marduk and Nabû are mentioned by name in New Year's commentary (CT 13 pl. 32 +); only Marduk is mentioned by name in VAB 4, 126ff.

12. VAB 4 210.

DAY 12

Conclusion to the period of gift-giving.<sup>1</sup>

There are several unexpected aspects to this schedule of events at Babylon. First, in the ritual there is an unusually high visibility role for a god from another city, Marduk's son Nabû from Borsippa. Second, the gods meet to determine the fates on two separate occasions, on the 8th and the 11th.<sup>2</sup> Third, the role of the *akitu*-house appears to be rather insignificant. At Babylon the stay is at most two days, relegated to the end of the festival. Finally, the ceremony involving the humbling of the king before Bēl seems misplaced. It should occur after the god enters Babylon, not before his residence in the *akitu*-house.

As previously stated, the main theme of the *akitu*-celebrations throughout Mesopotamia was the reenactment of the triumphal moment when the god first entered and claimed his city. The *akitu*-house functioned as the primordial residence of the god before selecting his city. This accords well with W.G. Lambert's interpretation of certain events at the *akitu*-house in Babylon being a reenactment of Marduk's triumph over Tiamat, a primordial event.<sup>3</sup> Thus, if this hypothesis is valid, in the *akitu*-celebration the god had to reside first in the *akitu*-house and then enter his city triumphantly. This description of events actually seems to fit the activities of Nabû more than Marduk. First, Nabû does not arrive at the beginning of the festival, but remains away from the city until the 4th day, (this elapsed time representing his stay in his primordial residence), when he enters Babylon by barge in a grand procession. Two days later he makes his triumphal entrance into the Esagil-complex, dramatized by the decapitation and burning of two statues (representing his or his father's enemies). Two days after this the gods assemble to determine the destiny in the Ubšukkina, (Nabû arranges the city's administration). Had the festival concluded during the middle of the 8th day, the schedule of the Babylonian *akitu* would have generally paralleled the order of events at Uruk. And Nabû, not Marduk, would be viewed as the god of the *akitu*. The last three and a half days, days eight to eleven, appear to refer to a second *akitu*-festival. On the 8th day Marduk's procession went to the *akitu*-house and stayed overnight. At the end of the 10th day or early on the 11th Marduk's procession returned to the Esagil and on the 11th the fate of the city was determined, its administration arranged.

1. New Year's commentary (CT 13 §1. 32 +).

2. W.G. Lambert, "Myth and Ritual as Conceived by the Babylonians," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 13 (1968), 107 notes that at the first determining of the fates Nabû takes precedence, at the second Marduk, Lambert noting: "But the double occurrence is still strange."

3. See page 471 note 3 above.

In first millennium B.C., with the ever-increasing importance of the cult of Nabû, there may have been a syncretism of two separate *akitu*-festivals, the *akitu* of Nabû and the *akitu* of Marduk. At some period the *akitu*-festival of Nabû in Borsippa and that of Marduk in Babylon were combined into one Babylonian *akitu*-festival. The appearance of the king before Marduk was one of Marduk's acts in organizing the city he had just entered for the first time. However, one result of this combination of festivals was that the timing of Marduk's celebration was greatly reduced to three and a half days, providing no time for the humbling of the king after Marduk's arrival from the *akitu*. Thus this ceremony was placed on the 5th day, when time was available. This "double" *akitu* seems to be alluded to in a report of Sargon's participation in the Babylonian celebration: (Lie Sar. 384 [CAD B 193]): "(In) the month *Nisannu*, the month when the Lord-of-the-Gods goes out in procession, I conducted Marduk, the great lord, (and) Nabû." But perhaps the clearest indication of this double *akitu*, first the *akitu* of Nabû and then the *akitu* of Marduk, is a commentary to the *Enūma Eliš*: "On the 6th day at the Throne of Destiny Nabû [sits in front of] Bēl and on the 11th day behind Bēl."<sup>1</sup>

Fortunately several tablets have been preserved which contain major portions of the ritual instructions for the High Priest during the New Year's festival of *Nisannu* in Babylon.<sup>2</sup>

On the second day of the month *Nisannu*, during the final two hours of the night, the High Priest arises and bathes (with) the waters of the river. He enters before the (statue of) Bēl and removes the linen curtain from before Bēl. He recites the following prayer to Bēl:

Bēl, in his vengeance unequalled,  
Bēl, gracious sovereign, lord of (all) lands,  
He who can alter the disposition of the great gods,  
Bēl, who overthrows the mighty with (but) his frown,  
Lord of kings, light of mankind, he who apportions the lots (of destiny)!  
Bēl, your dwelling is Babylon, your crown Borsippa,  
The expanse of heaven is (but) your insides.  
With your eyes you scan the universe,  
With your *lungs* you investigate omens,  
With your frown you issue orders,  
With your *nose* you consume the mighty (with fire),  
With your ... you capture....  
(But) with your glance you show them mercy,  
You set them free and they bespeak your valor.  
Lord of (all) lands, light of the Igigi-gods who speak of (your) goodness,

1. We thank Prof. W.G. Lambert for this reference to the commentary to *Enūma Eliš* Tablet VII 92: *dNabû ina parak šimāir*<sup>mes</sup> UD.6.K[AM *maḥar*] *dBēl* [U]D.11.KAM *arki dBēl* [uṣṣabu].

2. RAcc., 127ff.

Who does not speak of your valor?  
 Who does not utter your praise, glorify your dominion?  
 Lord of (all) lands, who dwells in the Temple-Eudul,  
     who helps the fallen,  
 Show compassion for your city, Babylon!  
 Turn your countenance upon the Esagil, your temple!  
 Establish freedom for the citizens of Babylon, for those under your di-  
     vine protection!

21 verses of the secret rite of the Esagil for Bēl. No one may show them to any-  
 one but another High Priest!

After he has recited this prayer, he opens [the doors]. The temple staff  
 [arises] and performs its duties before Bēl and Bēltiya as is customary. [The  
 singers and] the musicians (do) likewise.

*(116 lines partially destroyed or missing)*

On the [3rd day] of the month *Nisannu*, [during ..., the High Priest] arises and  
 bathes. [He recites the following] prayer to Bēl:

*(24 lines partially destroyed or missing)*

He opens the doors. [The entire temple staff] enters and performs [its duties  
 as is customary. The singers and the musicians (do) likewise.]

*(3 lines partially destroyed or missing)*

Three hours into the morning he summons a craftsman and provides him  
 with precious stones and gold from the treasury of Marduk in order to make  
 two figurines for the 6th day. He summons a carpenter and provides him  
 with cedar and tamarisk. He summons a goldsmith and provides him with  
 gold. From the 3rd to the 6th day, from (the offering table set) before Bēl,  
 the craftsman (receives) the rump, the goldsmith the breast, the carpenter  
 the shoulder, and the weaver the ribs. From (the offering table set) before  
 Bēl the High Priest of the *Etuša* brings (the meat) to the artisans.

These figurines shall be seven fingers high, one of cedar and one of tam-  
 arisk. Their mountings shall be (fashioned from) four shekels of gold and  
 four *dušu*-stones shall be set in them. One (figurine) is to hold in its left  
 hand a snake made of cedar. Its [right] hand is raised towards Nabû. The  
 other (figurine) is to hold a scorpion in its left hand. Its [right] hand is  
 raised towards Nabû. They are to be clothed in red garments, tied around  
 their middle [with a belt] made from the date palm. Until the 6th (of *Nisan-  
 nu*) they are to be kept in the temple of the god Madānu. Bran from the of-  
 fering table of Madānu is to be offered to them. On the 6th day, when (the  
 statue of) Nabû arrives at the *Ehursagtila*, the slaughterer and seller (of pre-  
 pared meat dishes) cuts off their heads, ashes are kindled in front of Nabû  
 and the (the figurines) are thrown into the ashes.

On the 4th day of the month *Nisannu*, during the final three hours and  
 twenty minutes of the night, the High Priest arises and bathes (with) the wa-  
 ters of the river. He removes the linen curtain from before Bēl and Bēltiya.  
 He offers up to a Bēl the following supplication with hands upraised; he re-

cites the following prayer: (*We have based our translation of the following bilin-  
 gual hymn based on the Akkadian.*)

All-powerful ruler of the Igigi-gods, exalted among the great gods,  
 Master of the universe, king of the gods, Marduk, who confirms the (di-  
     vine) plan (for the whole world),  
 Important, exalted, lofty, distinguished,  
 Who holds kingship, grasps sovereignty,  
 Glowing light, Marduk, who dwells in the Temple-Eudul,  
 ..., who levels the land of (his) enemies,  
 ...  
 ...  
 He who has traversed the heavens, heaped up (the dirt of) the earth,  
 Measured (the depths) of the sea, and cultivated (all) the arable land,  
 Who dwells in the Temple-Eudul, the lord of Babylon, exalted Marduk,  
 Who determines the destiny for all the gods,  
 Who presents the sacred mace to the king who reveres him!  
 I am the High Priest of the *Etuša*, the one who is blessing you.  
 Grant release to your city, Babylon!  
 Have mercy on your temple, the Esagil!  
 With your sublime word, O lord of the great gods,  
 Let there be light for the citizens of Babylon!

He exits from before (the statue of) Bēl and recites the following prayer to  
 Bēltiya:

All-powerful goddess, exalted among goddesses,  
 Šarpanitum, brightest of (all) stars, she who dwells in the Temple-  
     Eudul,  
 ... of the goddesses, draped in light,  
 She who has traversed the heavens, heaped up (the dirt of) the earth,  
 Šarpanitum, whose (divine) station is of the highest,  
 Gleaming, Bēltiya, sublime and elevated,  
 There is none like her among the goddesses,  
 (Both) prosecutor and intercessor,  
 She who can impoverish the wealthy, enrich the destitute,  
 Who strikes down the enemy who doesn't revere her divinity,  
 Who rescues the captive, who assists the fallen,  
 Bless the servant who is blessing your name!  
 Decide a (good) fate for the king who reveres you!  
 Grant life to the citizens of Babylon, people under your divine protec-  
     tion!  
 Defend them before the king of the gods, Marduk!  
 May they utter your praise! May they glorify your dominion!  
 May they speak of your valor! May they make your fame resound!  
 Have mercy upon the servant who is blessing you!  
 Help him through trial and tribulation!  
 Through sickness and suffering grant him life!  
 Let him live constantly with joy and happiness!  
 Let him tell everyone of your valor!

He exits to the main courtyard, faces north, and blesses the Esagil temple three times, (saying): "The constellation Pegasus and the Esagil, (they are) the image of heaven and earth." He opens the doors. The entire temple staff enters and performs its duties as is customary. The singers and the musicians (do) likewise.

When this has been completed, after the second meal, that of the evening, the High Priest of the Etuša recites from beginning to end (the composition) "When on High" [Enuma Eliš] to Bēl. While he recites (the composition) "When on High" to Bēl, the front of the crown of Anu and the resting place of (the statue of) Enlil are to be covered.<sup>1</sup>

On the 5th day of the month *Nisannu*, during the final four hours of the night, the High Priest arises and bathes in the waters of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers. [He enters before the (statue of) Bēl] and removes the linen curtain from before Bēl and Bēltiya. He recites the following prayer to Bēl:

My lord is hel Is he not my lord?  
 My lord is *just*. Is his name not 'My-Lord?'  
 My lord *causes trembling*. My lord is the prince of all the lands.  
 My lord ... My lord ...  
 My lord, is he not (the source of all) giving? My lord, do you not (also) uproot?  
 My lord, his ... My lord (and) his father who *begot* him!  
 My lord ... My lord who can *withhold* (his favor),  
 My lord ... My lord who dwells in the Eudul,  
 My lord ... My lord who cannot be *overwhelmed*.  
 My lord ... My lord, (the source of all) giving,  
 My lord ... My lord, ensconced on his throne,  
 My lord ... My lord, he is my lord!  
 God-of-Heaven-and-Earth, determiner of the fates! My Lord! My Lord,  
 be calmed!  
 Boōtes, holding mace and loop! My Lord! My Lord, be calmed!  
 Eridanus, possessed of wisdom! My Lord! My Lord, be calmed!  
 Asari, bestower (of the gift) of cultivation! My Lord! My Lord, be calmed!  
 Jupiter, bearer of signs to the universe! My Lord! My Lord, be calmed!  
 Mercury, who brings rain! My Lord! My Lord, be calmed!  
 Saturn, star of justice and right! My Lord! My Lord, be calmed!  
 Mars, blazing fire! My Lord! My Lord, be calmed!  
 Sirius, who measures (the depths) of the sea! My Lord! My Lord, be calmed!  
 SU.PA star, ruler of the supreme gods! My Lord! My Lord, be calmed!  
 NEizigar-star, self-generated! My Lord! My Lord, be calmed!  
 Numušda, who brings lasting rain! My Lord! My Lord, be calmed!  
 Star, Sting of the Scorpion, who strides across the surface of the seas! My Lord! My Lord, be calmed!  
 Sun, light of the universe! My Lord! My Lord, be calmed!

1. For the arrival of the statues of these two major gods from Uruk and from Nippur note PSBA 30 82 col. D (quoted CAD S 33): "as formerly Anu and Enlil (would go) from Uruk and Nippur to Babylon to take Bēl's hand and march in procession with him to the temple É.SISKUR."

Moon, who illuminates the darkness! My Lord! My Lord, be calmed!  
 My lord is my god! My lord is my Bēl! *There is no other lord!*

To Bēltiya he recites the following prayer:

My lady, turn back (to us)! Turn back (to us)! My lady, be calmed!  
 My lady, who does not withhold herself! My lady, be calmed!  
 My lady who can sweep away (wealth)! My lady (who is also the source of) wealth!  
 My lady, you who can cause deprivation! My lady (who is also the source of) wealth!  
 My lady who does not withhold comforting! My lady who confers gifts!  
 My lady (who listens to) prayer! My lady who confers gifts!  
 Damkina, mistress of heaven and earth—this name (is a name for) my lady,  
 Venus, brightest star—this name (is a name for) my lady,  
 Bow-star, who fells the mighty—this name (is a name for) my lady,  
 She-goat star, who scans the heavens—this name (is a name for) my lady,  
 Star of Abundance, the star of abundance—this name (is a name for) my lady,  
 Star of Dignity, the star which *moves out of orbit*—this name (is a name for) my lady,  
 Wagon star, the mast of heaven—this name (is a name for) my lady,  
 Star Aru, who engenders fertility—this name (is a name for) my lady,  
 Star of Ninmah, who makes a gift of life—this name (is a name for) my lady,  
 My lady is indeed Bēltiya! Is this name not my lady's?

After the prayer which is recited, he opens the doors. The entire temple staff enters and performs its duties before Bēl and Bēltiya as is customary. The singers and the musicians (do) likewise.

Two hours after sunrise, when the preparations for the table of Bēl and Bēltiya have been completed, he summons the exorcist, (who) purifies the temple and sprinkles the temple with water from a well along the Tigris and from a well along the Euphrates. He (the exorcist) makes the copper ... (-instrument) sound forth shrilly in the temple. He moves the censer and the torch to the center of the temple. ... does not enter into the chapel of Bēl and Bēltiya. When he has finished the purification of the temple, he enters the Ezida, to the chapel of Nabû, purifies the temple with a censer, torch, and holy water vessel, and sprinkles the chapel with water from a well along the Tigris and from a well along the Euphrates. He smears the doors of the chapel all over with cedar resin. In the center of the chapel court he sets a silver censer and scatters over it aromatics and juniper. He (the High Priest) summons the ritual slaughterer and he (the slaughterer) cuts off the head of a sheep, and the exorcist purifies the temple with the carcass of the sheep. He recites the spells for exorcising the temple. He thoroughly purifies the entire chapel and (then) removes the censer. The exorcist picks up the carcass of the aforementioned sheep and proceeds to the river, (where), facing west, he casts that sheep's carcass into the river. (From there) he goes out to the countryside. The ritual slaughterer does the same with the sheep's head.



The exorcist and the ritual slaughterer go out to the countryside and, as long as (the statue of) Nabû remains in Babylon, they are not to reenter Babylon, but are to stay in the countryside from the 5th until the 12th day (of *Nisannu*). The High Priest of the *Etuša* may not actually view the purification of the temple, (for) if he does watch (it), he is ritually unclean. After the purification of the temple, three hours and twenty minutes past sunrise, the High Priest of the *Etuša* leaves (the temple) and summons all the artisans. They bring the golden canopy from the treasury of Marduk. They cover the *Ezida*, the shrine of Nabû, (the canopy) *being suspended* to the base of the temple. The High Priest of the *Etuša* and the artisans recite the following cry of distress:

They are purifying the temple:

Asarluhi [Marduk], the offspring of Eridu, who dwells in the *Etuša*,  
Kusu, who adorns the clear sky from his (Chapel-of)-the-Darkening Sky,  
and Ningirim, who listens to prayer.

Marduk purifies the temple,  
Kusu designs the plan, and Ningirim casts the spell.  
Whatever evil resides in this temple, get out!  
Great demon, may Bēl kill you!  
May you be cut down wherever you are!

All the artisans leave through the doorway.

... the High Priest enters before Bēl ... and prepares the golden (offering-) table. He places roasted meat on it. ... he places on it; he places on it the amount for twelve regular offerings. He fills a golden ... with salt and places it on it. He fills a golden ... with honey and places it on it. He places on it ... He ... four golden containers and places them on the table. He ... a golden censer and sets it in front of the table. He [scatters] aromatics and juniper [over the censer]. ... libates wine. He recites the following:

[Marduk, supreme one of the gods!  
[He who dwells] in the Esagil, who establishes justice,  
... the great gods,  
[... bo]lt, ... your lock,  
[...] your heart to him who seeks your help!  
In the Esizkur, the house of prayer,  
[...] your place, may he honor him!

After (this) recited prayer, he clears off the (offering-) table. He summons all the artisans. He hands the entire table over to the artisans so they can take it to Nabû. The artisans take it and they go to the place of the heroic one, [the king], at the Kuyamassu-canal. When he arrives to [greet] Nabû, they usher him before Nabû. After they have placed the table before Nabû, they raise up the bran (from) the table while Nabû disembarks from the *Idahedu*-barge and on the table ... They move the waters for (washing) the king's hands ... and they accompany him to the Esagil. The artisans leave through the gate. When he (the king) arrives before Bēl, the High Priest leaves, taking the mace, the loop and the scepter. He (also) takes the crown of his kingship. He then brings them before Bēl and places them on a pedestal before Bēl. He leaves and strikes the king's cheek. He places [the king]

behind him and brings him before Bēl. He drags him in by his ears. He forces him to kneel down on the ground. The king says the following only once:

I have not sinned, Lord of all Lands! I have not neglected your divinity!  
I have not caused the destruction of Babylon! I have not ordered its dissolution!

[I have not ...] the Esagil! I have not forgotten its rituals!  
I have not struck the cheek of those under my protection!  
... I have not belittled them!

[I have not ...] the walls of Babylon! I have not destroyed its outer fortifications!

(break of approximately five lines)

[... the High Priest recites:]

[...]  
Have no fear ...  
... which Bēl has uttered ...  
Bēl [listens to] your prayer, ...  
He will glorify your dominion, ...  
He will exalt your kingship, ...  
On the day of the *esēš*-festival ...  
Cleanse your hands at the Opening-of-the-Door, ...  
Day and night ...  
He, whose city is Babylon, ...  
Whose temple is the Esagil, ...  
The citizens of Babylon, those under his protection, ...  
Bēl will bless you ... forever!  
He will destroy your enemy, smite your adversary!

After he has spoken, the king regains his dignity as usual. (The High Priest) retrieves the mace, loop, scepter, and crown and hands them back over to the king. He strikes the king's cheek. If, as he strikes his cheek, tears flow, Bēl is friendly. If tears do not flow, Bēl is angry. The enemy will arise and bring about his downfall.

After this has been done, forty minutes after sunset the High Priest ties together forty uncut, unbroken, and straight reeds of three cubits each, bound with date palm bast. A pit is opened up in the main courtyard and (the bundle of reeds) is set in the pit. (The High Priest) places honey, ghee, and the best quality oil ... *the sheaf*. A white bull [is ...] before [the pit]. The king [sets all this ablaze] with a lighted reed. The king and [the High Priest] recite the following utterance:

Divine Bull, brilliant light which illuminates the darkness!  
... of An ...  
... fire ...  
...

Although the ritual is broken at this point, an inscription of Nebuchadnezzar II (604–562 B.C.) in which he commemorates his refurbishing the chapels and barges associated with the New Year festival states that on the 8th

and 11th days of the festival the great gods met at the "Sacred Mound" (du<sub>6</sub>-kù) to decide eternal destiny.<sup>1</sup>

The "Sacred Mound," where the fates (are decided), in the Ubšuu<sub>6</sub>kina, the Throne-of-Destiny, where at New Year's (*zagnukku*), (at) the beginning of the year on the 8th and 11th days, the god, the king of the gods of heaven and earth, the lord, the (foremost) god takes his seat, (where) those gods of heaven and earth, trembling, pay him homage, (where) they come before him prostrating and (together) decide eternal destiny, my life's destiny, this chapel, the chapel of kingship, the chapel of the ruling gods, of the wisest of the gods, of the prince Marduk, which my predecessor had decorated with silver, I decorated with gleaming gold (as) an ornament (of) glory. I plated the furnishings of the Esagil with red gold and the processional barge [of Marduk] (*giš-má-tuša*) with yellow gold and (precious) stones, (so that it was studded) like the heavens with stars. ... I decorated the ... and the cabin of the processional barge [of Nabû] (*giš-má-id-da-bé-du<sub>7</sub>*), the vehicle of his princship, the processional barge of the New Year's festival, the festival of Šuanna [Babylon].

Marduk's stay at the Sacred Mound on the 8th to decide the fates is mentioned in another ritual text, which describes the various buildings and shrines visited by Marduk and the divine forms he assumes:<sup>2</sup>

On the 8th and 11th days of the month *Nisannu*, when [Marduk<sup>3</sup>] resides in the courtyard, on a seat not decorated with gold, sitting in the dwelling of Mes, Marduk's name is Mes-Marduk; secondly, when he takes a seat opposite the Mound, the sacred place, his name is Enbilulu; when he takes his seat on the Throne-of-Destiny, his name is Lugaldimmerankia; when he takes a seat in (his) *tuša*-transport ... his name is Sirsir. Ti[amat (the sea) ... which he steps upon [...], Tiamat (the sea) is his vessel and [...]. When he [takes his seat] upon the dais of the gate [...] his name is "God-of-the-Esizkur"  
On the 10th of the month *Nisannu* ... night [...] mother Damkina ... child [...] in his(?) wrath(?) ... [...] in the chapel [...]

Another text records that Marduk took up residence in the *akitu*-house on the 8th day.<sup>3</sup> According to an inscription of Nabonidus (555–539 B.C.) on the 10th day Marduk and the gods assembled in the *akitu*-house:<sup>4</sup>

On the 10th day of *Nisannu*, when the king of the gods, Marduk, and the gods of heaven and earth take their seat in the Offering-House, the house of prayer, the *akitu*-house of the Lord-of-Justice ...

A partial description of Marduk's procession from the Etuša, his dwelling in the Esagil, to the Offering-House, i.e., the *akitu*-house, is described in an

inscription of Nebuchadnezzar II, who speaks of the grandeur of the event he has organized for Marduk:<sup>1</sup>

The barge, the *Tuša*-transport,<sup>2</sup> a cargo-ship, his gleaming transport, its sides, prow and stern, its appurtenances, its ..., and its railings(?) I had decorated with eagles and dragons of gold. I adorned it with precious stones. On the current of the clear Euphrates I made (the ship's) brilliance as resplendent as the stars of heaven. I filled (the boat) with splendor, (so that it) would be admired by all the citizenry. At the New Year (*zagnukku*), the beginning of the year, I set inside it Marduk of the gods, and I arranged for him to go in procession to his glorious festival, his great *akitu*-(festival). I let him proceed in the barge, the holy *Tuša*-transport and then travel along the wall ... of the Arahtu-(canal). For the entrance (into) the Offering-House of the exalted lord of the gods, the lord of lords, I organized the procession for the great lord Marduk from the mooring place of the barge, (of) the *Tuša*-transport, to the Offering-House, with ..., opulence to the right and left (of the procession way) (lined with) splendid firs.

A ritual calendar from Seleucid Babylon lists events for the 10th and 11th of the month.<sup>3</sup> The text notes that on the 10th of *Nisannu* the god is ritually attired and proceeds to the House of Offerings. The next day, the 11th, there is a festival, which includes a wedding, presumably between Marduk and Šarpanitum.

[The month *Nisannu*, the month of ..., who] is called by the name "[King] of Heaven and Earth"; [...] purification proceeds to the Lord of Lords; [On the 10th day] he is dressed in his lordly garment, he is adorned in glory; [...], he proceeds to the House-of-Offerings; [...], who dwells on earth and in heaven; [...] bring before them;

[On] the 11th day they hold a festival in the House-of-Offerings; [...]... the wise men ..., he rushed to the wedding celebration; [...] of Anu he founded for kingship; [...] the mighty(?) gods before him and brought in good time before all the gods.

The end of the festival was marked by the return of Marduk from the *akitu*-house back to his residence at the Esagil on the 11th day.<sup>4</sup>

A schedule of offerings for the festival is partly revealed in a Neo-Babylonian letter from Innin-šar-ušur to Nabû-aḥḫē-šullim:<sup>5</sup>

I am now sending you the official order for the separation of the young animals from the cattle and sheep in the month *Addaru*. Separate them according to the written order. Do not be careless. All the cattle that can already eat fodder, and also the sheep, should enter Uruk on the 25th day. Deliver on the evening of

1. VAB 4, 156.

2. Cf. CT 37 13 ii (quoted CAD S 33): "the boat of Marduk, (called) *giš-má-tuša*, for the procession on the Euphrates and on the road to the *akitu*-temple, in which the prince Marduk goes in procession at the beginning of the New Year."

3. SBH p. 245.

4. WDOG 4 pl. 14.

5. Oppenheim *Letters*, 190.

1. VAB 4, 126-128; for further details on the *akitu*-festival gleaned from royal inscriptions, see P.-R. Berger, "Das Neujahrsfest nach den Königsinschriften des ausgehenden babylonischen Reiches," CRRA 17 (1970), 155ff.

2. Cavigneaux, *Textes Scolaires du Temple de Nabû ša Harē I* (Baghdad, 1981), 141.

3. K.4657, quoted CAD A/1 268.

4. VAB 4, 282.

the first day the lambs for (the service of) the second day. Please, have ready in the early morning of the second day the two-year-old bulls about which I write to you. On the evening of the second day, deliver at the New Year's Chapel 17 lambs for the (service of the) 3rd day. Deliver on the 3rd day, at eight o'clock in the morning, 5 suckling bull calves and 5 lambs. Deliver on the 5th day a heifer for the *harû*-ceremony. Bring in and hand over to the priests 30 he-goats on the second day.

The Babylonian Chronicles, outlining the relations between the Assyrian and Babylonian empires, considered the Babylonian observance of the *akitu*-festival important enough to warrant a note whenever political or military events prevented its observance.<sup>1</sup> In fact, one tablet, called the *akitu* Chronicle (Chronicle 16), is devoted to listing the events from Sennacherib's abduction of the statue of Marduk from Babylon in 689 B.C. (until the accession of Nabopolassar in 626 B.C.) which prevented observance of the festival.<sup>2</sup> During the twenty years from 689 B.C. through the rule of Esarhaddon (680-669 B.C.) "Bēl [Marduk] stayed in Baltil [Aššur] and the *akitu*-festival did not take place. Nabû did not come from Borsippa for the procession of Bēl."<sup>3</sup> The phraseology that is commonly used throughout the Chronicles to indicate observance of the festival is "He [the king] took the hand of Bēl [sometimes adding "and of the son of Bēl"] (and) celebrated the *akitu*-festival."<sup>4</sup> Grayson, discussing the significance of the phrase "to take the hand of Bēl," notes Olmstead and Smith, who asserted that this was a symbolic gesture by which Marduk granted the king authority to rule for another year, and Thureau-Dangin, who understood this idiom as a reference to the king escorting Marduk (and Nabû) during the procession. Grayson, noting many instances in which the king did not participate, yet was acknowledged as rightful king in Babylonian sources, disagrees with Olmstead and Smith, concluding that participation in the *akitu*-festival "was not relevant to their recognition as legitimate rulers by native sources."<sup>5</sup> Grayson attributes greater significance to the act of holding the god's hand than simply leading him in procession, noting in particular the Neo-Assyrian relief from Nimrud "on which is depicted an Assyrian king (Shalmaneser III) and a Babylonian king (Marduk-zākir-šumi I) each with a hand extended, gripping the other's hand."<sup>6</sup>

1. K. Grayson, "Chronicles and the Akitu Festival," CRRA 17 (1970), 161 n. 1 lists the 11 of 21 chronicles that mention the festival.

2. See K. Grayson, TCS 5, 35-36 and 131-132.

3. Grayson, *op. cit.*, 127.

4. Grayson, *op. cit.*, 100; Grayson, CRRA 17 (1970), 164ff.

5. Grayson, CRRA 17 (1970), 169.

6. Grayson, CRRA 17 (1970), 165.

We agree with Thureau-Dangin's view. Throughout the Uruk *akitu*-instructions, the phrase "to take the hand of the god" clearly connotes escorting the deity from one location to another. In fact, deities, as well as the king, "take the hand of the god": "Papsukkal, Nusku, Usmû and the king escort [take the hand of] Anu from the Throne-of-Destiny." If this were interpreted literally, Anu would need four hands! Thus physical hand-holding is not intended and therefore such scenes of hand-holding as on the Nimrud relief are not relevant in regard to the *akitu*-festival. As already stated, the most important ritual aspect of the entire celebration was the entrance of the god into his city, the procession in which the king escorted Marduk from the *akitu*-house into the Esagil. This is the reason the chroniclers use the synecdoche "to escort Bēl" to refer to the *akitu*-festival. It was the crucial event of the entire festival.

As at Uruk, Babylon celebrated an *akitu*-festival in the seventh month as well. Although the tablets do not mention the festival by name, the ritual information contained clearly refers to an *akitu*-celebration. This kinship with the *akitu*-festival in *Nisannu* is noted in a letter to the Assyrian king:<sup>1</sup>

... [The king, my lo]rd, knows that the god Bēl is dressed (for the festival) [on the 3]rd of *Tašritu*; on the 6th day the gate (of the temple) is kept open, (and) the procession of Bēl sets out like in the month *Nisa[nmu]*. [The cerem]onies of the city of Der are conducted in the same way.

Regarding this Babylonian observance in *Tašritu* Parpola states:<sup>2</sup>

The *Tašritu* festival of Babylon referred to in the letter has remained very imperfectly known up to the present date. According to private communication by W.G. Lambert, there exists in the collections of the British Museum a large tablet doubtless forming part of the "Festkalender" of Babylon, which gives in several columns detailed instructions about the cultic ceremonies performed in Babylon both in *Tašritu* and the immediately preceding and following months. This tablet, which unfortunately remains unpublished, fixes the dressing ritual of Bēl, also mentioned in the present letter, on the 7th of *Tašritu* and the subsequent opening of the gate on the 8th. The text then goes on to state that a great meal was offered to Bēl following the opening of the gate, and a couple of lines later tells that sections from *Enūma Eliš* were recited to Bēl by a chanter (*nāru*) on the same day. The general outline of the ceremonies thus indeed resembled those of the New Year's festival of *Nisannu*; and as pointed out in Rev.6, even the procession of Bēl to the *akitu* house took place exactly on the same day (the 8th) as in *Nisannu*.

One section of a first millennium B.C. scholarly work called "The Nippur Compendium" concerns Nippur festivals. The following portion applies to

1. ABL 956, translation Parpola, AOAT 5/1, 143.

2. AOAT 5/2, 186.

the first month and lists five different *akitu*-observances in the first month (translation George *Topographical Texts*, 155):

|  |                                   |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| In the month Nisan festivals are celebrated: |                                   |
| the Akitu of Marduk:                         | for his supreme divinity;         |
| the Akitu of Ninurta:                        | for his father Enlil;             |
| the Akitu of Ištar, Queen of Nippur          | (or,) of Ninurta;                 |
| the Akitu of Šin:                            | for Ninurta, the net of the gods; |
| as many Akitu's as there are:                | for Ninurta, the net of the gods; |

R. Steiner published a preliminary account of a first millennium B.C. New Year's (𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎢𐏁) ritual in Demotic script.<sup>1</sup> The ritual, celebrated in the seventh month, represents the tradition of exiles from Raš, a country which at one time was captured by Aššurbanipal on his expedition against Elam. According to Steiner's synopsis:<sup>2</sup>

The ceremony begins with the celebrant's arrival at the gate leading to the courtyard of the New Year's chapel, which appears to have been erected for the occasion next to a graveyard; he stops there and recites a blessing. A voice from within calls out to him to enter the courtyard. After he enters and washes his hands the statue of Marah (=Nanai), the Queen of 𐎠, is brought into the assembly of the gods. The gods rise from their thrones and give the order for her to be seated among them. Each of the assembled gods is asked to bless the king. Sheep are slaughtered and turned into smoke, while sixty singers lift their voices and sixty temple servitors burn myrrh and frankincense. ...

The high point of the festival is the sacred marriage ceremony. The king initiates the rite by declaring: "Nana, thou art my wife." "In thy bridal chamber, a priest sings," he continues, "Nanai, bring near to me thy lips." The king and the goddess keep a vigil outside the bridal chamber, with music from a nearby grave preventing them from dozing off. At the appointed hour, the king invites the goddess to enter the bridal chamber: "My beloved, enter the door into our house. With my mouth, consort of our lord, let me kiss thee." They enter the "perfumed hideaway," where the goddess is laid upon an embroidered bedspread. The ceremony culminates in an exchange of blessings between Nanai and Baal of Heaven and a promise by the king to rebuild the ruined capital of 𐎠.

The occurrence of this *akitu*-festival in the seventh month is not surprising since Uruk, Babylon and probably Assyria held *akitu*-festivals in both the first and seventh months. The reference to a New Year's chapel erected for the occasion near a graveyard should refer to an *akitu*-house, which, as noted, was constructed outside a city's walls. The goddess Nanâ had a major cult at Uruk and throughout first millennium B.C. Mesopotamia was identified with

Tašmētum, Nabû's spouse, and in liturgy with Ištar, for whom special *akitu*-festivals were held in Uruk and in Nineveh.

The Babylonian *akitu*-festival included a wedding on the 11th day, although the preserved texts provide no further information about it—presumably the wedding was between Marduk and Šarpanītum (just as the following month began with a wedding between Nabû and Tašmētum). However, this Demotic text indicates a wedding between the king (or his substitute) and the goddess Nanâ, the first clear attestation of a sacred marriage rite since Iddin-Dagan of Isin at the beginning of the second millennium B.C.

In summary, the *akitu*-festival originated in Ur as a festival of the moon to celebrate the equinoxes. The pageantry of Nanna triumphantly entering his city Ur appealed to other Mesopotamian cities, which in turn adopted the festival or integrated it into local festivals, frequently celebrating it two times a year, as at Ur. However, the festival was adapted for the chief deity of each city. Although, as at Ur, the god's primeval assumption of control of the city was reenacted, the festival no longer had any overt connection with the equinoxes. As at Ur the others cities constructed an *akitu*-building outside the city walls in which the god resided until his grandiose entry into the city. Having entered the city, the god then performed ritual activities which symbolized his setting in order the administration of his new home.

1. "The Aramaic Text in Demotic Script: The Liturgy of a New Year's Festival Imported from Bethel to Syene by Exiles from Rash," *JAOS* 111 (1991), 362-363.

2. In these quoted lines from Steiner's article we have omitted the interspersed Aramaic transliterations and the line references.

## Festivals for the Men and Gods of the Netherworld

Death did not end the deceased's membership in his family, nor did death absolve the living from responsibilities to the dead. Throughout the year and during festivals the deceased were cared for, brought flour and water at shrines and places of burial—food needed by those whose shadows wandered about the netherworld. So too, the gods of the netherworld, no less than their divine counterparts above, required offerings and libations.

The netherworld, the Land of the Dead, lay below the earth, the Land of the Living:<sup>1</sup>

Traditionally the ancient Mesopotamians had made a conception of the universe that was, so to speak, vertical and bipolar; they saw it as an immense globe composed of two symmetrical hemispheres horizontally separated in the middle, ... *Heaven* and the *Below* ... or the *Netherworld*. In its center, encircled like an island by the *bitter waters of the sea* ..., and lying on a sheet of sweet water ..., was what we call the earth: the earth of living humans.

Certain seasonal or monthly phenomena were thought to have momentarily brought the Land of Living and the netherworld closer together, affording easier access between the two worlds. And these opportunities were realized through the cult by the establishment of seasonal festivals such as the *ne-IZI-gar*, the *ab-è*, and the *abum*. This "moment when the two worlds met" is exemplified by the last few days of the month, considered an opportune time for interacting with the spirits of the dead:

- > At third millennium B.C. Nippur the Sacred Mound festival, involving offerings to Enlil's ancestors in the world below, was celebrated on the 27th and perhaps 28th of the seventh month;
- > At second millennium B.C. Emar rituals for the *ab/pu*, which covered the passageway to the netherworld, were performed on the 26th and 27th of the fourth or fifth month;
- > In the first millennium B.C., observances for the dead Dumuzi occurred from the 26th to the 29th of the fourth month;

1. Bottéro *Mesopotamia*, 273.

- > In the Ur III period the Wailing at the Mourning-site(?) (*ér-ki-gu-la*, MVN 15 193) was performed at a funerary libation site (*ki-a-nag*) of Amar-Suen in the first year of his brother's reign on the 27th and 28th of the twelfth month;
- > In the first millennium B.C., the *maqlû* ritual, which included dispelling evil spirits of the netherworld, was recited on the 28th of the fifth month.

The coming disappearance of the moon was, most likely, the reason that these last days of the waning moon were the efficacious moments for rites for the dead spirits—the last possible moment to propitiate the spirits before they interacted with the world of the living on the day the moon disappeared. Without the moonlight, of course, the night darkness was an opportune time for robbers and other evil-doers to go about their business unseen. And this, by extension, would also be the time malevolent spirits, residing normally in the netherworld, would chose to perform their evil in the world above.<sup>1</sup>

As can be noted in the above examples, the summer months, from June to August, were viewed as a time when there was a confluence of the worlds above and below. This is manifest in the fifth month being the time of the *ne-IZI-gar* festival at Nippur (the *paternalia* in which the dead returned to visit the living), of the cult of the netherworld deity Ninazu at Ur, and of the *ab-è* festival for the dead at Adab. This perception of the summer months may have been based upon an interpretation of the agricultural cycle. The grain—the staple of Mesopotamian existence—had already been harvested. During these summer months the stubble lay motionless on the hot, parched ground. The seeding, the infusion of new life into the earth, would not begin until the fall. Thus, there was a lifelessness above, the conclusion of one life-cycle, awaiting the beginning of another. This was the time of the dead Dumuzi and of the dying Ba'al, deities associated with the grain.

The continual interaction of these two worlds was portrayed in a mythological context. Inanna, Queen of the Above, descended to the netherworld; and yet, ultimately, she returned. The *galla*-demons, sent from below to fetch a substitute for Inanna, were able to pass freely back and forth through the

1. The Day of the Disappearance of the Moon (Sumerian *u<sub>4</sub>-nû-a*, Akkadian *bubbulu*) was in some traditions considered a perilous time, (although some traditions viewed this day as favorable). For the Day of the Disappearance of the Moon as unfavorable note (all following references are quoted in CAD B 299): KMI 76 K.4659, Sm. 352 r. 17, Surpu VIII 43, K.9666 ii 6'; as favorable, note: 4R 33\* iii 28 and 39 (Inbu series), BMS 1:17. For discussion on the Day of the Disappearance of the Moon, see Landsberger, LSS 6 1/2, 144.

Bottéro *Mesopotamia*, 286 suggests that a major change in man's understanding of the netherworld had occurred by the first millennium B.C.: "one can postulate a change in the ideas of the Netherworld: first it was the home of the ex-living, later, little by little, of the anti-living."

threshold that divided the two worlds. Dumuzi and his sister Geštinanna alternated six month periods below and above. But perhaps the greatest symbol of the interaction between the two regions was Utu or Šamaš, the sun. During the day he ruled above, while at night he entered the netherworld, where he was the supreme judge over that domain—a reminder of the continual interplay of the two worlds.

Thus consignment to the netherworld did not preclude continued interaction between the deceased and those in the Land of the Living. The dead did not sever their tie to the living, just as the grain which had died came back through the power of the seed, and as the sun returned each day after its stay below. This, undoubtedly, presented the living with a frightening problem—how was one to interact with these beings, whose existence and experiences were now so totally different from one's own. This was the function of the festivals and rituals for the dead—these rites provided a protocol which ensured respect for both worlds, while protecting the living when confronted with those from below.

At Nippur the main festival for the dead was the ne-IZI-gar observance, when the spirit returned to his family, to briefly visit those with whom he had shared his life. Elsewhere in Sumer the main festival for the dead was the ab-è festival. There is no evidence from the sites celebrating the ab-è festival that it too was a time when the deceased returned to the land of the living. However, since Nippur celebrated the return of the dead spirits, so too the rest of Sumer probably adhered to this attractive belief—it seems unlikely that the spiritual center of Sumer, Nippur, would be isolated in such a fundamental belief concerning the dead. The third major festival for the dead was the *ab/pum* observance, a festival probably of western (Amorite) origin.

The ne-IZI-gar festival, whose ritual was directed towards accommodating the spirits of the deceased, is attested in the fifth month (July/August) at Nippur, providing the name for the month. References to the ne-IZI-gar observance in economic documents indicate that the observance occurred around the 11th and 12th of the fifth month, just before the full moon, whose light may have been instrumental (along with the fires and torches) in guiding the dead from the darkness of their netherworld abode at night.<sup>1</sup>

The ne-IZI-gar observance involved ceremonies for the dead, as suggested in the "Death of Gilgamesh"<sup>2</sup>:

Let ..., the child of the sun-god Utu,  
light up for him the netherworld, the place of darkness!  
Let him set up a threshold there (as bright) as the moon

1. For these economic documents, see pp. 100ff.

2. Kramer, BASOR (1944), 94 2-12; van Dijk *Studies Falkenstein* 249.

(for) all mankind, whatever their names be,  
(for) those whose statues were fashioned in days of yore,  
(for) the heroes, the young men, and the ...!  
From there the strong and the mighty will march out.  
Without him no light would be there during the month ne-IZI-gar, during  
the festi[val of the gh]osts. (<sup>iū</sup>ne-IZI-gar e[ze]m-gi[di]m<sup>2</sup>-ma-ke<sub>4</sub>-ne)

According to this passage the "festival of ghosts" occurred during the month ne-IZI-gar, a time when the spirits of the dead followed a special passage of light leading from the darkness of the netherworld back into the world of the living for a brief stay. The setting of fires and lighting of torches by each household would guide the spirits of the dead back to the ancestral home, where a ceremonial meal, presumably the ne-IZI-gar offering, awaited. Langdon likens this occasion to the Roman *paternalia* with "funeral meals ..., and families entertained the ghosts of their dead relatives."<sup>1</sup>

Although the term *eze*m ("festival") is employed with ne-IZI-gar only at Nippur, the practice of making the ne-IZI-gar offering was widespread throughout Sumer, although not in the fifth month as at Nippur. In the eighth month at Larsa there was a festival involving the ne-IZI-gar offering, as can be deduced by coordinated ne-IZI-gar offerings being made in the temples. The eighth month at Ur and Adab was also the occasion for these offerings. There are references to the ne-IZI-gar at Ur in the ninth and tenth months as well.<sup>2</sup> The reference from Ur to the ne-IZI-gar of the tenth month may note a one-time, special observance for the recently deceased king of Ur as one of his son's first acts of succession. The reference to the ne-IZI-gar offering in the ninth month may be for Uruk, rather than for Ur. The sixth month at Uruk may have been named for a combination of the *ab-paternalia* and the ne-IZI-gar offering: <sup>iū</sup>ab-N[E-IZI(?)]-gar. And at Old Babylonian Ešnunna the ne-IZI-gar offering was part of the u<sub>4</sub> *e-lu-um* of the goddesses Bēlat-terraban and Bēlat-suḫner in the fourth month, an observance that was probably based upon a myth of the goddesses' sojourn in the netherworld.<sup>3</sup>

The texts record the ne-IZI-gar offering as being made to various deities—there is only one mention of the ne-IZI-gar being offered to the deceased (the offering to Šu-Sin at Ur). Several explanations are possible as to why deities received this offering. Evil ghosts and witches exited the netherworld along with the welcomed ghosts.<sup>4</sup> In the first millennium B.C. the *Maqlû* ceremony was performed to ward off the evil of witches. Perhaps the deities were being asked to protect the populace from the ghosts and witches. Or, perhaps offerings were made to the gods so the gods would guide the ghosts

1. Langdon *Menologies*, 123.

2. See p. 102 for references.

3. See pp. 252-253 for a discussion of this observance and a translation of the text.

4. Cf. T. Abusch, "Mesopotamian Anti-Witchcraft Literature," JNES 33 (1974), 259-261.

to their families, or so that they would intercede with the gods of the netherworld in achieving the temporary release of the deceased, or they were offered in the name of the deceased who was reentering the community, a sign that the deceased recognized the authority of and his obligation to the gods of the city.

The earliest reference to the ab-è festival is from one of the pre-Sargonic Lagaš calendars, where it served as the name of the tenth month.

The ab-è festival is documented as having been celebrated in Old Sumerian Lagaš. Langdon interprets the month name as meaning "the ancestors go out (from the netherworld)."<sup>1</sup> A hint that this festival in Old Sumerian Lagaš also involved ritual activities for the dead is a basket tag which lists among the basket's contents a tablet for Lugalurub for the ab-è festival. The deity Lugalurub was identified with Dumuzi and thus probably with the netherworld.

Based solely upon the month names, the ab-è festival probably occurred in the fifth month at Adab and in the sixth month at Uruk. However, we have no details concerning the ab-è at these two Ur III sites.

The names of the months in Nippur remained constant from the earliest recorded documents, with the exception of this change from *it<sup>u</sup>kù-su<sub>x</sub>* to *it<sup>u</sup>ab-è*, which had occurred at least by AS4 (Fish *Catalogue* 35). A festival and month *it<sup>u</sup>ab-è* had existed in pre-Sargonic and Sargonic Lagaš and as the fifth month at Adab. Since, but for the ab-è festival, there are no other references from Nippur to offerings to the funerary shrines of the Ur III kings during festivals, the ab-è festival in Nippur may have centered solely about the deceased Ur III kings, and was not a paternalia for the general populace.

The adoption of a month named for an Ur III king throughout the Sumerian calendars always occurred during the life of the monarch; it was never intended to memorialize a dead monarch. Thus there may have been great pressure applied upon the revered Nippur religious community by Amar-Suen and the Ur political/religious establishment to perpetuate the greatness and memory of the divine Šulgi, especially since Nippur had never named a month for Šulgi. This may have been the basis for the adoption of a foreign observance, perhaps originating in Lagaš, during a month devoid of festivals, in honor of the deceased monarch. The festival, which became the unique religious event of the month, caused the replacement of the month name *it<sup>u</sup>kù-su<sub>x</sub>* by *it<sup>u</sup>ab-è*. Upon the death of Amar-Suen the festival in Nippur was already established, and thus the now dead Amar-Suen was also memorialized in the ceremonies.

During the fifth month, *it<sup>u</sup>ne-IZI-gar*, ceremonies for the deceased were observed probably by most of the populace of Nippur for their dead rela-

1. Langdon *Menologies*, 139.

tives. Major distinguishing features between that observance and the newly adopted ab-è practice may well have been that the ab-è observance was political in nature, devotion probably restricted to just the dead Ur III kings, and observance relegated to the religious and political elite of Nippur.

Throughout Mesopotamia many cities observed a rite involving the dead called *abum* or *apum*, this observance providing the name for the summer month in which it occurred. The orthography *a-BU-um* does not enable us to determine whether the month was *Abum* or *Apum*. The month name *a-pa-um* attested as the fourth month of an unidentified calendar (5R pl. 43) may be an orthography for our month. At Emar the month in which the *ab/pum* observance was held was written *a-ba-i* or *a-bi-ḫé/KÁM*.

There are several references to a term *ab/pum* which may be related to the *Ab/pum* festival:<sup>1</sup>

- In two Assyrian rituals the *apu*<sup>2</sup> was the conduit to the dead wherein the offering meal was placed: "he will go and collect the blood in the *apu*, pour honey and oil into the *apu*" (KAR 146 r. i); "(the king) presents food to the spirits of the dead, (the singer) removes (the meal from the table), places it in the *apu*, he pours honey, oil, beer, and wine over it, the singer fills the *apu*, the king puts his foot over the *apu*, kisses [the ground?]" (KAR 146 r. ii).
- According to a text from Šubat-Enlil there were special observances to Bēlet-apim and Nergal on the 14th of the month *Abum*: *i-nu-ma a-na dNIN-a-pi ù dNè-eri<sub>11</sub>-gal LUGAL iq-qú-qú*.<sup>3</sup> Šubat-Enlil/Šeḫna was the capital of an area called *māl apim*,<sup>4</sup> whose goddess was Bēlet-apim. The above quoted passage may indicate that Bēlet-apim might have been considered another form of the queen of the netherworld, Nergal's spouse, Ereškigal. This may have derived from a play upon the name of the locality referred to as *māl apim* and the *ab/pum*-festival. The wordplay and the identification of Bēlet-apim with Ereškigal may have been based upon a perceived parallel construction of the names of the two goddesses, i.e., *ab/pum* paralleled *ki-gal*. The term *ki-gal* connoted both a raised area for cultic purposes and the netherworld.<sup>5</sup>

1. See p. 260 note 1 for other interpretations.

2. The text has the orthography *a-pi*.

3. F. Ismail, *Altbabylonische Wirtschaftsurkunden aus Tell Leilan (Syrien)*, diss. Tübingen (1991), no. 65.

4. For the geographical term *Apum*, see p. 260 note 3.

5. For *KI.GAL* as denoting a burial mound, see p. 260 note 4.

- An Emar ritual text for the month \**Abu* records the giving of offerings on the 27th of the month *a-na pa-ni a-bi-i ša É<sup>d</sup>KUR; a-na a-bi ša É<sup>d</sup>A-lál; a-na a-bi-i ša É<sup>d</sup>tuk-li*.
- An Old Babylonian text from Sippar (YOS 12 345), dated to the fifth month, records: 3 sila *a-na ši-ir-pi-tim i-na e-ri-ib a-bi* "3 liters of porridge at the entrance to the *a-bi*."
- Concerning the meaning of the Assyrian month *Ab/p šarrāni*, CAD states: "Since the first element is consistently written *ab* in the O[Id] A[ssyrian] refs., it is unlikely that the month name is composed with *abu*, "father"; the fact that no writings with AD are found in the M[idle] A[ssyrian] texts supports this interpretation."<sup>1</sup> Possibly the element *ab/p* in the Assyrian month name may be related to *ab/pum* as in the month and festival name. If true, this month name refers to a yearly observance for the deceased Assyrian kings.

The *ab/pum* was probably a mound placed over a supposed passage to the netherworld through which the dead could return to the land of the living and through which the living could provide for the dead. The term *ab/pum* may not necessarily have referred to actual burial mounds, but perhaps just to a mound (perhaps one per temple as at Emar) constructed not for the purpose of covering the dead, but only as a conduit to the netherworld, i.e., no bodies may have been buried there. Obviously, even if no bodies were buried under the *ab/pum*, the concept surely evolved from the burial mound of dirt and/or rocks which covered the hole in which the deceased was interred. The occurrence of an *ab/pu* in a temple may be somewhat analogous to the Sacred Mound (*du<sub>6</sub>-kù*) at Nippur and other cities, which may also have covered a passageway to the netherworld.<sup>2</sup>

Complicating our attempt to understand the meaning of the term *ab/pum* in the festival and month name is the recent publication of a Drehem tablet which raises the possibility that the festival name may have been *Apum*, from *apum* "canebrake." There is a Drehem reference to the *ezem-giš-gi*, "the festival of the canebrake," on the 1st day of the fourth month (MVN 15 352 [SS2 iv 1]): "1 grain-fed ox for Enlil and 1 grain-fed cow for Šuzianna ... provisions for the Festival of the Canebrake." (The references to Enlil and Šuzianna suggest that Nippur may have been the site of the observance.) Thus a Festival of the Canebrake was observed during the same month which other cities have called *Abum*/*Apum*, a term for which a translation "canebrake" is possible. Moreover, it is not inconceivable that the Festival of the Canebrake may have been related to a cult of the dead. Swamps and canebrakes were fre-

quently places of burial, as discussed by P.-A. Beaulieu.<sup>1</sup> Among the examples cited by Beaulieu is an inscription of the pre-Sargonic ruler of Lagaš, Uruinimgina: "as a deceased was taken to the reed thicket of Enki" (*gi<sup>d</sup>Enki-ka-ka adda ù-túm*).<sup>2</sup> Beaulieu observes "... burial marshes were considered in the IIIrd millennium a normal funerary practice on an equal footing with interment."

The earliest references to the *Ab/pum* festival are from Sumerian texts of the Ur III period. An Ur document detailing an allotment of oxen for ceremonies comprising the funerary offerings for the deceased Ur-Nammu mentions the *ab/pum* observance as part of the cultic activities (UET 3 244 (no month)): "2 oxen: provisions for the *abum* (observance); 1 ox: provisions for the festival of Ninazu; 1 ox: provisions for the festival of AN.ĜUL; (all these are) the provisions for the funerary offerings (*ki-a-nag*) for Ur-Nammu."<sup>3</sup>

In the Ur III period the *abum* was observed in the fourth month at Mari and probably at Ishān Mizyad. However, we know nothing of the ritual observances at these sites—merely that these months were named for the observance. There are no references to an *ab-è* or *abum* observance at Umma nor any Ur III references from Lagaš/Girsu, despite pre-Sargonic references to the *ezem-ab-è* at Lagaš.

In the fifth month the *abum* festival was observed at Sippar. There are various references to funerary offerings (*ki-sl-ga/ kišpu*) being provided in the fifth month in Sippar: "a one year old calf for the funerary offering for the month *ne-IZI-gar*" (CT 48 100); "turtles and tortoises are needed for the funerary offering for the month *ne-IZI-gar*" (VAS 16 51); and "milk and ghee will be needed for the funerary offering of the month *ne-IZI-gar*" (TCL 1 7). A reference probably to the *abum* festival at Sippar is YOS 12 345, dated to the fifth month, which records: 3 sila *a-na ši-ir-pi-tim i-na e-ri-ib a-bi* "3 liters of porridge at the entrance to the *abi*." The placement at Sippar of the *abum* festival in the fifth month (rather than in the fourth month as in the more northerly cities) may have been a conscious rearrangement to enable the *abum* and the *ne-IZI-gar* ceremonies to merge into one major observance for the dead. Sippar was strongly influenced by the southern Sumerian cities as witnessed by its parallel usage of the Southern-Mesopotamian Sumerian calendar. There may have been a division among the Sippar population, some elements observing the *ne-IZI-gar* paternalia from the south, others the *abum* festival from the north. To resolve the issue the Sippar calendar may have

1. CAD A/1 2 sub *ab šarrāni*.

2. For a discussion of the Sacred Mound, see pp. 106ff.

1. NABU 1988/3, 36.

2. P.-A. Beaulieu, NABU 1988/3, 36 quoting the inscription of Uruinimgina published by M. Lambert, RA 50 (1956), 172-173.

3. See pp. 149ff. for other references from Ur.



been altered by moving *abum* one month later to coincide with the paternalia of the fifth month in the Southern-Mesopotamian Sumerian calendar.

At early Old Babylonian Ešnunna offerings for several days of festivities are recorded on a tablet dated to the 18th day of the fourth month *Abum* (TA 1931-325).<sup>1</sup> This text mentions rituals for the cult of Bēlat-šuhner and Bēlat-terraban, goddesses who were mythologized as journeying to the netherworld. And the ne-IZI-gar, a ritual or offering associated with the cult of the dead in the fifth month at Nippur, is mentioned as part of this observance at Ešnunna. Thus the *abum* observance at Ešnunna seems to have been intertwined with the cult of goddesses identified with the netherworld.

At Mari offerings for the dead kings (*ana kispim ša LUGAL.MEŠ*) were provided throughout the year, usually on the first of the month.<sup>2</sup> However, an *abum* festival was observed at Mari in the tenth month, as noted in a text listing oil *a-na ki-is-pi-im ša ab-bé-e*, "for the funerary offering for the *ab/pum*" during the tenth month.<sup>3</sup>

The Old Assyrian month name *ab šarrani* may have denoted a observance restricted to the ancestors of the monarch involving offerings at the *ab/pum*.

A festival of the netherworld was observed at Šubat-Enlil in the middle of the fourth month *Abum*. According to one text there were special observances to Bēlet-apim and Nergal (lord of the netherworld) on the 14th of the month: *i-nu-ma a-na dNIN-a-pi ū dNè-eri-11-gal LUGAL iq-qū-qū*.<sup>4</sup>

At Emar in the second millennium B.C. the month of *Abu* was ritually active. On the 1st or 2nd of the month offerings were made to Ba'al (or Hadad). On the 3rd offerings were presented to Ištar and to Mount Šinapši. Offerings to this mountain occurred also on the 8th and 20th of the month. On the 19th an offering was made to Mount Šuparatu. Since offerings to mountains occurred only during this month, perhaps these rituals relate to this month having been the occasion for the cult of the dead. Possibly these mountains were believed to have been entrances to the Land of the Dead, a concept common throughout the Near East.<sup>5</sup> Special offerings are detailed for the 14th, probably the 15th, for the 16th, 17th or 18th, 19th, and 20th of the month. The 25th through the 27th was the occasion for offerings to the *ab/pum*. The offerings to the dead were unusually bountiful, including gazelles, fowl, honey, and fruit.

The Assyrian Astrolabe B for this month mentions activities associated with observances for the dead: "The month *Abu*, ... of Ninurta, braziers are

kindled, a torch is raised to the Anunna-gods, Girra comes down from the sky and rivals the sun, the month of Gilgameš, for nine days men contest in wrestling and athletics in their city quarters." The kindling of lights during the month was presumably to enable the deceased to find their way at night from the darkness of the netherworld. Gilgameš was one of the overlords of the netherworld and he too joined the land of the living for the festival. According to Astrolabe B, in Gilgameš' honor athletic contests were held, celebrating his legendary physical prowess. Directly related to this month's preoccupation with the netherworld is the reference in a Nimrud incantation to *Abu* as the month of Ningiškida, lord of the netherworld.<sup>1</sup>

Concomitant with the month of *Abu* being a time of festivals for the dead, it was a time when both benign and malevolent ghosts from the netherworld joined the living. To protect the living from witches and other evil spirits, the rites called *Maqlû*, "burning," were practiced during this month, as noted in a Neo-Assyrian letter to the king, in which a figurine of Gilgameš was used:<sup>2</sup>

At night the king will perform the (ritual) "burning," [*maqlû*] in the morning the king will perform the balance of the ritual. Furthermore: a figurine of Gilgameš will certainly be used in the (periodical) rites of the month *Abu* [which] will be performed on [the ... t]h; should (the rite) be performed for the queen mother? What is it that the king says?

The purpose of the series *Maqlû* was the transformation of the live witch into a ghost and the expulsion of the formerly live witch's ghost as well as ghosts of witches returning from the netherworld outside the universal order, from which they could never again return."<sup>3</sup> Abusch in his analysis of *Maqlû* noted that *Maqlû* was divided into three sections, the first two sections being recited at night (with incantations to the gods Nusku and Girra), and the final section at dawn (involving incantations to Šamaš).<sup>4</sup> Commenting on the use of *Maqlû* rituals in the month *Abu*, Abusch noted a ritual whose closing instructions were basically identical to a *Maqlû* ritual, except for adding an instruction to perform the ritual on the 28th of the month *Abu*.<sup>5</sup>

... Thereafter, you recite the incantation "Evil demon, to your steppe" all the way to the outer entrance; then you encircle the entrance with [flour-p]aste.

1. D.J. Wiseman, "A Lipšur Litany from Nimrud," *Iraq* 31 (1969), 175ff.; cf. 4R 33 (K.2049 and K.129).

2. ABL 56, translation Parpola, AOAT 5/1, 155. Note also ABL 223: "the rites of the month *Abu* about which the king has written"; also quoted T. Abusch, "Mesopotamian Anti-Witchcraft Literature," JNES 33 (1974), 259. For references to the use of figurines of Gilgameš to cure diseases caused by ghosts, see Parpola, AOAT 5/2, 204.

3. T. Abusch, paper delivered to the American Oriental Society, Berkeley CA, 1991 and personal communication.

4. Abusch, "Mesopotamian Anti-Witchcraft Literature," JNES 33 (1974), 256ff. According to Abusch's analysis the first section of *Maqlû* involved "judgment, destruction by fire, and expulsion"; the second: "fumigation, protection, and salving"; the third: "washing and retributive reversion."

5. Translation of UET 6/2 410 according to Abusch, *op. cit.*, 260.

1. For a transliteration and translation of this text see pp. 251-252.

2. Charpin, MARI 3 (1984), 88-89 nos. 30-36, which date to months 1, 2, 6, 9, 10, and 12.

3. Charpin, *op. cit.*, 88-89 no. 36.

4. Ismail, *op. cit.*, no. 65.

5. See p. 260 note 4 for this concept.

This rite is to be perfor[med] on the 28th day of Abu, and [he] will [then] recover.

Concerning the likely recitation of *Maqlû* during *Abu* Abusch notes:<sup>1</sup>

... the suggestion that *Maqlû* was performed in *Abu* receives further support from the netherworld character of that month; for the cultic-calendrical association of *Abu* with *Gilgameš* in his netherworld capacity and with the appearance of ghosts and their return to the netherworld would certainly go a long way toward providing a partial explanation for the performances of *Maqlû* in that month. This feature of *Abu* need not, however, be the only factor responsible for its performance in *Abu*, since the existence of a known association between the fire-god and *Abu* and the centrality of the fire-god in the first division of *Maqlû* would now seem to be too much of a coincidence and to suggest further lines of association between *Maqlû* and *Abu*.

*Maqlû* was recited, as Abusch observes, at the end of the month, at the time of the disappearance of the moon, an ominous event—completely in keeping as the time of the month when evil spirits were most likely to cause trouble.

The Old Assyrian month name *Hubur* may refer to special religious activities along the *Hubur* (or *Habur*) river, a river which was frequently identified with the netherworld. The sixth month at Old Babylonian Mari was <sup>d</sup>IGL.KUR and Durand has suggested that the month <sup>d</sup>IGL.KUR may designate the *Hubur* river. The signs IGL.KUR may also be read *ḫilib* or *ḫalib*, which may be based upon West Semitic *ḫlb*, "hill." If this reading is valid, then the Mari month <sup>d</sup>IGL.KUR may refer to a festival similar to the *ab/pum*. Thus these Assyrian and Mari month names may allude to observances involving the netherworld during that time.

At Nippur the Sacred Mound (*du<sub>6</sub>-kù*) was the object of special devotion throughout year. Perhaps a key to understanding the nature of this special festival for the Sacred Mound, (aside from the normal attention the Sacred Mound at Nippur received throughout the year), was the occurrence of the festival on the 27th and perhaps 28th of the month, these last days of a month being the time for observances involving the spirits of the dead (see above).

The Sacred Mound, as did the *ab/pu*, covered a conduit to the world below the surface. However, the Sacred Mound was more positive in nature—erected perhaps over *Enki*'s home, the subterranean waters of the *apsû*, from which culture and civilization sprang. Thus the Sacred Mound was a logical place through which to communicate with gods of the netherworld, in particular *Enlil*'s ancestors who dwelt there. The somber nature of this festival may be noted in a passage from the *Curse of Akkad*: "Their laments were

1. Abusch, *op. cit.*, 261 and note 34 for cultic references to the month *Abu*.

(like) laments which *Enlil*'s ancestors perform in the awe-inspiring duku, ..."<sup>1</sup> Thus the festival of the Sacred Mound may have focused less on the site's positive aspect (i.e., the place from which civilization came to mankind—which was more likely the theme of the cult practiced at the Mound throughout the year), and more as an appropriate site from which to communicate with *Enlil*'s ancestors, who resided in some level of the netherworld. Whether the need to communicate with *Enlil*'s ancestors was simply to honor *Enlil*, himself, or rather to seek their assistance in dealing with the spirits below, cannot be ascertained from existing references.

### *Festivals for the Dying Gods*

A second type of festival involving the netherworld was also observed throughout many cities of Mesopotamia. This festival was based upon the cult of the disappearing god, occasionally becoming intertwined with observances for deceased kings—rulers identified with those disappearing deities. In most cities it was *Dumuzi* (or a form such as *Lugalurub* in pre-Sargonic *Lagaš*) who had gone to the netherworld, while at *Ur* it was *Ninazu*. This cult of *Dumuzi* or *Tammuz* persisted vigorously not only into the first millennium B.C., but rituals involving the dead *Tammuz* were performed at *Harra*n in *Syria* as late as Medieval times.

Pre-Sargonic *Ur* observed a major festival for *Ninazu*, naming a month for him: *ezem-maḫ-dNin-a-zu<sub>5</sub>-ka*, "the great festival of *Ninazu*." Later, during the *Ur* III period at *Ur* both the fifth and sixth months were named for the god *Ninazu*; the fifth month was <sup>it</sup>ki-sig-dNin-a-zu and the sixth was the month of "the festival of *Ninazu*" (*ezem-dNin-a-zu*). A cult of *Ninazu* was observed in *Ur*, *Enegi*, *Ešnunna*, *Lagaš*/*Girsu* and to some extent at *Nippur*.<sup>2</sup> In the myth *Enlil* and *Ninlil*, *Ninazu* was the offspring of these two gods, born to prevent their firstborn, *Suen*, from having to live in the netherworld. According to *Jacobsen*: "*Ninazu*, the third son, was a netherworld deity of the 'dying god' type. Essentially he would seem to be a god of the spring rains which die when summer sets in. His name may be interpreted as 'the water-pouring lord'."<sup>3</sup> His wife was *Ningirida*, as noted at the close of the composition *Enki* and *Ninḫursag*: "may *Ninkiriedu* [= *Ningirida*] marry *Ninazu*!"<sup>4</sup>

1. See p. 107.

2. For *Ninazu* in *Ur*, *Enegi* and *Ešnunna* see van Dijk *Götterlieder*, 71-78; *Sjöberg*, *TCS* 3, 87-89. Note the Old Babylonian reference, probably from *Sippar*, to the "genie" of *Ninazu* in the name of a site to be rented (*YOS* 12 354): *kaskal-dim-lama-dNin-a-zu*.

3. *Jacobsen Harps*, 170. For *Ninazu* as *bēl erṣeti* "lord of the underworld," see *W.G. Lambert*, "The Theology of Death," *Mesopotamia* 8, B. Alster, ed. (Copenhagen, 1980), 60.

4. *Jacobsen, ibidem*, 204.

and in the Emesal I Vocabulary (MSL 4 9) 103-104: <sup>d</sup>umun-a-zu = <sup>d</sup>nin-a-zu SU-ma / gašan-gir-da = <sup>d</sup>nin-gir-da dam-bi munus and in the god-list AN = Anum V 241: <sup>d</sup>Gir-da dam-bi munus.

In Enegi Ninazu, whose temple was the Egidda,<sup>1</sup> was the child of the queen of the netherworld, Ereškigal, and perhaps of Gugalanna, who is identified with Nergal. Ninazu's son was Ningišzida, the god of Gišbanda. Note the Temple Hymn to the house of Ninazu in Enegi:<sup>2</sup>

Enegi, great [runnel, runnel] of the earth (= Nether World), which belongs to Ereškigalla,

Gudua of Sumer, (the place) where all mankind is gathered,  
Egidda, your shadow has stretched over the princes of the 'land', who (live) in the 'land',

Your prince (is) the seed of the great lord, the pure one of the 'great earth',<sup>3</sup> borne by Ereškigalla,

He who with a loud voice plays the *zanaru*-instrument, sweet (as) the voice of a calf,

Ninazu, (who hears) the word(s) of prayer,

Has, O house Enegi, placed the house upon your ..., has taken his place on your dais.

In a god-list Ninazu is placed almost directly after Ereškigal and her spouse Gugalanna and is equated with Enlil's son in Nippur, Ninurta. His wife, Ningirida, is equated with the goddess Gula (who in some traditions was Ninurta's wife).<sup>4</sup> The ancient *zà-mi* hymn found at Abū Šalābikh includes an obscure hymn to Ninazu which deals solely with his powers over the cattle herds, the earliest literary reference to Ninazu.<sup>5</sup> Biggs states: "This hymn is probably addressed to Ninazu of Enegi rather than to Ninazu of Ešnunna, not only because towns in the Diyala area are otherwise entirely ab-

1. Jacobsen, *ibidem*, 178: "he [Enlil] poured into the womb for her [Ninlil] the sperm, (germ) of Ninazu, owner of the (temple) manor Egida."

2. Sjöberg, TCS 3, 27. See W.G. Lambert, "The Theology of Death," *Death in Mesopotamia*, *Mesopotamia* 8, B. Alster, ed. (Copenhagen, 1980), 60-63 for a discussion of the netherworld aspect of Ninazu, wherein Lambert discusses this passage of the Temple Hymns.

3. Sjöberg, TCS 3, 88 interprets *šita* on the basis of *šita = ellu, ramku* "pure." Lambert, *op. cit.*, 61: "His[Ninazu's] relationship to the nether world is given in the *Temple Hymns* as *šita ki.gal.la*. The precise meaning of *šita* in such contexts is not certain, see J. J. A. Van Dijk, *Sumerische Götterlieder* II, 126ff., though it seems to be an elected office rather than a permanent autocracy. Had the author meant that Ninazu were the supreme ruler, he could have expressed himself much more clearly by using other terms. If this conclusion is correct, there is a contradiction between the implications of the description of city and temple and the term used for their owner. The former imply that Ninazu was head of the underworld, the latter seem to withhold that rank from him. In the context of the Akkad period that is perhaps not surprising. There had been a Sumerian god of the infernal regions, Ninazu, and an Akkadian god, Nergal."

4. CT 25 pl. 8, quoted by van Dijk *Götterlieder*, 71.

5. OIP 99, 50.

sent in sources from Sumer during this period but because of the possibility that IM in line 135 is to be read Enegi."<sup>1</sup>

In Ešnunna Ninazu's temple was the Esikil and his parents were Enlil and Ninlil, for which note the conclusion to the Temple Hymn to the Esikil in Ešnunna:<sup>2</sup>

The 'true' seed, born of the great mountain and Ninlil,  
Esikil, your lord (king), the warrior Ninazu,  
Has, O Ešnunna, placed the house upon your ...,  
has taken his place on your dais.

The special relationship of Ninazu to the city of Ur is espoused in a *balbale*-hymn according to which Ninazu was born in Ur of Enlil and the "exalted lady" (nin-maḥ) and was invested with authority in Nanna's temple, the Ekišnugal:<sup>3</sup>

Suen has perfected your mace of lordship,  
the great scepter, outstretched over the foreign lands, holds sway over the people.

In the Ekišnugal has your protective genie ... great authority(?) for you.

Ninazu, born in Ur, may Nanna rejoice at you!

Lord Ninazu, born in Ur, may Nanna rejoice at you!

Your father begetter, the great mountain Enlil, has caused your name to go forth.

Your mother who bore you, the exalted lady, has decided your fate for you in the forecourt (of the Ekur).

Also in this hymn Ningirida is mentioned as Ninazu's wife: "Your wife, the young girl, the lovely woman, the lady Ningirida." This relationship with the city of the moon-god may be part of the same mythological schema as in the composition Enlil and Ninlil, wherein Ninazu was conceived to free the moon from eternal consignment to the netherworld. The temple of Ninazu in Ur (<sup>é</sup>-<sup>d</sup>Nin-a-zu) is in a long list of Ur temples receiving regular (*satukku*) offerings (UET 3 267) and in another Ur text as receiving emmer (UET 3 1393).

In the cults of Enegi and of Ur Ninazu is a god of the underworld. Yet, as van Dijk observes, the tradition in Ešnunna differs: Ninazu is a great warrior, there being no hint of a role in the netherworld pantheon.<sup>4</sup>

There are references to Ninazu's cult at Lagaš/Girsu.<sup>5</sup> The Old Sumerian texts from Lagaš record offerings to the god <sup>d</sup>Nin-a-su (= <sup>d</sup>Nin-a-zu).<sup>6</sup> A pre-Sargonic text from Lagaš (DP 51) lists offerings for Ninasu and Ereškigal, suggesting a relationship with Ereškigal similar to the one in Enegi. An Ur

1. OIP 99, 55.

2. Sjöberg, TCS 3, 42.

3. Van Dijk *Götterlieder*, 57ff.

4. Van Dijk *Götterlieder*, 77.

5. Falkenstein, AnOr 30, 88 with n. 4.

6. See Bauer *Lagaš*, 566 for references.

III legal text from Girsu lists a witness Ur-ki-gu-la, the *gudu*-priest of Ninazu<sup>1</sup> and Falkenstein notes a text from Girsu which references the "house of Šul-pae (and) Ninazu" and the "house of Ninazu (and) Ningišzida." Two tablets stating "from Lagaš" include entries for Ninazu.<sup>2</sup>

The role of Ninazu as an underworld deity, similar to that of the dying and returning Dumuzi and Damu, is evident in the lamentation eden-na ú-sag-gá-ke<sub>4</sub>, wherein a refrain groups Ninazu with Damu, Alla, Lugalšudde, Ištaran-ibišuba, and Amašumgalanna (=Dumuzi).<sup>3</sup> At Ur Ninazu is listed in two offering lists which record gods associated with the netherworld: Ningišzida, Ninazimua, Ningirida, Alla, <sup>d</sup>IDIM-šu-x-tum, and Ninpumunna (UET 3 69), and with Ninpumunna, <sup>d</sup>Nin-KA, <sup>d</sup>Lál, and <sup>d</sup>Nin-Ur<sup>ki</sup>-TI<sup>7</sup> (UET 3 72).<sup>4</sup> Ninazu immediately follows his son Ningišzida, lord of the netherworld, in another Drehem offering list (MVN 13 120).

The only hint of a cult of Ninazu at Nippur is a long list of offerings disbursed from Drehem on the third day of the ninth month in IS2 (MVN 10 144). This most unusual document lists the gods who were to receive offerings in the temples of Enlil, Ninlil, Nintinugga and Ninurta. In this tablet Ninazu is grouped with his spouse, Ningirida, and his son, Ningišzida, among the large number of deities receiving offerings in the temple of Ninurta. A vast array of gods from all over Sumer is listed, many of whom are nowhere else attested as having a cult in Nippur. Possibly, since Nippur was the religious center of a Sumerian amphictyony,<sup>5</sup> the gods of each member city were given a place in sacred Nippur, enabling that city's gods to participate in the divine assemblies of the gods at Nippur. This would create a religious bond among Nippur and the participating cities. Another possibility is that this tablet is chronicling a singular event, a response to pressures suddenly thrust upon Ib-bi-Sin. To defeat those growing forces which sought to dissolve his empire of Sumerian cities, Ib-bi-Sin may have commissioned a massive series of offerings to all the gods of his kingdom in that most sacred of cities, Nippur, even though cults of many of these gods had not previously existed in Nippur.

The naming of two consecutive months at Ur for Ninazu would seem to indicate an underlying cult of a netherworld god.

Landsberger was the first to suggest that ki-síg in this Ur month name was an early form of ki-si-ga, *kaspu*, *kisikkû*, "funerary offering."<sup>6</sup> Landsberger

1. Limet *Textes Sumériens* 14.

2. Sauren *NY Public Library* 219 and 391.

3. M.E. Cohen *Lamentations*, 675 and 683 and see Jacobsen *Harps*, 59-60 for the relationship of these deities to the netherworld cult.

4. In a Drehem text he and his spouse, Ningirida, receive offerings (Sigrist PTS 72).

5. See Hallo, "A Sumerian Amphictyony," *JCS* 14 (1960), 88ff.

6. Landsberger, LSS 6 1/2, 5 note 5; Falkenstein *Gerichtsurkunden* II, 142 note. 5; Sollberger, TCS 1, 143; Krecher *Kultlyrik*, 41. For other meanings of ki-si-ga, see v. Dijk, *Studies Falkenstein*, 242.

suggested that the mythology surrounding Ninazu was probably similar to that of Dumuzi and that this month and the next involved a cycle of mourning for the dead Ninazu followed by a festival upon his return (ezem-<sup>d</sup>Nin-a-zu).<sup>1</sup> However, there is no evidence to support the suggested relationship between the terms ki-síg and ki-si-ga. There is not one variant ki-síg for ki-si-ga in lexical or literary texts. Moreover, were ki-síg synonymous with ki-si-ga, most certainly a variant month name <sup>iti</sup>ki-si-ga should occur. But such is not the case. Thus there is no substantiation for an interpretation "the month of the funerary offerings for Ninazu." All references to ki-síg or ki-siki refer to "wool workers."<sup>2</sup> For wool workers associated with the cult of a deity note MVN 11 106 (AS4): ki-síg-túg-<sup>d</sup>Nin-gír-su, "the wool workers (weavers) of the clothes of Ningirsu."<sup>3</sup>

The sixth month at Ur was named for the festival of Ninazu. An important reference from Ur for understanding the nature of this festival of Ninazu is in a text detailing an allotment of oxen for ceremonies comprising the funerary offerings to Ur-Nammu (UET 3 244): "2 oxen: provisions for the *abum* (observance); 1 ox: provisions for the Festival of Ninazu; 1 ox: provisions for the Festival of AN.ĜÚL; (all these are) the provisions for the funerary offerings (ki-a-nag) for Ur-Nammu." This text from the reign of Ib-bi-Sin (no month is recorded) thus links all three observances to the cult of the dead.

The first of these three, the *abum* (or *apum*) observance, was practiced throughout much of Mesopotamia.<sup>4</sup>

The second of these three observances involves a god <sup>d</sup>ĜÚL, who is attested in the late god list AN = *Anum* VI 279 as *bibrû* (CAD B 222: a bird or rhyton); AN.ĜÚL in na<sub>4</sub>-AN.ĜÚL-za-gín as *bibrû*, "rhyton." Note also <sup>d</sup>Udug = *bibrû* (quoted CAD B 222). (The signs UDU and ĜÚL are somewhat similar in form, possibly explaining both being equated with *bibrû*.) In the Contest of Summer and Winter the *bibrû*-bird is listed among the winter fowl,<sup>5</sup> yet the month <sup>iti</sup>ezem-<sup>d</sup>Nin-a-zu is a summer month. Thus, it is unclear as to what the term AN.ĜÚL in ezem-AN.ĜÚL refers.

The Festival of Ninazu was the third of the observances performed for the cult of the deceased Ur-Nammu. A Drehem text also connects the ezem-<sup>d</sup>Nin-a-zu with the ki-a-nag ritual for another deceased Ur III king, Šulgi (AUCT 1 35 [AS6 vi]): "1 grain-fed sheep for each of the first 5 days of the month: provisions for the ki-a-nag of Šulgi, the ezem-<sup>d</sup>Nin-a-zu."

1. LSS 6 1/2, 70.

2. Selz *Wirtschaftsurkunden*, 60.

3. See p. 148 note 9 for ki-síg in the Ur III period.

4. See pp. 259-261 for a discussion of the month name *Ab/pum*.

5. Civil, quoted CAD B 222.

Landsberger suggested that the *ezem-dNin-a-zu* was a joyous occasion: "M[onat] des (Freuden)festes des N[inazu]" celebrating the return of Ninazu from the netherworld.<sup>1</sup> Although Landsberger may be correct in assuming that the basic motif was the return of Ninazu (and the deceased kings who were identified with him) from the netherworld, the ceremony probably did not involve the public and likely was somber in nature.

Ritual observances in Ur at the funerary shrines of the Ur III kings, including the obligatory offering of water and strewing of flour, occurred throughout the year. However, during this month special elaborate ceremonies were observed at these funerary shrines.

In Old Babylonian Ur, just as at Ur III Ur, the festival of Ninazu was marked by offerings to funerary shrines, as noted by offerings to the shrines of the deceased *entu*-priestesses, Enmegallanna and Enanatumma.<sup>2</sup>

In the pre-Sargonic Lagaš-state there were at least four annual festivals dealing with netherworld themes: the festivals of Baba, Lugalurub, Lugalurubara, and the *ab-è* festival.<sup>3</sup> Aside from ritual indications of the nature of these observances, there is no mythology or other evidence to identify Baba, Lugalurub, or Lugalurubara as chthonic deities. Offerings to deceased members of the royal family were performed as preliminary events to these first three festivals. As yet there is no evidence of such offerings during the *ab-è* festival.

The first day of the festival of Baba was named the Courtyard Festival (*ezem-kisal-la*) and was marked by offerings to deities whose statues presumably were assembled in the courtyard. On the second day offerings were made to Ningirsu and Baba, although only half the quantity they had been given on the first day. Offerings were also made at the house of the ruler or high-priest (*é-en-na*). On the third day, according to Fö 74, after offerings to Ningirsu and Baba, the participants journeyed to and made offerings at the *ib*-shrine of Badtibira; whereas DP 54 records that the third day concluded at the temple of Uruk and offerings at the *ib*-shrine of Badtibira did not occur until the fourth day. The fourth day (apparently in the Badtibira area) involved offerings to Gilgameš, Ninḫursag-Seda, and Me-Kulabata<sup>4</sup> along the "Banks of Gilgamesh." Bauer suggests that the "Banks of Gilgamesh" was a site associated with the cult of the dead.<sup>5</sup>

1. LSS 6 1/2, 70.

2. For further information on this Old Babylonian observance at Ur, see pp. 230-231.

3. For an overview of the pre-Sargonic Lagaš tablets in relation to rites for the dead and the netherworld, see J. Bauer, "Zum Totenkult im altsumerischen Lagaš," ZDMG Supplement 1 (Wiesbaden, 1969), 107-114.

4. For a discussion of the term Me-Kulabata, see Bauer *Lagaš*, 439.

5. Bauer *Lagaš*, 439.

There were three preliminary days of offerings to royal ancestors.<sup>1</sup> According to RTC 46 ovine offerings were made on the first day at the *ki-gú-ka* for the deceased governor, Enentarzi, on the second day at the *ki-a-nag* for Enentarzi and at the *é-ki-SiL-la* for Dudu, the chief administrator of the temple of Ningirsu, and on the third day at the *gú-šu-RIN-na* for Enentarzi. These offerings to royal ancestors as well as the offerings by the Banks of Gilgamesh indicate that the cult of the dead was the major theme of the festival of Baba. Kobayashi observes: "In the case of the festival of Baba, offerings such as food and drink are explained as *i-kú-dè* '(These are) to be eaten (for the ancestors),' so that the aim of the festival seems to have been to give food and drink to the ancestors."<sup>2</sup> However, this was probably just one aspect of the festival. Festivals with netherworld themes (such as Lugalurub and Lugalurubara) were opportune occasions for providing offerings to one's ancestors in the netherworld.

One indication that the festival of Lugalurub involved ritual activities for the dead is a basket tag (DP 25) which lists among the basket's contents a tablet for Lugalurub for the *ab-è* festival. Offerings for the funerary shrines of the royal ancestors are recorded on texts for the festival of Lugalurub.<sup>3</sup> And one text (VAT 4875) lists ancestor offerings for both of these festivals. This tablet records ancestor offerings for the first day for the festival of Lugalurub and offerings to the gods Lugalurub and Adana on the second. During the festival of Lugalurubara, there were offerings to the ancestors on the first day, offerings to Lugalurubara on the second, to the *ki-a-nag* (funerary shrine) on the third, and to Gilgamesh on the fourth. On each day of both festivals there were offerings to a group of five (ancestors).<sup>4</sup>

Since Lugalurubara and Lugalurub were identified with Dumuzi, the festivals may have involved the journeys of these god to or from the netherworld, concomitant with ceremonies for important personages in the netherworld. Selz understands the ritual bathing associated with Lugalurub (*ezem-dLugal-Urub*<sub>x</sub><sup>ki-ke</sup><sub>4</sub> *a-é-ša-ga a-tu*<sub>5</sub>-a [Nikolski 289]) as purification of the god after his return from the land of the dead.

The *ab-è* festival is documented as having been celebrated in pre-Sargonic Lagaš (DP 164) and in one document the month is actually named "the *ab-è* festival of Lagaš" (HSS 3 17: *iù-èzem-ab-è-Lagaš*<sup>ki-ka</sup>). Langdon interprets the month name as meaning "the ancestors go out (from the netherworld)."<sup>5</sup>

1. For these three days of ancestor offerings being preliminary to the actual festival of Baba, see p. 54 n. 3.

2. Kobayashi, *op. cit.*, 11.

3. See T. Kobayashi, "The *ki-a-nag* of Enentarzi," *Orient* 21 (1985), 12 for the names of these ancestors.

4. Kobayashi, *op. cit.*, 13: "... the relatives of Uruinimgina (such as Uruutu, Gišri, Lugaludde, Hebaba and Hegirid) appeared as '5-ne-ne-kam' ('(they) are five')."

5. Langdon *Menologies*, 139.

As noted above, a basket tag (DP 25) lists among the basket's contents a tablet for Lugalurub (a god whose festival involved the netherworld) during the ab-è festival and offerings for the festival of Baba, another observance involving the netherworld. However, there are no references to ancestor offerings during this netherworld festival as there are for the festivals of Baba, Lugalurub, and Lugalurubara.

The sixth month in the Ur III calendar at Girsu is named for a festival of Dumuzi (<sup>i</sup>iezem-<sup>d</sup>Dumu-zi), suggesting some type of observance for the dead. However, there are no references from post-Sargonic Lagaš and Girsu to a *paternalia* or festival involving the netherworld during this month or any other month.

At Ur and Uruk a ritual common to the goddesses Inanna, Nanâ, Bēlat-šuhner, Bēlat-terraban, Annunitum, and Ulmašitum was the gi-ra-núm observance<sup>1</sup>. The term is a Sumerianized form of Akkadian *girrānu*, which in lexical lists is equated with Sumerian *ér*, "wailing." The term *ér* in Ur III texts is used to denote wails for various occasions (e.g. at Uruk the *ér-uru-nigin<sub>2</sub>-na* [Jacobsen *Copenhagen* 9] and the *ér-nigin<sub>2</sub>-a* [AnOr 7 58] and at Ur the *ér-ú-sag-gá-ke<sub>4</sub>* [UET 3 242]); whereas gi-ra-núm appears to denote a specific ritual. At Uruk the gi-ra-núm of Inanna is attested in months 1, 3, 5, 7, 8, 10, and 11; the gi-ra-núm of Nanâ in month 6; and the gi-ra-núm of Bēlat-terraban and Bēlat-šuhner in months 3, 5 (?), 6, and 8. Most of the Uruk references date to the last five days of the month. However one text indicates a multi-day observance during the middle of the month (MVN 13 715). At Ur the gi-ra-núm of Inanna is attested in month 5; the gi-ra-núm of Annunitum and Ulmašitum in months 5, 6, and 7 (?); and the gi-ra-núm of Bēlat-terraban and Bēlat-šuhner in months 1 and 10. Considering that there are additional ref-

1. Sauren (CRRA 17 [1970], 15ff.) has suggested that two related festivals of the goddess Annunitum, one fixed, the other moveable, were celebrated at Ur and Uruk. According to Sauren's hypothesis the moveable festival was the gi-ra-núm an-nu-ni-tum, "lamentation for the goddess Annunitum," also called *u<sub>4</sub>-e-ru-ba-tum*, "the day of the entrance (of the goddess)," or *u<sub>4</sub>-kaš-dé-a an-nu-ni-tum*, "the day of the libation of beer in honor of Annunitum." The gi-ra-núm of Annunitum was attested in the 5th, 6th, and 7th months. There was a second, fixed festival called *ezen-dingir-é-ta-è*, "the festival of the exit of the goddess (Annunitum) from her temple," also called *u<sub>4</sub>-du-lu-um ša Ur<sup>ki</sup>-ma*, "the day of cultic service in Ur." This second festival is attested as occurring between the end of the second month and as late as the second day of the third month. Sauren noted that offerings to Annunitum at Ur were not attested between this festival and the fifth month, at the occurrence of *ezen-dingir-ku<sub>4</sub>-ku<sub>4</sub>*, "the festival celebrating the entrance of the goddess." Thus the goddess, according to Sauren's calculations, resided in her temple, the Eulmaš in Ur, for nine months, or between 255 and 279 days, leaving for three months. Sauren, seeking a rationale for this duration, discounted the symbolism of the nine months of pregnancy as well as this duration being tied to the hot season, a period of agricultural inactivity between the harvest and the sowing, as explanations for the goddess leaving her temple. Noting that in Neo-Babylonian astronomy the goddess Annunitum represented the constellation Pisces, Sauren suggested that the dates for the two aforementioned festivals were tied to the appearance and disappearance of this constellation, which in turn influenced the determination of an intercalary month.

erences to the gi-ra-núm ritual for which we cannot determine whether the city of observance was Ur or Uruk, and taking into account our limited number of references, it seems likely that the gi-ra-núm was at least a monthly observance. In fact, at Uruk in Š41 the gi-ra-núm of Inanna apparently was observed on the 15th and 30th of the same month. The following references to a gi-ra-núm ritual are attested in the Ur III period:

| Goddess(es)   | Year | Month | Day | Location             | Textual Reference                   |
|---|------|-------|-----|----------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Inanna-da-bād-da  | Š33  | v     |     | Ur                   | PDT II 1017                         |
| Inanna-da   | Š33  | x     |     | Uruk                 | AnOr 7 53                           |
| Bēlat-šuhner  | Š35  | i     |     | Ur                   | PTS 95                              |
| Nanâ  | Š35  | vi    |     |                      | PDT II 998                          |
| Nanâ  | Š35  | vi    |     | Uruk                 | AnOr 7 55                           |
| Bēlat-šuhner /<br>Bēlat-terraban                          | Š35  | vi    |     | Uruk                 | AnOr 7 55                           |
| Bēlat-šuhner /<br>Bēlat-terraban                          | Š35  | x     |     | Ur                   | AnOr 7 56                           |
| Inanna-da-bād-da  | Š36  | ix    |     | Uruk(?) <sup>1</sup> | AnOr 7 60                           |
| Inanna-da-bād-da  | Š36  |       |     | Uruk                 | AnOr 7 57                           |
| Inanna  | Š37  | v     |     | Uruk                 | Jacobsen<br><i>Copenhagen</i> 9     |
| Annunitum/Ulmašitum                                       | Š37  | v     |     | Ur                   | AnOr 7 61                           |
| Inanna  | Š37  | vi    |     |                      | AnOr 7 62                           |
| Inanna  | Š37  | vi    |     | Tummal               | MVN 3 153                           |
| Bēlat-šuhner  | Š38  | v?    |     | Uruk                 | Jones-Snyder SET 42                 |
| Inanna ša <sup>ti</sup> š <sup>3</sup> kirig <sub>6</sub> | Š39  | viii  | 12  |                      | RBC 2493                            |
| Annunitum/Ulmašitum                                       | Š40  | vii   | 6   | Uruk                 | Legrain TRU 273                     |
| Inanna  | Š40  | i     | 25  |                      | Archi-Pomponio<br><i>Drehem</i> 184 |
| Inanna  | Š40  | x     | 27  | Uruk                 | MVN 5 93                            |
| Inanna  | Š40  | x     |     | Uruk                 | PTS 833                             |
| Inanna  | Š40  | x     | 29  | Uruk                 | AnOr 7 66                           |
| Inanna  | Š40  | xi    | 30  | Uruk                 | A4233                               |
| Inanna  | Š40  | ?     | 30  | Uruk(?)              | AnOr 7 65                           |
| Inanna  | Š41  | i     | 30  | Uruk                 | Legrain TRU 274                     |
| Inanna  | Š41  | i     | 15  | Uruk                 | Toronto 910.209.5                   |
| Inanna  | Š41  | vii   | 26  | Uruk                 | Legrain TRU 275                     |
| Inanna  | Š42  | iii   | 13  | Uruk                 | AnOr 18 21                          |
| Bēlat-šuhner /<br>Bēlat-terraban                          | Š42  | iii   | 13  | Uruk                 | AnOr 18 21 <sup>2</sup>             |

1. Text records "in Ur," but the shrines and rituals seem to be for Uruk. Perhaps the offerings were disbursed in Ur and then sent on to Uruk.

2. AnOr 18 21 contains separate entries for the gi-ra-núm of Inanna and for the gi-ra-núm of Bēlat-šuhner and Bēlat-terraban.

|                                  |      |      |       |      |                                     |
|----------------------------------|------|------|-------|------|-------------------------------------|
| Inanna                           | \$42 | viii | 281   | Uruk | Jones-Snyder<br>SET 43 <sup>1</sup> |
| Inanna                           | \$42 | viii | 30    | Uruk | A2823                               |
| Bēlat-šuhner /<br>Bēlat-terraban | \$42 | viii | 30    | Uruk | A2823 <sup>2</sup>                  |
| Inanna                           | \$45 | v    | 14    |      | PDT 1 645                           |
| Inanna-DU-a                      | \$45 | vii  | 15    | Uruk | AnOr 7 72                           |
| Inanna ša é-gal                  | \$45 | vii  | 25    |      | A4200                               |
| Inanna                           | \$45 | xi   | 25    | Uruk | Nesbit 12                           |
| Annunītum/Ulmašītum              | \$46 | vi   | 21    | Ur   | AnOr 7 83                           |
| Inanna                           | \$47 | v    | 30    |      | OA 11, 263 no. 2                    |
| [ ]                              | \$48 | x    |       | Uruk | CT 32 pl. 49                        |
| Inanna                           | AS2  | viii | 15-18 | Uruk | MVN 13 715                          |
| Inanna                           | AS3  | xii  | 28    |      | PDT 1 61                            |
| Bēlat-šuhner                     | AS9  | xi   |       |      | Durand Catalogue<br>EPHE 306        |
| [ ]                              | SS1  | vii  | 24    | Uruk | TIM 6 8                             |
| Bēlat-šuhner /<br>Bēlat-terraban | [ ]  | [ ]  | 1     |      | A2957                               |

Although these economic documents do not supply the mythological basis for the gi-ra-núm observance, the most apparent background for ritual wailing for Inanna is the common motif of her imprisonment in the netherworld, as narrated in such compositions as Inanna's Descent. However, the observance of this ritual throughout the year indicates that it was not based upon a mythological explanation for one particular agricultural activity or for one natural phenomenon.

The gi-ra-núm ritual, at least that of Annunītum and Ulmašītum at Ur, included a banquet (kaš-dé-a) as part of the observance, perhaps a joyous meal celebrating the return of the goddesses from the netherworld.<sup>3</sup>

| Festival                 | Related Context        | Date       | Reference       |
|--------------------------|------------------------|------------|-----------------|
| u4 kaš-dé-a-An-nu-ni-tum | gi-ra-núm Annunītum/Ur | \$37 v     | AnOr 7 61       |
| kaš-dé-a-An-nu-ni-tum    | gi-ra-núm Annunītum    | \$40 vii 6 | Legrain TRU 273 |
| u4 kaš-dé-a-An-nu-ni-tum | gi-ra-núm Annunītum/Ur | \$46 vi 21 | AnOr 7 83       |

Offerings for several days of festivities at early Old Babylonian Ešnunna are recorded on a tablet dated to the 18th day of *Abum* (TA 1931-325). This

text mentions the day of the *elum* as an observance for Bēlat-šukner (=Bēlat-šuhner). The day of the *elum* is mentioned as a special day for Bēlat-terraban in the month *Abum* in another Ešnunna tablet (TA 1931-261) dated to the 13th of the month ( $\frac{1}{2}$  sila ne-IZI-gar-še u4 e-lu-um<sup>d</sup>Nin-tèr-ra-ba-an<sup>iti</sup>A-bu-um u4-13). The ne-IZI-gar offering, which is mentioned as part of this *elum* observance at Ešnunna, was an offering associated with the cult of the dead in southern Mesopotamia. As noted, the gi-ra-núm wail was performed in Ur and Uruk for Bēlat-terraban and Bēlat-šuhner. Possibly the goddesses Bēlat-terraban and Bēlat-šuhner were mythologized as journeying to the netherworld, similar to the myths surrounding Inanna.

Two Drehem texts dated to the third month of \$37 and \$40 refer to offerings for the Festival of Chains (ezem-še-er-še-er-ru-um) of Bēlat-šuhner and Bēlat-terraban (A 4165): "5 grain-fed sheep as the regular offering for the sacrifices; 2 goats as the offering for the Place of Disappearance (for) the Festival of Chains (for) the temple of Bēlat-šuhner and Bēlat-terraban" and (AnOr 7 63): "1 grain-fed sheep and 2 grass-fed sheep for the (Festival) of Chains of Bēlat-šuhner and Bēlat-terraban." In this latter text the offerings were disbursed in Ur. The Festival of Chains may be based upon a myth in which Bēlat-terraban and Bēlat-šuhner were captured and led to the netherworld in chains or were chained once they arrived in the netherworld. This suggestion is bolstered by the association of offerings to the Place of Disappearance with the Festival of Chains in A4165. Consequently, the day of the *elum* at Ešnunna may have been part of this netherworld cult—particularly since *Abum* was the month of ceremonies for the dead. This may explain the special offering to Inanna of Uruk—another goddess who descended to and arose from the Netherworld. And this raises the possibility that the term *elum*, instead of deriving from *elum*, "god," may derive from *elû*, "to arise," referring to Bēlat-terraban and Bēlat-šuhner arising from the Netherworld. The orthography e-lu-um, which does not convey the final weak consonant, may be a result of "Sumerianizing" the term (e-lu-um-še in our text).

The term *tirum*, which occurs in this Ešnunna tablet in "the day of the *tirum*," is presumably the same term as the month name, which is attested as early as the Sargonic period. The term *tirum* in our context may be related to *tāru*, "to return," (as with *tīru*, *tīrānu*, "twisting") thus the day of the *elum* followed by the day of *tirum*, the day of arising from the netherworld followed by the day of the return to the netherworld. Note that the month *Tirum* at Sippar immediately followed the month of the *ab/pum*, *Isin-abi*, which might indicate that the spirits of the dead were believed to have arisen from the netherworld in *Isin-abi* and to have subsequently returned to the netherworld the following month.

Also related to this shared motif of the goddess' disappearance in the netherworld were offerings for the Place of Disappearance (nī-ki-zāḫ). These offer-

1. This tablet duplicates portions of A2823, for which see our discussion of the eighth month at Uruk. We have dated the tablet to \$42, rather than to AS6, since *A-pil-It-a* functioned as early as \$38 (Jones-Snyder SET 42).

2. A2823 contains separate entries for the gi-ra-núm of Inanna and for the gi-ra-núm of Bēlat-šuhner and Bēlat-terraban.

3. PTS 1377 records the banquet of Bēlat-šuhner and Bēlat-terraban at Ur; but there is no mention of the gi-ra-núm observance.

ings were made in Uruk to Nanâ in months 1 (ni-ki-zàh offerings for the entrance of the *gipar*-building and ni-ki-zàh offerings for Nanâ at daybreak and morning offerings for the entrance of the shrine, the entrance of the *gipar*, and Nanâ [Durand *Catalogue EPHE* 289]) and 5 (Jacobsen *Copenhagen* 9) and for Bēlat-terraban and Bēlat-šuhner in months 7 (Legrain TRU 273), 9 (Legrain TRU 272), and 10 (Legrain TRU 284).<sup>1</sup> The ki-zàh offering was performed at Gaeš as part of the Ur á-ki-ti observance and it seems to have been connected with the cult of Bēlat-šuhner. Bēlat-šuhner and other deities travelled by barge from Ur to Nanna in Gaeš at the á-ki-ti, where there probably was a ritual lustration of Nanna's statue, followed by ceremonies wherein the visiting gods paid homage to Nanna. (Sauren *NY Public Library* 48 = *Eames Coll. E3* [Š46/AS3 vi]):

1 ewe and 1 goat for the temple of Bēlat-šuhner (at the occasion) of her going on Nanna's boat for the á-ki-ti; 1 grain-fed sheep as an offering to Nanna in the á-ki-ti; 2 grain-fed sheep, 1 duck, 2 ...-birds, 5 turtle-doves, 1 small reed-(fed) hog bred for roasting for the "place of the king" at Karzida; 2 lambs for the offering for the Place of Disappearance; [...].

The Sumerians composed works based upon a central Dumuzi myth, adding episodes or changing events. But the core of the narrative told of a Dumuzi who made merry while his ambitious and powerful wife Inanna was held captive by her sister, Ereškigal, in the netherworld. Inanna, released on condition she provide a substitute, saw her husband Dumuzi partying in her absence and, enraged, she instructed the demons to seize her unlucky spouse and drag him to the netherworld in her stead. A favorite theme of the poets was Dumuzi's futile attempts to evade the demons of the netherworld, who finally bound him and dragged him away. According to one account, his loyal sister, Geštinanna, agreed to share her brother's fate, the two of them alternating in the netherworld for six months each, a concept which was to a large degree based upon the alternation of the barley and wine-growing seasons, (Dumuzi embodied the grain, Geštinanna the vine).<sup>2</sup>

The god Dumuzi evolved into the most complicated, multi-faceted deity in the Mesopotamian pantheon, becoming a syncretic figure embodying, as Jacobsen observes, the power behind the date-palm (Amaušumgalanna), the power in the milk (Dumuzi the shepherd), and the power of the life-giving waters entering the trees as sap (Damu).<sup>3</sup>

The kings of Ur identified themselves with Dumuzi the shepherd, for, as the metaphor repeated throughout their inscriptions and prayers reminds

1. For references to discussions of the term ki-zàh, see Gregoire AAS 191. Note Legrain TRU 272 for the ni-ki-zàh of the temple of Iškur at Uruk. This offering may have been directed to a goddess residing in Iškur's temple and not to Iškur himself, for whom detention in the netherworld is unknown in the mythology.

2. Jacobsen *Treasures*, 62.

3. Jacobsen *Tammuz*, 82ff.

us, they were the shepherds of their people. So too there was a strong bond between Ur and the traditions of Uruk, where Dumuzi in ancient times supposedly reigned as king. And this identification persisted after the ruler's death—the dead king was Dumuzi, who had been carried away by the demons. In fact the composition "Inanna and Bilulu," which relates a totally different scenario surrounding the death of Dumuzi, may have been commissioned by Šulgi to mythologize his father Ur-Nammu's tragic death while away on a campaign.<sup>1</sup> It seemed natural that festivals for the deceased Dumuzi evolved into festivals for the deceased kings.

Dumuzi/Tammuz was the power in the barley seeds planted in the fall, which ultimately would manifest itself in the bountiful harvest of the spring. Thus from autumn through the first months of spring, Dumuzi—the grain—was growing and prospering. Yet by summer, the fourth month, the grain had been cut down and only the stubble remained—Dumuzi was spent. Thus the summer was the occasion to mourn for the dead Dumuzi, for the power in the seeds and grain which was no more. Jacobsen observes "His [Dumuzi's] death, accordingly, is when the grain is cut at harvest and then brewed into beer which goes into storage underground: that is to say, into the netherworld."<sup>2</sup> The theme of the death of the god embodying the power of the grain at this time of year is also prevalent at Ugarit, as described in the myth of Ba'al.<sup>3</sup>

And Dumuzi's role as the power in the growth of the herds, new-life for both animals and vegetation, enabled him to become the power behind the coming of spring—the time of new life perhaps realized through the sacred marriage.

All these aspects of Dumuzi/Tammuz (and perhaps others yet not noted) served as the bases for the cults of Dumuzi for over three millennia throughout Mesopotamia.

The twelfth month of the Ur III Umma calendar was named for Dumuzi. Two Sargonic *mu-iti*-tablets from Umma record the delivery of goats and skins for the festival of Dumuzi (MAD 4 82; MAD 4 116). A third tablet (MAD 4 149) mentions the field of Dumuzi (a-ša-<sup>d</sup>Dumu-zi-da). Kutscher, noting the absence of a temple of Dumuzi in Umma, suggests "From these scanty data it seems that Umma celebrated a festival in honor of Dumuzi, perhaps

1. See Jacobsen *Tammuz*, 52ff. "The Myth of Inanna and Bilulu" and note M.E. Cohen *Ersemma*, 72 n. 207 for a note on our interpretation of the composition.

2. Jacobsen *Treasures*, 62.

3. J.C. de Moor, *The Seasonal Pattern in the Ugaritic Myth of Ba'lu*, AOAT 16. Cf. M. Astour, "The Nether World and Its Denizens at Ugarit," *Death in Mesopotamia, Mesopotamia* 8, B. Alster, ed. (Copenhagen, 1980), 230-231: "Môt is identified with ripe grain which is cut, winnowed, partially burned (straw and chaff), partially ground into flour, and partially sown, for the next harvest, in the fields, where some of it is eaten by the birds; and that in Ugarit, as in other agricultural societies all over the world, reaping was perceived as the slaying of the "spirit of the grain," ..."



the sacred marriage rite, independent of a temple ... The field mentioned above [MAD 4 149] might have been the site of the festivities." However, in the Ur III period the observance appears to have been celebrated in a courtyard (kisal-e<sub>11</sub>-e).<sup>1</sup> Th. Jacobsen has suggested that the festival of Dumuzi in Umma was to celebrate the sacred marriage with Innana, in the form of the *entu*-priestess. Jacobsen cites Or 47-49 (1930) 344 which dates to the twelfth month of AS5: 3 udu-ú 3 máš<sup>d</sup> Dumu-zi en-šè gin-na, "3 grass-fed sheep and 3 male goats for Dumuzi going to the priestess."<sup>2</sup> Kutscher notes "This text also records gifts of small cattle to Dumuzi in Umma and Ki-dingir, as well as to other deities, to the dead Šulgi, to Amar-Suen and to the ki-a-nag of dead ensis. Other texts dated to the twelfth month record expenditures for Dumuzi's wedding gifts (nīg-mí-ús-sá), probably to Innana."<sup>3</sup> Noting other tablets which indicate a journey of Dumuzi of Urua, Kutscher suggests that his destination for reaching the priestess was Ki-dingir and Apisal.

There are three Ur III texts dealing with preparations for the festival of Dumuzi.<sup>4</sup> MVN 5 50 is dated to the month it<sup>i</sup> d<sup>d</sup> Dumu-zi in AS6. The JCS 24 (1972) text is closely related since the same individual, A-lu<sub>5</sub>-lu<sub>5</sub>, took charge of the offerings. All three texts list offerings on behalf of both Šulgi and Amar-Suen,<sup>5</sup> refer to ceremonies in the kisal-gešbu<sub>2</sub><sup>ba</sup>-e<sub>11</sub>-e or kisal-e<sub>11</sub>-e, and mention offerings for the má-sar-sar-re boats. AO 6040 records an opulent assortment of fruits, cheeses, honey and oil for the "festival of Dumuzi (for) Šulgi" and for the "festival of Dumuzi (for) Amar-Suen." The other two texts list two sets of *satukku*-offerings, one on behalf of Šulgi and the other on behalf of Amar-Suen. All three texts mention offerings loaded(?) onto special boats, má-sar-sar-(r)e. Possibly these ritual boats, bearing special offerings for Dumuzi, were set adrift along the canal, intended to fetch Dumuzi's back from the netherworld, the means by which Dumuzi would cross the river separating the netherworld from Sumer.

A most important aspect of the observance as seen in these three texts is that the ceremonies were not restricted to deceased monarchs, since at least MVN 5 50 occurred in the sixth year of Amar-Suen's reign. Clearly the Ur III monarchs, in particular Šulgi, identified themselves closely with Dumuzi. And rather than being offerings to dead kings identified with Dumuzi, we

suggest that these offerings were being made on behalf of the kings to Dumuzi, the shepherd, to the harbinger of spring, and that this festival did not involve a cult of the dead Ur III kings. This Umma festival may have marked the beginning of the process in which Dumuzi, the power of the herds and new life, returned from the netherworld, the return of spring. And it is not unreasonable to suggest that upon Dumuzi's return, he would have needed to have been reunited with his spouse, Innana, thus providing the setting for the reenactment of the sacred marriage rite, as Jacobsen suggests.

The month of Dumuzi was the sixth month in Ur III Girsu. There is little known of the cult of Dumuzi at Lagaš/Girsu, except that any cult associated with this Girsu month does not seem to have been related to Dumuzi's reemergence on earth as a harbinger of spring.

During the fifth month (ne-IZI-gar/*Isin-abi*) at Old Babylonian Sippar there is a reference to the *ūm kimit*<sup>d</sup> Dumu-zi "the day of the captivity of Dumuzi" (YOS 12 427). During the first millennium B.C. this tradition continued, two texts referring to the entire month as the time of Dumuzi's captivity.<sup>1</sup> The mythology surrounding Dumuzi in this month is alluded to in the Assyrian Astrolabe B: "The month Dumuzi, Orion, (the month) of Papsukkal, the exalted vizier of An and Ištar, the month of heaping up of seed, of sprouting of the early sowing, the cry of Ninrurugu, the month the shepherd Dumuzi was bound." This "binding of Dumuzi" is mentioned also in a Seleucid Babylonian ritual text: ITI *ki-mi-tum*<sup>d</sup> [...] ... *ina* BARA<sub>2</sub> SIPA [...], "the month of the binding, [Dumuzi] ... on the dais the shepherd [...]."<sup>2</sup>

In early second millennium Mari the fourth month marked the occasion for a cult of Dumuzi which included female mourners.<sup>3</sup> R. Kutscher cites further first millennium evidence as to the annual observance of the festival of Dumuzi:<sup>4</sup> (1) Gilgameš VI 46-47: "for Dumuzi, the beloved of your youth, you decreed an annual wailing (*ana šatti bitakkā*)"; (2) an incantation against seizure by demons to be performed: "in the month Dumuzi (it<sup>i</sup>ŠU) when Ištar made the people of the land wail over Dumuzi, her beloved."<sup>5</sup> And Kutscher cites the famous vision of the Hebrew prophet Ezekial who saw the women of Jerusalem mourning over Tammuz.<sup>6</sup>

Jacobsen cites an Aššur incantation in which Dumuzi is asked to take a troublesome ghost along with him to the netherworld and in which the 28th

1. "The Cult of Dumuzi," *Bar-Ilan Studies in Assyriology*, 32. Kutscher notes Nikolski 2 14, the only Umma text to mention a temple of Dumuzi at Umma and at Urua. Kutscher suggests that this may refer to a small cella for Dumuzi's statue or to a temple located outside of Umma.

2. Jacobsen in *Unity and Diversity*, 78 n. 6 and Kutscher, *op. cit.*, 33.

3. Kutscher, *op. cit.*, 34; add Toronto 925.62.166 (SS3 xii).

4. AO 6040, MVN 5 50, and G. Wilhelm, "Eine neusumerische Urkunde zur Beopferung verstorbener Könige," JCS 24 (1972), 83.

5. Yildiz and Gomi *Umma* no. 1863 (AS9) is another example of festival offerings made on behalf of a deceased monarch: nl-ezem-ma<sup>d</sup> Šulgi-ra ... nl-ezem-ma<sup>d</sup> Amar-Suen.

1. See CAD K 373 sub *kimitu* and see pp. 315ff.

2. SBH p. 245. During the fifth month at Old Babylonian Sippar, the month of the *ab/pum* festival, there is a reference to the *ūm kimit*<sup>d</sup> DUMU.ZI "the day of the captivity/binding of Dumuzi" (YOS 12 427).

3. See p. 289.

4. "The Cult of Dumuzi," *Bar-Ilan Studies in Assyriology*, 42.

5. LKA 69.

6. Ezekial 8:14.

of the month was called the "Day of the Stall."<sup>1</sup> (The sheepfold or stall was the place where Dumuzi was captured by the *galla*-demons who subsequently dragged him to the netherworld.<sup>2</sup>) On the 29th day a couch was erected on which the dead shepherd would lie in state. At Nineveh, Aššur and Calah, where there was wailing for Dumuzi, his statue was displayed from the 26th to 28th while in Arbela it was displayed from the 27th to 29th, as is noted in this letter to the king:<sup>3</sup>

On the 26th the god [...], on the 27th the god [...], on the 28th the god Tam[uzu ...]. On the morning of the 26th they introduce [...] (and) the dis[play] takes place; on the 2[7]th and the 28th they do] in like manner. This is for the city of Assur. On the 26th: the wailing, on the 27th: the redemption, on the 28th: Tamuzu. In this way the display is performed in Nineveh. In Calah, the display (takes place) on the 27th (and) the 28th in like manner. In [Arbe]la, the displays [take place] on the 27th, the 28th (and) the 2[9]th]. (*Remainder not preserved*).

The following letter to the king mentions this same observance in Arbela.<sup>4</sup> Parpola suggests that this second letter was "to make sure that the important ceremonies of Arbela would not be performed on the same days as the corresponding ceremonies in the other cities of Assyria, which lasted from Tamuzu 26 to Tamuzu 28."<sup>5</sup>

[As re]gards what the king, my lord, wrote to me: "The present day, [t]omorrow, (and) the day after tomorrow, these are (the days) [of] the displays!", on [the ...]th [day] the king, my lord, said as follows about the old displays: "In Arbela, the display should be arranged from the 27th till the 29th day."

According to Parpola the 'displays' mentioned in this letter refer "to the exhibition of (a statue of) the (dead) god (lying on biers) to his devotees (mourners, sick people hoping for miraculous cure, etc.)."<sup>6</sup>

The capture and death of Dumuzi is mentioned in another ritual text, presumably for this month, as translated by Livingstone, *Court Poetry* no. 38 rev. 2-8):<sup>7</sup>

[...] are [perfor]med until the 30th day.  
[The ...th day is] the striking [when ...] goes down [to ...].  
[The 26th day] is the day of the screaming, the da[y when] Anu [...].  
[The 28th day] Tammuz rises at the request of [...].

1. "Religious Drama in Ancient Mesopotamia," *Unity and Diversity*, 71-72.

2. For this motif cf. Alster *Dumuzi's Dream*, 82 lines 250-261.

3. ABL 1097; translation Parpola AOAT 5/1, 5.

4. ABL 35; translation Parpola AOAT 5/1, 5.

5. Parpola, AOAT 5/2, 8-9.

6. Parpola, AOAT 5/2, 9.

7. LKA 72; see Livingstone *Court Poetry* no. 38 for a full edition of this text as well as references to other treatments of this text.

His [de]ath is when they burn the roasted barley, which they were casting on Tammuz, on the stones. The burned parts which are produced go up to the upper regions, as it is said. [The image of] your brother which they soak in beer lifts up the body of the brother, as it is said.

Jacobsen (*Unity and Diversity*, 72) translates this passage:

The 26th is the day of the hue and cry, on the 27th he is caught, Anu is ... Dumuzi is interrogated... His death is when they grind the roasted grain that has been thrown on Dumuzi on the millstones. The ... of roasted grain that is placed there (means): He ascended to the upper regions according to what they say... your brother which they moisten with beer (means): they install the brother in office according to what they say.

Jacobsen notes "The rite generally survived into Medieval times, when, we are told, the women of Harran celebrated a rite called "the rattle" at which they wept for Ta'uz, i.e., Tammuz or Dumuzi, whose master cruelly ground his bones in a mill. The women during this celebration also abstain from all milled foods."<sup>1</sup>

A Neo-Assyrian letter mentions: "The substitute figure (*šalam pūhi*) exercised its function in the town of Akkad from the 14th of *Tamuzu* to the 5th of *Abu*."<sup>2</sup> But whether this ritual is related to the Dumuzi motif is uncertain.

The death of Dumuzi was observed on the 27th of the month at Uruk, where the *kalû*-priest attempted to revive the dead god by whispering prayers into his ears:<sup>3</sup>

On the 27th day Aškayaitu returns to the E[hi]lšu. A (wooden) figurine of Dumuzi is brought out and is cast down by the main gate. [The figurine(?)] is brought in before The-Lady-of-Uruk. The *kalû*-priest whispers (the prayer) ní-šu-il-šè into the right ear and into the left ear of the piece of wood which has been cast down.

A possible reference to this particular annual wailing over Dumuzi may occur at the conclusion of the Akkadian composition "Ištar's Descent to the Netherworld" (lines 136ff., translation Foster, *Before the Muses*, 403ff.):

On the day Tammuz (says) "hurrahi,"  
the lapis flute and carnelian ring (say) "hurrahi!"  
With him (say) "hurrahi" the wailing men and wailing women,  
Let the dead come up and smell the incense.

1. Jacobsen, "Religious Drama in Ancient Mesopotamia," *Unity and Diversity*, 72.

2. ABL 46:8, quoted CAD A/2 391.

3. LKU 51 obv. 28-31.

# Index

[(m) = month name]

|   |                 |  |                                  |
|---|-----------------|--|----------------------------------|
| 'b (m)  | 299             | á-ki-ti  | 95, 97, 100ff., 125, 130f.,      |
| 'dr (m)   | 300             |  | 140ff., 150ff., 157, 164, 169,   |
| 'lul (m)  | 299             |  | 174f., 181, 201ff., 206, 214ff., |
| 'nm (m)   | 384f.           |  | 229ff., 233, 235, 390, 400ff     |
| 'yr (m)   | 299, 386        | á-ki-ti-še-kin-ku <sub>5</sub>                     | 100, 110, 124,                   |
|   |                 |  | 140, 143, 150, 152, 229          |
|   |                 | á-ki-ti-šu-numun                                   | 97ff., 140, 143, 150,            |
|   |                 |  | 152, 174, 213, 229, 231          |
|   |                 | Ab/p šarrāni (m)                                   | 243                              |
| a-a-si-ga   | 58              | ab-bi (m)  | 117, 132                         |
| a(?) -ba(?) -è (m)  | 233             | ab-bi-in (m)                                       | 117, 226                         |
| a-bi / a-bi (m)   | 117, 132, 280   | ab-è (m)   | 117                              |
| a-bi (m)  | 206             | ab-è- <sup>d</sup> Šul-gi                          | 117                              |
| d'À-da (m)  | 31              | ab-è-zi-ga (m)                                     | 202f.                            |
| dA-da-ma-um (m)   | 33              | ab-gir-gu <sub>7</sub> - <sup>d</sup> En-ki-ka (m) | 125f.                            |
| dA-dam (m)  | 368, 344        | ab-n[e-IZI(?)]-gar (m)                             | 212                              |
| dA-dam-ma (m)   | 33              | ab-pa-è (m)  | 117                              |
| dA-dam-ma-um (m)  | 33              | áb-KID-kù  | 46                               |
| a-DU-gir <sub>5</sub> <sup>ku<sub>6</sub></sup> (m)           | 8, 126          | Aba'u (m)  | 343f., 357, 359                  |
| a-é-ša-ga a-tu <sub>5</sub> -a                                | 56              | abib   | 385                              |
| a-iti-àš (m)  | 178             | Abu Šalabikh                                       | 23, 25                           |
| a-mu-wa-tim   | 288             | abul-lugal-gu <sub>4</sub> -si-su                  | 89                               |
| A.NUN.NUN (m)   | 31              | ab/pum   | 149, 259ff., 275ff.,             |
| a-pa-um (m)   | 260, 375        |  | 343f., 390, 454ff.               |
| a-pi-nu-um (m)  | 375             | Abum (m)   | 259ff., 275, 289,                |
| a si-ig   | 58              |  | 303, 317, 319ff., 363            |
| à-si-pu   | 33              | Abum II (m)  | 284                              |
| A.ŠA.DINGIR.RA.ŠE.KIN.KU <sub>5</sub> (m)                     | 362             | abzu-banda   | 47                               |
| A.ŠA.DINGIR.RA.URU <sub>4</sub> .A (m)                        | 364             | abzu-gù-i <sub>7</sub> -da                         | 47f.                             |
| a-še <sub>23</sub> -dé-a                                      | 176, 190ff.     | Adab   | 35f., 102f., 108, 117,           |
| dA-šur <sub>4</sub> /šar <sub>x</sub> (m)                     | 220             |  | 119f., 123, 201ff., 401f., 415   |
| a-tu <sub>5</sub> -a- <sup>d</sup> Dumu-zi-Urua <sup>ki</sup> | 172             | <sup>d</sup> Adad                                  | 252, 255, 278, 273,              |
| a-tu <sub>5</sub> -a- <sup>d</sup> Nè-iri <sub>11</sub> -gal  | 234             |  | 286, 293, 308f., 312f.,          |
| a-tu <sub>5</sub> -a- <sup>d</sup> Nin-tin-u <sub>5</sub> -ga | 92              |  | 323f., 331f., 337, 339, 341      |
| a-tu <sub>5</sub> -a- <sup>d</sup> Nin-urta                   | 88              |  |                                  |
| a-tu <sub>5</sub> -a- <sup>d</sup> Ninibgal                   | 181             |  |                                  |
| a-tu <sub>5</sub> -a- <sup>d</sup> Šara                       | 172, 189f., 199 |  |                                  |

|                                     |  |   |   |
|-------------------------------------|--|---|---|
| <sup>d</sup> Adamteri               | 356  | <i>anzû</i> -bird   | 292, 313, 333   |
| <i>Addaru</i> (m)                   | 18, 298, 300, 302f.,<br>308, 324, 337f.,<br>340ff., 362, 365.                | <i>Api</i> (m)  | 365   |
| <i>Adnūtum</i> (m)                  | 285, 386   | <sup>g</sup> <sub>is</sub> apin (m)                                     | 112, 208  |
| <i>AḪ-te-en-zi-im</i>               | 258  | apin-dug-a  | 112   |
| <i>ajarū</i>                        | 309  | <sup>g</sup> <sub>is</sub> apin-dug-a (m)                               | 97, 112f., 285  |
| <i>Ajarum</i> (m)                   | 258f., 262, 285,<br>298f., 303, 309ff.                                       | <sup>g</sup> <sub>is</sub> apin- <sup>d</sup> <sub>s</sub> Šarā-da-sù-a | 84  |
| <i>akūt šēri</i>                    | 403, 427   | <i>apinnum</i> (m)  | 375   |
| <i>akūtum</i>                       | 244f., 251, 306ff., 312f.,<br>323, 327ff., 331f., 335f.,<br>342, 390, 400ff. | <i>arād šarri</i>   | 306   |
| Alalakh                             | 309, 372ff.  | <i>arādum</i>   | 289   |
| <i>Allanātu</i> (m)                 | 242  | <i>Araḫsamnu</i> (m)  | 299, 303, 330ff.  |
| <sup>d</sup> AMA.KI                 | 281  | Arbela  | 316f., 323, 427   |
| <sup>d</sup> AMA-ra (m)             | 30   | <i>Arkabinni</i> (m)  | 321, 369  |
| amar-a-a-si (m)                     | 38, 40, 42,<br>60, 65ff., 69, 74f.   | <i>Arkuzzi</i> (m)  | 368   |
| amar-sag (m)                        | 125, 129   | Arrapha   | 396   |
| amar-sag-gu- <sup>d</sup> Nanna (m) | 125, 129   | <i>asakku</i> -demon  | 333   |
| Amar-Suen                           | 136, 158, 172ff., 177  | Assyria   | 297ff., 237ff.  |
| Amorites                            | 17, 248ff.   | Assyrian calendar   | 237ff.  |
| <i>amūtum</i>                       | 288  | <i>ašū</i>  | 290   |
| AN.ḪUL                              | 149f.  | AŠ.A.KU <sub>5</sub> (m)  | 233   |
| <sup>d</sup> An-na (m)              | 344, 358   | <sup>d</sup> Aš-da-PIL (m)  | 31  |
| an-ta-sur-ra                        | 42, 56f., 60   | <i>aš-ta-bi</i> (m)   | 372   |
| AN.ZA.GU.ḪAR <sup>2</sup> -um (m)   | 221  | AŠ.TE <sup>mušen</sup> (m)  | 371   |
| <i>ana ḥalli</i>                    | 288  | <sup>d</sup> Aškajaitu  | 315, 318, 334, 336  |
| <i>ana ḥumtim</i>                   | 289  | <i>Ašlum</i> (m)  | 221   |
| <i>ana kulīlī</i>                   | 289  | <sup>d</sup> Ašnan  | 116, 167, 171,<br>175, 195, 197, 199                                |
| <i>ana pašāš Annunūtīm</i>          | 290  | <i>Aššetkupi</i> (m)  | 366   |
| <i>ana temrim</i>                   | 289  | Aššur <sup>ki</sup>   | 237f., 244, 246f., 306f.,<br>316, 403ff., 417f., 420ff.             |
| <i>ana zarāq ekallim</i>            | 293  | <sup>d</sup> Aššur  | 243, 247, 308, 312, 321,<br>323, 328, 333f., 338ff.,<br>404, 420ff. |
| <i>An(n)a</i>                       | 244  | Aššurbanipal  | 315, 323f., 336, 338,<br>403, 424, 427, 452                         |
| Anšan                               | 364f.  | Aššurnāširpal II  | 323, 337  |
| <sup>d</sup> Anšar                  | 422  | <sup>d</sup> Aštāpir  | 31  |
| <sup>d</sup> Antu                   | 309, 329f., 342  | <i>Attanaš</i> (m)  | 369, 373  |
| <sup>d</sup> Anu                    | 306, 311, 314, 317,<br>323ff., 335, 337, 339, 341                            | <i>Attanatu</i> (m)   | 373   |
| Anunna-gods                         | 319, 326ff.  | <i>Az-za-li</i> (m)   | 373   |
| Annunītum                           | 86, 102, 136ff., 154,<br>210, 215, 290, 472ff.                               |   |   |

- B -

|                                 |                                     |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| <sup>d</sup> Ba-ba <sub>6</sub> | 39, 42, 51ff.,<br>57, 60, 65ff., 75 |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------|

|  |   |   |  |
|--|---|---|--|
| <sup>d</sup> Ba-ba <sub>6</sub> -ē-gibil-na          |   | <i>Bibbulum</i> (m)                     | 273, 282                                 |
| gin-gin-na (m)                                       | 42, 57, 60  | <sup>d</sup> Birikkum (m)               | 285f.                                    |
| <i>Ba-ḫi-ir</i> EGIR (m)                             | 35  | <i>Birizarrum</i> (m)                   | 286, 288                                 |
| <i>Ba-ḫi-ir</i> IGI (m)                              | 35  | <i>bīt kupri</i>                        | 290                                      |
| <i>Ba-ḫi-ir</i> IGI.ME (m)                           | 35  | <i>bl</i> (m)                           | 384f.                                    |
| <i>Ba-ḫi-ir</i> MA (m)                               | 35  | Boat of An (see mā-an-na)               |  |
| <i>Ba-la-e</i> (m)                                   | 373   | Borsippa                                | 311                                      |
| <i>Ba-ra-um</i> (m)                                  | 221   | Brazier Festival (see <i>kinūnum</i> )  |  |
| Ba'al  | 263, 344, 348,<br>350, 352f., 356f., 379ff.                               | Burials                                 | 460                                      |
| Babylon  | 234f., 307f., 310f., 313,<br>315, 323, 329, 334ff., 437ff.                | buru <sub>14</sub> -maš (m)             | 43, 70                                   |
| BAD-li (m)   | 30  | buru <sub>x</sub> -maš (m)              | 15, 37f.,<br>43f., 65ff., 69ff.          |
| Badtibira  | 53, 235   |   |  |
| <i>Bakeyatiš</i> (m)                                 | 366   | - C -                                   |  |
| BAL-na (m)   | 233   | Calah                                   | 332, 337, 345, 427                       |
| BAR.SAG.SAG (m)                                      | 299, 364  | Carchemish                              | 285                                      |
| Bāra-nam-tar-ra                                      | 53  | Chagar Bazar                            | 255ff., 262                              |
| bāra-za-gāl-ra (m)                                   | 80  | Chariot of Nergal                       | 292                                      |
| bāra-za-gar (m)                                      | 80  | Courtyard Festival                      |  |
| bāra-za-gar (m)                                      | 80ff., 254  | (see <i>ezem-kisal</i> )                |  |
| <sup>d</sup> Bēl                                     | 312f., 322ff., 328f.,<br>333, 337, 341, 420ff.                            | Cruciform Inscription                   |  |
| <sup>d</sup> Bēlat-šuhner                            | 103, 136ff., 145, 147,<br>151, 154, 210f., 214f.,<br>217f., 252f., 472ff. | of Maništūšu                            | 396                                      |
| <sup>d</sup> Bēlat-terraban                          | 103, 136ff., 145, 147,<br>154, 210f., 214f., 217f.,<br>252f., 472ff.      | Curse of Akkad                          | 107, 111, 123                            |
|  |   | Cuthean Legend of                       |  |
|  |   | Naram-Sin                               | 307                                      |
|  |   | - D -                                   |  |
| <sup>d</sup> Bēlet-apim                              | 257   | <sup>d</sup> Da-gan                     | 104, 285, 289ff.,<br>294, 338ff., 344ff. |
| <sup>d</sup> Bēlet-Babili                            | 315, 422  | <i>Da-ḫu-bu-um</i> (m)                  | 221                                      |
| <sup>d</sup> Bēlet-biri (m)                          | 284   | Daduša                                  | 396                                      |
| <sup>d</sup> Bēlet-ekalli                            | 290f., 347ff.   | <sup>d</sup> Dagan (m)                  | 283                                      |
| <sup>d</sup> Bēlet-ekalli (m)                        | 239   | <sup>d</sup> Dam-gal-nun-na             | 183, 185, 203                            |
| <sup>d</sup> Bēlū-ekallim (m)                        | 239, 243  | Day of the Stall                        | 316                                      |
| <sup>d</sup> Bēlet-Erum                              | 284   | <i>dbḫm</i> (m)                         | 378, 380                                 |
| <sup>d</sup> Bēlet-ili                               | 315   | Death and Resurrection                  |  |
| <sup>d</sup> Bēlet-Sippar                            | 427   | of Marduk                               | 420ff.                                   |
| <i>Belili</i> (m)                                    | 365   | Death of Gilgameš                       | 103, 456f.                               |
| <i>Belilit</i> (m)                                   | 366   | DI-kin- <sup>d</sup> Inanna (m)         | 104                                      |
| <sup>d</sup> Bēltiya                                 | 312, 337  | Dilbat                                  | 270, 427                                 |
| <sup>d</sup> Bēltu-ša-Uruk                           | 342, 427  | DINGIR-gu <sub>4</sub> -gu <sub>4</sub> | 138f.                                    |
| <i>bi-in</i> <sup>d</sup> DARA <sub>3</sub> .GAL (m) | 314   | DINGIR-ku-ku                            | 138f.                                    |
|  |   | DINGIR-ku <sub>4</sub> -ku <sub>4</sub> | 138f.                                    |

|  |                          |  |                              |
|--|--------------------------|--|------------------------------|
| diri (m)   | 188                      | È (m)  | 32                           |
| diri-ezem-an-na (m)                                | 159                      | è-lu-núm   | 145, 224                     |
| diri-ezem <sup>d</sup> Me-ki-gál (m)               | 159, 225                 | è-ru-ba-tum  | 138                          |
| diri-kù (m)  | 188                      | <sup>d</sup> Ea                                      | 307, 324, 326,               |
| diri-še-kin-ku <sub>5</sub> (m)                    | 76, 124, 134, 188        |  | 340, 348, 350f., 355         |
| <sup>d</sup> Diritum                               | 290, 293                 | Eanna  | 311, 314f., 318, 323,        |
| Disputation of Plow and Hoe                        | 96, 331                  |  | 329f., 334, 336f., 342       |
| Donkey Festival                                    | 310, 374f., 382          | Early Semitic calendar                               | 15, 23ff.                    |
| Drehem   | 131ff., 205              | Ebla   | 23ff.                        |
| du <sub>6</sub> -kù (m)                            | 106ff., 168, 261,        | Eblaite calendar                                     | 24                           |
|  | 328, 460, 464            | <i>Ebūrum</i> (m)                                    | 282, 284, 293                |
| du <sub>6</sub> -UD.UD                             | 107                      | <i>Ebūrum</i> II (m)                                 | 284f.                        |
| du <sub>6</sub> -ūr                                | 108, 140, 142,           | Egidda   | 466                          |
|  | 150f., 406, 409ff.       | Eḡenunna   | 332                          |
| du <sub>8</sub>                                    | 112                      | Eḡiliana   | 329                          |
| <sup>d</sup> Dumu-zi (m)                           | 186ff., 254, 262f., 287, | Eḡilikuga  | 329                          |
|  | 315ff.                   | Eḡilšu   | 318, 336                     |
| <sup>d</sup> Dumuzi                                | 44, 47, 53, 55f., 64,    | Eḡuršaba   | 311                          |
|  | 66, 73f., 76, 162ff.,    | Ekarzida   | 403, 406ff.                  |
|  | 171, 185ff., 262,        | Ekišnugal  | 140, 142, 150f., 160,        |
|  | 289f., 315ff., 476ff.    |  | 409ff., 467                  |
| <sup>d</sup> Dumuzi of Badtibira                   | 233, 235, 416            | Elam   | 299, 303, 322f.,             |
| <sup>d</sup> Dumuzi of Urua                        | 172, 186                 |  | 337, 340, 362ff.             |
| - E -  |                          | <i>elē šarri</i>                                     | 306                          |
| <i>e-bi<sub>5</sub>-ti</i> (m)                     | 280, 282                 | <i>elippu</i>  | 290                          |
| <i>e-ki-na</i> (m)                                 | 373                      | <i>elūlum</i>  | 233f., 277                   |
| <i>e-MA-tum</i> (m)                                | 206                      | <i>Elūlum</i> (m)                                    | 206, 270f., 277,             |
| <i>e-maš</i>                                       | 312                      |  | 299, 303, 321f.              |
| <i>e-qa-li</i> (m)                                 | 373                      | <i>elum</i>  | 252f., 475                   |
| <i>e-ru-ba-tum</i>                                 | 138                      | <i>elūnum</i>  | 138, 145, 211, 229f., 234f., |
| <i>é-en-na</i>                                     | 53                       |  | 257f., 277, 397ff.           |
| <i>é-gal<sup>d</sup>Lugal-gu<sub>4</sub>-si-su</i> | 89                       | <i>Elūnum</i> (m)                                    | 233, 49f., 254f., 271, 273   |
| <i>é-gibil</i>                                     | 42, 56f., 60, 71         | Emar   | 260, 301, 303, 326, 350ff.   |
| <i>é-iti</i>                                       | 180                      | Emašmaš  | 335                          |
| <i>é-iti-āš</i> (m)                                | 178ff.                   | Emeteurur  | 311                          |
| <i>é-iti-da-buru<sub>14</sub></i>                  | 180                      | <sup>d</sup> En (m)                                  | 343, 345                     |
| <i>é-ki-SĪL-la</i>                                 | 54                       | <sup>d</sup> En-dag <sub>x</sub> (AMAS)-ga-DU.DU (m) | 220                          |
| <i>é-PA</i>  | 46, 51                   | <sup>d</sup> En-du <sub>6</sub> -kù-ga               | 107                          |
| <i>é-sikil</i>                                     | 236                      | <sup>d</sup> En-ki                                   | 60, 86f., 108, 111,          |
| <i>é-sizkur</i>                                    | 444                      |  | 126, 158, 180, 203, 216      |
| <i>é-tūr</i>                                       | 58, 60, 74, 235          | <sup>d</sup> En-ki-im-du                             | 184                          |
| <i>é-[...]AN</i> (m)                               | 235                      | Enegi  | 465ff.                       |
|  |                          | Enki and the World Order                             | 84, 180,                     |

|  |                        |   |                       |
|--|------------------------|---|-----------------------|
|  | 184, 204               | ezem-buru <sub>x</sub> -maš (m)                         | 65, 70                |
| Enkidanigin                                    | 64                     | ezem-DINGIR-ku-ku                                       | 138f.                 |
| <sup>d</sup> Enmešarra                         | 325, 336               | ezem-DINGIR-ku <sub>4</sub> -(ku <sub>4</sub> )         | 138f.                 |
| Enūma Eliš                                     | 101, 108, 420ff.       | ezem-du <sub>6</sub> -kù                                | 85, 109               |
| Eponym year                                    | 237f.                  | ezem-du <sub>6</sub> -x (m)                             | 222                   |
| Equinox Year                                   | 6, 140f.               | ezem- <sup>d</sup> Dumu-zi                              | 162f., 192f., 205     |
| ér-ēš-banda                                    | 230                    | ezem- <sup>d</sup> Dumu-zi (m)                          | 68ff., 74, 185, 221   |
| ér-gu-la                                       | 230                    | ezem-dūr-ru-na  | 112                   |
| ér-ki-gu-la                                    | 158                    | EZEM <i>e-lu-lu-ū</i>                                   | 235                   |
| ér-nigin <sub>2</sub> -a                       | 210                    | ezem-é-iti-āš   | 178, 181ff.           |
| ér-ú-sag-gá                                    | 144, 164, 472          | ezem-é-iti-āš- <sup>d</sup> Šarā-Umma <sup>ki</sup>     | 178                   |
| ér-uru-nigin <sub>2</sub> -na                  | 210                    | ezem-é-tūr-ra   | 235                   |
| <i>erēšum</i>                                  | 293                    | ezem- <sup>d</sup> En-ki                                | 158                   |
| <sup>d</sup> Ereškigal                         | 260, 351ff., 355       | ezem-ga-ma-am-ē   | 213f.                 |
| Eridu  | 216, 229               | ezem-ga-ma-am-mu-ē                                      | 115, 213f.            |
| Esabad   | 315, 333               | ezem-gidim-ma   | 103                   |
| Esagil   | 307, 313, 319, 336,    | ezem-giš-gi   | 100                   |
|  | 403, 405, 438, 440,    | ezem-gu <sub>4</sub> -rá-IZI-mú-mú (m)                  | 50, 66, 72            |
|  | 442ff., 446ff., 451    | ezem-gu <sub>4</sub> -si-sù (m)                         | 81, 83ff., 110        |
| eš-ga-zu (m)                                   | 221                    | ezem- <sup>na</sup> gug-alam-                           |                       |
| éš-gana <sub>2</sub> -ra (m)                   | 201f.                  | <sup>d</sup> En-líl-lá                                  | 124                   |
| éš-gār-šu-gar-ra (m)                           | 201f.                  | EZEM <i>ḥiyar(r)aš</i>                                  | 374                   |
| Ešnunna  | 25ff., 132f., 135ff.,  | ezem- <sup>d</sup> Inanna (m)                           | 105, 208              |
|  | 148, 154, 205, 250ff., | ezem- <sup>d</sup> Inanna-sig                           | 209                   |
|  | 396, 416f., 474f.      | ezem- <sup>d</sup> Inanna-UD                            | 209                   |
| Eturnunna                                      | 324                    | ezem-KI.NE  | 234                   |
| Etuša  | 442ff.                 | ezem-KIN (m)  | 168, 222              |
| ezem-3-kù                                      | 163                    | ezem-kisal-la   | 53, 470               |
| ezem-a-dara <sub>4</sub> (m)                   | 207f.                  | EZEM <i>Kiskissum</i> (m)                               | 251                   |
| ezem-a-ga (m)                                  | 207f.                  | ezem-ku-ku  | 138f.                 |
| ezem-ab-ē                                      | 117, 461               | ezem-kù-ga  | 158                   |
| ezem-ab-ē (m)                                  | 38, 41f., 51, 58       | ezem-ku <sub>4</sub> -ku <sub>4</sub>                   | 138f.                 |
| ezem-ab-ē-Lagaš <sup>ki</sup> -ka (m)          | 58                     | ezem- <sup>d</sup> Li <sub>9</sub> -si <sub>4</sub> (m) | 38, 41, 51,           |
| ezem- <sup>d</sup> Am-an-ki-ga                 | 158                    |   | 65f., 68ff., 208, 221 |
| ezem-amar-a-a-si (m)                           | 58, 65, 75             | ezem- <sup>d</sup> Lugal-amaš (m)                       | 212                   |
| ezem- <sup>d</sup> Amar- <sup>d</sup> Suen (m) | 171, 177f.             | ezem- <sup>d</sup> Lugal-é-muš (m)                      | 212                   |
| ezem-AN.ḤÚL                                    | 149f., 469             | ezem- <sup>d</sup> Lugal-uru-bar-ra (m)                 | 38, 40,               |
| ezem-an-na                                     | 78, 158f.              |   | 42, 55                |
| ezem-an-si <sub>4</sub> -an-na (m)             | 221                    | ezem- <sup>d</sup> Lugal-urub <sup>ki</sup> (m)         | 55f.                  |
| ezem-an-ta-sur-ra                              | 57                     | ezem-mā-an-na (m)                                       | 215f., 234            |
| ezem-apin                                      | 113                    | ezem-mā-nu-ru   | 141f., 229, 231f.     |
| ezem- <sup>d</sup> Ba-ba <sub>6</sub> (m)      | 39ff., 51, 53, 65f.,   | ezem-mā- <sup>d</sup> Suen                              | 142, 153, 232         |
|  | 69f., 75, 221          | ezem-maḥ (m)  | 156ff., 232           |

|   |                               |   |                         |
|---|-------------------------------|---|-------------------------|
| ezem-mah-an-na (m)  | 158                           | ezem-šu-numun                                     | 98, 174f., 178, 189f.   |
| ezem-mah- <sup>d</sup> Nanna (m)  | 129                           | ezem- <sup>d</sup> Šu- <sup>d</sup> Suen          | 154f.                   |
| ezem-mah- <sup>d</sup> Nin-a-zu <sub>5</sub> -ka (m)                                | 125, 131                      | ezem- <sup>d</sup> Šu- <sup>d</sup> Suen (m)      | 135, 154f.              |
| ezem-mah- <sup>d</sup> Nin-é-gal (m)  | 130                           | ezem- <sup>d</sup> Suba <sub>3</sub> -nun-na (m)  | 202f.                   |
| ezem-mah- <sup>d</sup> Nin-gublagā  | 130, 156                      | ezem- <sup>d</sup> Šul-gi (m)                     | 68ff., 74, 153,         |
| ezem- <sup>d</sup> Me-ki-gāl (m)  | 158f.                         |   | 162, 182f., 192ff., 208 |
| ezem-munu <sub>4</sub> -gu <sub>7</sub> (m)   | 44, 65f., 69, 72f.            | ezem-u <sub>5</sub> -bí-gu <sub>7</sub> (m)       | 147                     |
| ezem-munu <sub>4</sub> -gu <sub>7</sub> - <sup>d</sup> Lugal-urub <sup>ki</sup> (m) | 51, 55                        | ezem- <sup>d</sup> Utu (see <i>isin dŠamaš</i> )  |                         |
| ezem-munu <sub>4</sub> -gu <sub>7</sub> - <sup>d</sup> Nanše (m)                    | 38f., 41f.,<br>44, 51, 58, 72 | ezem-zi-zi x [x] MES (m)                          | 212                     |
|   |                               | Ezida   | 311, 319, 336           |
|   |                               | - F -   |                         |
| ezem-munu <sub>4</sub> -gu <sub>7</sub> - <sup>d</sup> Nin-gír-su (m)               | 38, 48, 55, 72                | Fara  | 8                       |
| ezem-na-ab-rí-um  | 154                           | Feast of Ingathering                              | 33                      |
| ezem-ne-IZI-gar   | 101                           | Feast of Tabernacles                              | 382                     |
| ezem- <sup>d</sup> NE-la  | 34                            | Festival of:                                      |                         |
| ezem- <sup>d</sup> Nè-iri <sub>11</sub> -gal (m)                                    | 213, 232                      | 7th Day of the 7th Month                          | 327, 391f.              |
| ezem-ni- <sup>giš</sup> kiri <sub>6</sub>   | 202                           | Barley Consumption                                |                         |
| ezem-ni-sag-e (m)   | 176                           | (see ezem-še-gu <sub>7</sub> -DN)                 |                         |
| ezem- <sup>d</sup> Nin-a-zu (m)   | 149f., 206, 230f.             | Barley Harvest                                    |                         |
| ezem- <sup>d</sup> Nin-gír-su-ka  |                               | (see ezem-še-kin-ku <sub>5</sub> )                |                         |
| buru <sub>x</sub> -maš-ba (m)   | 43                            | Boat of An  |                         |
| ezem- <sup>d</sup> Nin-giš-zi-da  | 77, 160                       | (see ezem-má-an-na)                               |                         |
| ezem- <sup>d</sup> Nin-si <sub>4</sub> -na (m)                                      | 221                           | Boat of the Moon                                  |                         |
| ezem- <sup>d</sup> Nin-zadim (m)  | 202                           | (see ezem-má-dSuen                                |                         |
| ezem-nisag (m)  | 168ff., 178, 190ff.           | and ezem-má-nu-ru)                                |                         |
| ezem- <sup>(d)</sup> Pa <sub>4</sub> -kùš-e   | 183f., 190ff.                 | Canebrake   | 100, 460                |
| ezem-ri   | 173, 178, 192f.               | Chains  | 211, 475                |
| ezem- <sup>d</sup> Sa-ma-gan  | 34                            | Early Grass                                       |                         |
| ezem sag IGI.GANA <sub>2</sub>  | 131                           | (see ú-sag)                                       |                         |
| ezem-ŠÁH/SUL-ur-re  | 203                           | First (Malt?)                                     |                         |
| ezem- <sup>d</sup> Šara- <sup>d</sup> En-líl-gar                                    | 188, 205                      | (see ezem-nisag)                                  |                         |
| ezem-še-er-še(-er)-ru-um  | 211                           | Malt Consumption                                  |                         |
| ezem-še-gu <sub>7</sub> (m)   | 44, 51                        | (see ezem-munu <sub>4</sub> -gu <sub>7</sub> -DN) |                         |
| ezem-še-gu <sub>7</sub> - <sup>d</sup> Nanše (m)                                    | 38, 40f., 44                  | Sacred Mound                                      |                         |
| ezem-še-gu <sub>7</sub> - <sup>d</sup> Nin-gír-su (m)                               | 38, 40f., 47                  | (see ezem-du <sub>6</sub> -kù)                    |                         |
| ezem-še-íl-Gír-su <sup>ki</sup>   | 78                            | Sowing  |                         |
| ezem-še-íl-la (m)   | 65ff., 69, 76                 | (see ezem-šu-numun)                               |                         |
| ezem-še-kar-ra-gál-la   | 166f.                         | - G -   |                         |
| ezem-še-kin-ku <sub>5</sub>   | 124, 165f., 175               | ga-an-ga-na (m)                                   | 113, 226                |
| ezem-še-sag-ku <sub>5</sub>   | 165                           | Ga-da-ad (m)                                      | 35                      |
| ezem-šu-eš-ša   | 232                           | ga-ga-è (m)                                       | 113                     |

|  |  |  |  |
|--|--|--|--|
| Ga-sum (m)                                   | 26   | GIŠ.IG.DÚB (m)   | 30   |
| gá-gar                                       | 94f.   | gn (m)   | 377ff.   |
| gá-udu-ur <sub>4</sub> (m)                   | 61, 202, 217   | Going Out of Annunitum                                     | 290  |
| gá-ur <sub>4</sub> (m)                       | 61   | Great Festival   |  |
| ga <sub>6</sub> ga <sub>6</sub> -è (m)       | 113  | (see ezem-mah)   |  |
| Gaeš   | 140ff., 150ff., 403, 406ff.  | Great Offering   | 86ff., 92, 99, 101f.,<br>106, 109f., 113, 115, 118,<br>142, 150f., 156f.,<br>211ff., 216, 409ff. |
| Gammama (m)                                  | 365  | gšm 'dr  | 406  |
| gišgan                                       | 114  | <sup>d</sup> Gu-la   | 159, 169, 199,<br>324, 326, 333  |
| gan(-gan)                                    | 114  | gišGU.ZA (m)   | 371  |
| <sup>d</sup> Gan-gan                         | 114  | gú- <sup>d</sup> Bil-ga-meš                                | 54   |
| gan-gan-è (m)                                | 113ff.   | gú-gú-me-è   | 115  |
| gan-gan-mu-è (m)                             | 113ff.   | gú-gú-mu-è   | 115  |
| <sup>d</sup> Gan-gír                         | 53   | gú-si-sá (m)   | 226  |
| <sup>d</sup> Gan-tūr                         | 46, 52   | gú-šu-RIN-na   | 54   |
| GANA <sub>2</sub> (read buru <sub>x</sub> )  | 43, 70   | gú-za-um   | 46, 54   |
| Gasur  | 23   | <sup>d</sup> Gù-ni-sur-ra                                  | 319  |
| <sup>d</sup> Gaz-ba-ba                       | 319  | gu <sub>4</sub> (m)  | 245, 256   |
| <sup>d</sup> Gēštin-an-na-SIA-tum            | 145, 154   | gu <sub>4</sub> -DU  | 50   |
| Gezer calendar                               | 17, 383  | gu <sub>4</sub> -rā  | 50   |
| gi-im-ki-im                                  | 294  | gu <sub>4</sub> -rā-IZI-mú-a (m)                           | 38, 40f., 49f.   |
| Gi-NI (m)                                    | 25   | gu <sub>4</sub> -rā-IZI-mú-a- <sup>d</sup> Nanše (m)       | 49f., 72   |
| gi-ra-núm                                    | 213, 215, 218, 472ff.  | gu <sub>4</sub> -rā-IZI-mú-a- <sup>d</sup> Nin-gír-su (m)  | 48   |
| gi-ra-ri (m)                                 | 373  | gu <sub>4</sub> -rā-IZI-mú-mú (m)                          | 39, 41, 49f.,<br>65f., 69f., 72  |
| gi-sig-ga (m)                                | 208  | gu <sub>4</sub> -si  | 84   |
| Gi-um (m)                                    | 25   | gu <sub>4</sub> -si-dili                                   | 84   |
| gi <sub>6</sub> (m)                          | 61   | gu <sub>4</sub> -si-sá (m)                                 | 84   |
| <sup>d</sup> Gi <sub>7</sub> -ir-nun         | 46, 51f.   | gu <sub>4</sub> -si-su (m)                                 | 83ff.  |
| gibbum                                       | 288  | gu <sub>4</sub> -si-sù (m)                                 | 83   |
| Gilgames                                     | 54f., 316, 319ff.  | gur  | 185, 188   |
| GÍR×gunū <sup>mušen</sup>                    | 34   | <sup>kuš</sup> gur-dumu-zi-da                              | 185, 188   |
| gir <sub>4</sub>                             | 127  | ( <sup>kuš</sup> )gur- <sup>d</sup> Pa <sub>4</sub> -kùš-e | 185, 188   |
| gir <sub>x</sub> (UM)                        | 126ff.   | <sup>kuš</sup> gur-še-íl-la- <sup>d</sup> Nanše            | 185, 188   |
| <sup>d</sup> Giri <sub>x</sub> (UM)-dagal-la | 127  | guru <sub>7</sub> -dub-ba (m)                              | 38, 40f., 56   |
| giri <sub>x</sub> (UM) ki ra-ra              | 128  | guru <sub>7</sub> -im-du <sub>3</sub> -a (m)               | 38, 40, 56   |
| Girra  | 320  | gurum <sub>2</sub> -āb-ka (m)                              | 61   |
| girānu                                       | 472  | gurum <sub>2</sub> -ma-ka (m)                              | 61f.   |
| Girsu  | 37ff., 129, 131f., 148, 153,<br>157ff., 161, 164, 167, 170,<br>174, 180, 182, 186, 208f., 221,<br>235, 401, 413f., 461, 465, 479 | gurum <sub>2</sub> -udu-ka (m)                             | 61f.   |
| giš-gál-tag <sub>x</sub> (m)                 | 30   |  |  |
| gišgi  | 100  |  |  |
| GIŠ.GU.ZA (m)                                | 371  |  |  |

|                                 |                       |   |                            |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------|---|----------------------------|
| <i>Cusisi</i> (m)               | 226, 272              | <i>Hu-ru<sub>12</sub>-lu</i> (m)                | 31                         |
| <i>guštu</i>                    | 267                   | <i>Hubur</i> (m)                                | 240f., 244, 247, 301       |
|                                 |                       | <i>HUL.DÚB.BA.È</i> (m)                         | 364                        |
| - H -                           |                       | <i>hulūti</i>                                   | 289                        |
| <i>ha-a[l-li]</i>               | 288                   | <i>Huluppū</i> (m)                              | 364                        |
| <i>Ha-li</i> (m)                | 26                    | <i>humtum</i>                                   | 289, 294                   |
| <i>Ha-li-da</i> (m)             | 26                    | <i>humtum</i>                                   | 279, 289, 294, 396ff.      |
| <i>Ha-li-ā</i> (m)              | 26                    | Hunt of Ba'al                                   | 357, 359                   |
| <i>Ha-li-it</i> (m)             | 26                    | Hunt of Ištar                                   | 357, 359f.                 |
| <i>Ha-li-tu</i> (m)             | 26                    | <i>Hur-mu</i> (m)                               | 31                         |
| <i>Ha-lu<sub>5</sub>-ut</i> (m) | 35                    | Hurrian calendar                                | 368ff.                     |
| <i>ha-ma-an-du-ni</i>           | 257                   | <i>hursubum</i>                                 | 234                        |
| <i>Ha-ri-ha-ri</i>              | 244                   | <i>Huru</i> (m)                                 | 369                        |
| <i>ha'aru</i>                   | 309                   | <i>Hutalsi</i> (m)                              | 370                        |
| <i>Hadar</i> (m)                | 366                   | <i>hyr</i> (m)                                  | 377ff., 381f., 384         |
| <i>Hadukannaš</i> (m)           | 366                   |   |                            |
| <i>dHal-ma</i> (m)              | 343, 345, 350, 357ff. | - I -   |                            |
| <i>Hallatu</i> (m)              | 377f.                 | <i>I-ba-ša-āš</i> (m)                           | 27                         |
| <i>Hallime</i> (m)              | 366                   | <i>I-ba<sub>4</sub>-sa</i> (m)                  | 27                         |
| <i>Hamannu</i> (m)              | 371                   | <i>I-iq-za</i> (m)                              | 29                         |
| <i>Hana</i>                     | 371                   | <i>I-ri-sā</i> (m)                              | 26                         |
| <i>Hanamakaš</i> (m)            | 366                   | <i>I-ri-sa-at</i> (m)                           | 26                         |
| <i>Harran</i>                   | 317, 426              | <i>I-si</i> (m)                                 | 29                         |
| <i>hāru</i>                     | 309                   | <i>I-za-al-li</i> (m)                           | 373                        |
| <i>Hašiyatiš</i> (m)            | 366                   | <i>i-du<sub>8</sub>-ká-du<sub>6</sub>-kū-ga</i> | 107                        |
| <i>Haziran</i> (m)              | 300                   | <i>Ī-la-mu</i> (m)                              | 31                         |
| <i>He-gal-la</i> (m)            | 371                   | <i>ĪNUN</i> (m)                                 | 31                         |
| <i>dHendur-sag</i>              | 47, 52, 74            | <i>ĪNUN.NA-at</i> (m)                           | 27                         |
| <i>dHi-bi-ir-tu</i>             | 282                   | <i>ĪNUN.NUN</i> (m)                             | 31                         |
| <i>hiaru</i>                    | 374f., 382            | <i>Ī-si</i> (m)                                 | 29                         |
| <i>Hiaru</i> (m)                | 309, 370              | <i>i<sub>7</sub>-eden-na</i>                    | 53                         |
| <i>Hibirtum</i> (m)             | 282f.                 | <i>Iarati</i> (m)                               | 303, 309                   |
| <i>Hibirtum II</i> (m)          | 284                   | <i>ib</i>                                       | 47f., 53f., 57             |
| <i>dHilib</i> (m)               | 283                   | <i>ib-gal</i>                                   | 46, 51                     |
| <i>Him'at</i> (m)               | 27, 31                | <i>IB.ŠES.2</i>                                 | 33                         |
| <i>Hinzuru</i> (m)              | 370                   | <i>ib-ta-a-zu</i> (m)                           | 376                        |
| <i>Hiyar</i> (m)                | 309, 373ff., 377ff.   | <i>ib'lt</i> (m)                                | 377ff., 381                |
| <i>hiyar(r)as</i>               | 374                   | <i>Ibbi-Sin</i>                                 | 142, 144, 149, 155ff., 160 |
| <i>hlt</i>                      | 26                    | <i>Iddin-Dagan</i>                              | 235                        |
| <i>hlt</i> (m)                  | 377f.                 | <i>dIg-alim</i>                                 | 47, 53, 55, 71             |
| <i>hōdeš h<sup>a</sup>abib</i>  | 385                   | <i>dIgi-ama-še</i>                              | 60                         |
| <i>hu-d/ti-iz-zi</i> (m)        | 373                   | <i>dIGI.KUR</i> (m)                             | 280f., 283, 290            |
| <i>Hu-lu-mu</i> (m)             | 31                    | <i>dIGI.KUR II</i> (m)                          | 284                        |

|   |   |   |  |
|---|---|---|--|
| <i>dIGI.KUR.ZA</i> (m)                          | 283   | <i>Išgu</i> (m)   | 377, 380   |
| <i>igi-nam-giri<sub>x</sub>-ni</i>              |   | <i>Išme-Dagan and Enlil's</i>                             |  |
| <i>ba-dab<sub>5</sub>-ba</i> (m)                | 43, 62  | <i>Chariot</i>  | 90   |
| <i>dIGI.ZA.KUR</i> (m)                          | 283   | <i>dIštar</i>   | 290, 292, 308f., 312f., 315f., 318, 322ff., 326, 335, 341f., 350, 357, 359f., 374, 426f., 431, 433ff., 452 |
| <i>dIgi-zi-bar-ra</i>                           | 164   | <i>Ištar of Arbela</i>                                    | 323, 427   |
| <i>Igigi-gods</i>                               | 338   | <i>Ištar of Tubā</i>                                      | 291  |
| <i>dIkšudam</i>                                 | 294   | <i>Ištar's Descent to the</i>                             |  |
| <i>IM.BAR<sub>11</sub>-BAR<sub>11</sub></i> (m) | 280, 282  | <i>Netherworld</i>  | 318  |
| <i>im du<sub>8</sub></i>                        | 56  | <i>dIštaran</i>   | 319  |
| <i>Impurtanni</i> (m)                           | 368   | <i>ITI bi-in dDAR<sub>3</sub>.GAL</i>                     | 314  |
| <i>ina ganīni ilabbūni</i>                      | 338   | <i>ITI KU<sub>5</sub></i>                                 | 125  |
| <i>dInanna</i>                                  | 15, 135, 126, 128ff., 136f., 145, 151f., 154ff., 159, 164, 169, 186, 188, 211ff., 251ff., 262f., 472ff. | <i>iti ŠIM ḫal-la</i>                                     | 116  |
| <i>Inanna and Bilulu</i>                        | 263   | <i>dItūr-Mēr</i>  | 294  |
| <i>Inanna and Enki</i>                          | 216f.   | <i>iīb</i> (m)  | 377f.  |
| <i>Intercalation</i>                            | 5f.   | <i>iitbm</i> (m)  | 377f.  |
| <i>inūma dDirūim</i>                            | 293   | <i>izi-gar</i>  | 100  |
| <i>inūma elippi</i>                             | 290   |   |  |
| <i>inūma isinnim u kinūnim</i>                  | 291   | - K -   |  |
| <i>inūma itūru</i>                              | 289   | <i>KA.si / Ka-si</i> (m)                                  | 135, 250   |
| <i>inūma kurki</i>                              | 259   | <i>KA.ŠES</i> (read ka/i <sub>5</sub> -zaḫ <sub>x</sub> ) | 147  |
| <i>inūma wardiša</i>                            | 289   | <i>dKA.TUN-na</i>   | 319  |
| <i>inūma wašiša</i>                             | 290   | <i>dKa-mi-iš</i> (m)                                      | 30   |
| <i>inūma zaḫan itteršu</i>                      | 259   | <i>Kalmartu</i> (m)                                       | 239  |
| <i>Iq-za</i> (m)                                | 29  | <i>Kammama</i> (m)  | 365  |
| <i>Iq-za II</i> (m)                             | 29  | <i>Kanūnu</i> (m)   | 299, 335   |
| <i>Iq-zum</i> (m)                               | 29  | <i>Kanwarta</i> (m)                                       | 242  |
| <i>Ir-me</i> (m)                                | 31  | <i>kar-nisag</i>  | 172  |
| <i>Ishān Mizyad</i>                             | 117, 122, 206f.   | <i>Karbašiyaš</i> (m)                                     | 366  |
| <i>Isin</i>                                     | 225, 227, 230, 235f.  | <i>Karnabataš</i> (m)                                     | 366  |
| <i>Isin<sup>d</sup>Adad</i> (m)                 | 271, 273  | <i>Karzida</i>  | 406f.  |
| <i>isin dŠamaš</i>                              | 274, 290  | <i>kaskal-Eridu<sup>ki</sup>-ga</i>                       | 229  |
| <i>isin dTišpak</i>                             | 255, 264  | <i>Kassites</i>   | 298, 301f., 304  |
| <i>isinni dKubaba</i>                           | 383   | <i>kazāzum</i>  | 26, 351  |
| <i>isinni šarrati kabitti</i>                   | 336   | <i>Keši</i>   | 207  |
| <i>isūtu</i>                                    | 291   | <i>ki-a-nag</i>   | 46, 54f., 117, 149f., 158, 186, 259  |
| <i>Israel/Judea</i>                             | 15, 20, 299f., 302, 315, 330, 385f.   | <i>ki-gu-la</i>   | 158f.  |
| <i>Išbi<sup>d</sup>Erra</i>                     | 225, 270  | <i>ki-gū-ka</i>   | 54   |
| <i>dIšhara</i>                                  | 350ff., 356, 358, 361   | <i>ki-ir-ki-ma</i> (m)                                    | 222  |
| <i>dIšhara</i> (m)                              | 30  | <i>ki-lugal</i>   | 152, 412   |

|  |                         |   |                         |
|--|-------------------------|---|-------------------------|
| KI.NE  | 127                     | <i>knun</i> (m)                         | 299f., 335              |
| <i>ki-ra-ri</i> (m)  | 373                     | <i>krr</i> (m)                          | 373, 384                |
| <i>ki-si-ga</i>  | 148, 278                | <i>kstn</i> (m)                         | 333, 371                |
| <i>ki-sig</i>  | 52f., 148               | <i>kstul</i> (m)                        | 300                     |
| <i>ki-sig-ba</i> (m)   | 52, 149                 | <i>kstv</i> (m)                         | 300                     |
| <i>ki-sig-dNin-a-zu</i> (m)                                  | 52, 148,                | <sup>d</sup> Ku-ra                      | 34                      |
|  | 206, 467f.              | <sup>d</sup> Kù-nun-na                  | 159                     |
| <i>ki-sig-tùg-dNin-gir-su</i>                                | 155                     | <sup>d</sup> Kù-sù/su <sub>x</sub>      | 116, 324                |
| <i>ki-sikil-dBa-ba<sub>6</sub></i> (m)                       | 221                     | <i>kù-su<sub>x</sub></i> (SIM) (m)      | 116                     |
| <i>ki-su<sub>7</sub>-šu-su-ga</i> (m)                        | 62f.                    | <sup>d</sup> Kubaba                     | 383                     |
| <i>ki-šu-numun-a</i>   | 98                      | <i>ku<sub>1</sub>lu</i>                 | 289                     |
| <i>ki-[...]Lugal/in</i> (m)                                  | 211                     | <sup>d</sup> KUR (m)                    | 281                     |
| <i>Ki-lí</i> (m)   | 26                      | <i>kur-kur ku<sub>4</sub></i>           | 115                     |
| KIN (m)  | 280, 282                | <i>Kurilli</i> (m)                      | 368                     |
| <i>kin a</i>   | 122                     | <i>Kussu</i> (m)                        | 371                     |
| <i>kin ak</i>  | 122                     | <i>Kutmama</i> (m)                      | 366                     |
| <i>kin-dDa-gan</i>   | 104                     | <i>Kuzallu</i> (m)                      | 241f., 301              |
| <i>kin-ga-ša-an-na</i> (m)                                   | 105                     |   |                         |
| <i>kin-dInanna</i> (m)                                       | 107ff., 322             | - L -                                   |                         |
| <i>kin-ku<sub>5</sub><sup>2</sup>-u[m]</i> (m)               | 122, 206f.              | <i>lá-NI</i>                            | 94                      |
| <i>kin-dNanna</i>  | 227                     | <sup>d</sup> Lāgamāl                    | 294                     |
| <i>Kinātum</i> (m)   | 274                     | <i>Lagaš</i>                            | 15f., 25ff., 37ff.      |
| <i>Kingu</i>   | 325, 333                | <i>Lahhum</i> (m)                       | 206, 282, 284, 289      |
| <i>kinkum</i>  | 255, 267, 294           | <i>Lahhum II</i> (m)                    | 284                     |
| <i>Kinkum</i> (m)  | 122, 218, 249,          | <i>lāl-ezen-ka</i>                      | 78                      |
|  | 251, 254ff., 264        | <i>Lallubū</i> (m)                      | 363, 365                |
| <i>kinūn Bēlet-ekallim</i>                                   | 291                     | <sup>d</sup> LAMA (m)                   | 373                     |
| <i>Kinūnātum</i> (m)   | 286                     | <sup>d</sup> Lama-é-tar-sír-sír         | 47, 49                  |
| <i>kinūnum</i>   | 32, 258, 283,           | <i>Lankellī</i> (m)                     | 366                     |
|  | 291, 334f., 368, 392ff. | <i>Lanlubū</i> (m)                      | 363                     |
| <i>Kinūnum</i> (m)   | 248, 250, 254, 256f.,   | <i>Larsa</i>                            | 103, 227, 231ff., 415f. |
|  | 264f., 335, 368, 371    | Length of months                        | 4, 228                  |
| <i>kir<sub>11</sub>-si-ak</i> (m)                            | 208                     | <i>li-ig-qa-še</i> (m)                  | 373                     |
| <i>gi<sup>is</sup>kir<sub>6</sub>-dInanna</i>                | 215                     | <i>li-qa-ši</i> (m)                     | 373                     |
| <i>kisal-e<sub>11</sub>-e</i>                                | 186f.                   | <sup>d</sup> Lig-si <sub>4</sub> (m)    | 165, 182                |
| <i>kisal-gešbu<sub>2</sub><sup>ba</sup>-e<sub>11</sub>-e</i> | 186                     | <i>Liliātum</i> (m)                     | 284, 292, 345           |
| <i>Kiskissum</i> (m)   | 248, 251, 254, 257,     | <i>lišsūti</i>                          | 308, 323, 328, 337, 340 |
|  | 265, 284, 286, 293      | Lipit-Ištar                             | 89f., 225, 236          |
| <i>kispu<sub>m</sub></i>                                     | 288                     | Lipit-Ištar and the Plow                | 84, 89f., 116           |
| <i>Kissilimu</i> (m)   | 298, 301,               | <i>Lismum</i> (m)                       | 274                     |
|  | 303, 313, 333ff.        | <i>lú-Unu<sup>ki</sup>-ga-3-kam-ma-</i> |                         |
| <i>Kiš</i>   | 36, 270                 | <i>gin-na</i> (m)                       | 43, 62                  |
| <i>kizzu</i>   | 351ff.                  | <sup>d</sup> Lugal-asal                 | 335                     |

|   |                           |   |                           |
|---|---------------------------|---|---------------------------|
| <sup>d</sup> Lugal-bagara                           | 73                        | <i>mar-za-u<sub>9</sub></i>                     | 34                        |
| <sup>d</sup> Lugal-é-muš                            | 47                        | <sup>d</sup> Marduk                             | 245f., 268, 307ff.,       |
| <sup>d</sup> Lugal-gu <sub>4</sub> -si-su           | 85, 87ff.                 |   | 325, 339, 403ff., 418ff., |
| Lugal-TAR   | 62                        |   | 438ff., 452               |
| <sup>d</sup> Lugal-uru-bar-ra                       | 54f., 58, 470f.           | <i>Marḥešvan</i> (m)                            | 331, 333                  |
| <sup>d</sup> Lugal-uru-ša-ga                        | 54                        | Mari  | 18, 23, 25ff., 280ff.     |
| <sup>d</sup> Lugal-urub                             | 47, 51, 55f., 58, 470f.   | <i>Markašan</i> (m)                             | 299, 302, 330, 366        |
| Lugalanda   | 44f., 49, 52              | Marriage of the gods                            | 311f., 324, 337,          |
| Lugalzagesi   | 62                        |   | 477f.                     |
| <i>Lullubū</i> (m)                                  | 363                       | <i>Marzaḥani</i> (m)                            | 344f., 357ff.             |
| Lustrations (see a-tu <sub>5</sub> -a<br>and rimku) |                           | <i>maš-dà-gu<sub>7</sub></i> (m)                | 144                       |
|   | - M -                     | <i>maš-dà-gu<sub>7</sub>-gu<sub>7</sub></i> (m) | 228                       |
|   |                           | <i>maš-dà-kù-gu<sub>7</sub></i> (m)             | 144                       |
|   |                           | <i>maš-dà-ku<sub>5</sub></i> (m)                | 144                       |
| <i>ma</i> (m)                                       | 280                       | <i>maš-kù-gu<sub>7</sub></i> (m)                | 144                       |
| <sup>d</sup> Ma-lik-ki-nu (m)                       | 346                       | <i>Maškannum</i> (m)                            | 254, 284                  |
| <i>ma-wa-tim</i>                                    | 34                        | <i>me-e-ki-ga</i> <<SAL>>-al (m)                | 221                       |
| MA×GĀNAtenū-sag (m)                                 | 28                        | <i>me-Kul-ab<sub>4</sub><sup>ki</sup>-ta</i>    | 53                        |
| MA×GĀNAtenū-sag 2 (m)                               | 28                        | <sup>d</sup> Mes-an-DU                          | 44, 47, 54f., 65f.        |
| MA×GĀNAtenū-ūgur (m)                                | 28                        | <i>mes-en-DU</i> (m)                            | 66f.                      |
| <i>mā-an-na</i>                                     | 215ff., 234f.             | <i>mes-en-DU-še-a-nū</i> (m)                    | 65                        |
| <i>mā-an-na</i> (m)                                 | 219, 254                  | <sup>d</sup> Mes-lam-ta-è                       | 215                       |
| <i>mā-nisag</i>                                     | 169                       | Message of Ludingira                            | 80, 99                    |
| <i>mā-nu-ru</i>                                     | 141, 402                  | <i>mg<sub>n</sub>r</i> (m)                      | 377f.                     |
| <i>mā-sar-sar-re</i>                                | 186f.                     | <i>mi-ša-ri</i> (m)                             | 373                       |
| <i>mā-dSuen</i>                                     | 142, 153                  | Milkiya   | 323, 427                  |
| <i>mā ul-la gub-ba</i>                              | 199, 171                  | <i>min-ÈŠ</i> (m)                               | 175f.                     |
| <i>Magmaru</i> (m)                                  | 377f.                     | MIN-months                                      | 135                       |
| <i>Magrānum</i> (m)                                 | 239, 256f., 259,          | <sup>d</sup> Mišarri                            | 332                       |
|   | 265, 286, 372             | <i>Mitirunni</i> (m)                            | 369                       |
| <i>Magrattum</i> (m)                                | 250, 254, 265             | <i>Miyakannaš</i> (m)                           | 366                       |
| <i>Mahhurilī</i> (m)                                | 243                       | <i>mp'</i> (m)                                  | 384                       |
| <sup>d</sup> Malik-kinu (m)                         | 346                       | <i>mrḥš<sub>n</sub></i> (m)                     | 299                       |
| <i>Malkānum</i> (m)                                 | 282, 284, 287             | <i>mrp'</i> (m)                                 | 384                       |
| <i>Malkānum II</i> (m)                              | 284                       | <i>mrzḥ</i>                                     | 344                       |
| <i>Mammi</i> (m)                                    | 254, 265                  | <i>mu-an-na</i>                                 | 7                         |
| <i>Mammītum</i> (m)                                 | 249, 251, 254,            | MU.ITI tablets                                  | 161                       |
|   | 256ff., 265, 286          | <i>mu-šu-du<sub>7</sub></i> (m)                 | 70, 75                    |
| <i>Mana</i> (m)                                     | 219, 254, 256f.,          | <i>mu-šu-dug</i> (m)                            | 65ff., 69, 75             |
|   | 259, 265, 286             | <i>mu-TIR</i> (m)                               | 205                       |
| <i>Manšarki</i> (m)                                 | 365f.                     | <i>Muḥhur ilāni</i> (m)                         | 239                       |
| <i>Maqlū</i>  | 103, 320, 455, 457, 463f. | <i>mul-UD-sag-e-ta-šub-ba</i> (m)               | 38, 42, 62                |
| <i>gi<sup>is</sup>mar-gid-da</i>                    | 292                       | <i>munu<sub>4</sub>-gu<sub>7</sub></i> (m)      | 66, 70, 72f.              |



|                                    |  |   |                                     |
|------------------------------------|--|---|-------------------------------------|
| MÜS.MÜS                            | 86f.   | Netherworld   | 454ff.                              |
| - N -                              |  | New Years   | 12ff.                               |
| na-ab-ri-hum                       | 154, 215   | NI.DU (m)   | 31                                  |
| na-ab-ri-um                        | 154, 215   | NI-qa-LIM (m)   | 373                                 |
| na-bi-ri-um                        | 154, 215   | giš- <sup>is</sup> NI-šub   | 93                                  |
| <sup>d</sup> Na-ni                 | 288  | ni-a-dara <sub>4</sub> (m)  | 207f.                               |
| <i>Nabrûm</i> (m)                  | 249, 251, 254, 256ff.,<br>264, 266, 271, 286, 394ff.   | ni-ba <sup>d</sup> BE SAL <sup>d</sup> NI-da-KUL                      | 34                                  |
| <i>nabrûm</i>                      | 138, 154, 254f., 258,<br>275f., 278, 288, 292f., 336f.                                       | ni-dab <sub>5</sub> sig <sub>4</sub> giš- <sup>is</sup> NI-šub-ba gar | 95                                  |
| <sup>d</sup> Nabû                  | 308f., 311ff., 315, 319,<br>322, 324f., 337, 342,<br>419f., 424, 438ff.                      | ni-e-ga (m)   | 207f.                               |
| Nabû-našir                         | 427  | ni- <sup>d</sup> En-lil-lá (m)  | 207f.                               |
| <i>nadîtu</i>                      | 19, 270, 274f.   | ni- <sup>HA</sup> -nisi(SAR)-ga                                       | 217f.                               |
| <i>namrîtum</i>                    | 268  | ni-IZI-gar (m)  | 100, 227                            |
| <sup>d</sup> Nanâ                  | 136f., 151, 311,<br>318f., 329, 472ff.   | ni-ka-i <sub>7</sub> -ka (m)  | 63                                  |
| <sup>d</sup> Nanna                 | 3, 125, 129ff., 135, 140ff.,<br>144ff., 150f., 154ff., 160, 169,<br>227, 229ff., 306, 408ff. | ni-ki-zàh   | 217, 475f.                          |
| <sup>d</sup> Nanna-amassu          | 318  | ni- <sup>giš</sup> kirig <sub>6</sub>                                 | 201ff.                              |
| <sup>d</sup> Nanše                 | 14, 37, 39, 41, 43,<br>51ff., 60, 63f., 68,<br>71ff., 76f., 130, 163f.,<br>167, 178f., 185   | ni-ni-sag (m)   | 168, 281, 305                       |
| NAR-ba-[a]-te/na (m)               | 376  | nidbâ- <sup>d</sup> À-da (m)  | 31                                  |
| <i>Narmak Aššur ša kīnātim</i> (m) | 243  | nidbâ- <sup>d</sup> Aš-da-PIL (m)                                     | 31                                  |
| NE-gar                             | 128  | nidbâ <sup>d</sup> En-ki lú giš-nu-kiri <sub>6</sub>                  | 34                                  |
| NE.GAR (m)                         | 31, 100, 128, 264  | nidbâ- <sup>d</sup> Ka-mi-iš (m)                                      | 30                                  |
| ne-gir <sub>x</sub> (UM)           | 126ff.   | nidbâ- <sup>d</sup> Ku-ra   | 34                                  |
| ne-gir <sub>x</sub> -IZI-gar       | 100, 126   | <i>Niggallum</i> (m)  | 18, 250f., 254, 266                 |
| ne-IZI-gar (m)                     | 100ff., 212, 287   | <sup>d</sup> Nin-a-su   | 53, 57                              |
| ne-IZI-gar                         | 100, 227, 234,<br>390, 396, 454f.  | <sup>d</sup> Nin-a-zu   | 53, 148ff., 465ff.                  |
| <sup>d</sup> NE-la                 | 34   | <sup>d</sup> Nin-a-zu <sub>5</sub>                                    | 125                                 |
| NE.UM (see ne-gir <sub>x</sub> )   |  | <sup>d</sup> Nin-dar  | 16, 44, 57, 60,<br>64, 71, 73f., 77 |
| Nebuchadnezzar II                  | 405, 447, 449  | <sup>d</sup> Nin-dar-é-gibil-na-<br>i-gin-gin-na (m)                  | 42, 57, 60                          |
| Nērebtum                           | 249, 251, 253f., 266f.   | <sup>d</sup> Nin-du <sub>6</sub> -kù-ga                               | 107                                 |
| <sup>d</sup> Nergal                | 213, 220, 232,<br>234, 257, 260, 265, 292,<br>334, 336, 345, 348, 350                        | <sup>d</sup> NIN-e-bir <sub>5</sub> -tum                              | 282                                 |
|                                    |  | <sup>d</sup> Nin-é-gal  | 130, 156                            |
|                                    |  | <sup>d</sup> Nin-gal  | 229, 232, 234, 324                  |
|                                    |  | <sup>d</sup> Nin-gi <sub>6</sub> -par <sub>4</sub>                    | 163                                 |
|                                    |  | <sup>d</sup> Nin-gir-su   | 46ff., 51ff.,<br>60, 63, 179, 311   |
|                                    |  | <sup>d</sup> Nin-gir-su-é-gibil-an-ta-sur-<br>ra-i-gin-gin-na (m)     | 38, 42, 56, 60                      |
|                                    |  | <sup>d</sup> Nin-giš-zi-da  | 77, 160, 234, 320                   |
|                                    |  | <sup>d</sup> Nin-gublaga  | 130                                 |
|                                    |  | <sup>d</sup> Nin-hur-sag  | 290                                 |
|                                    |  | <sup>d</sup> Nin-hur-sag (m?)   | 130                                 |
|                                    |  | <sup>d</sup> Nin-hur-sag-še-da  | 54                                  |

|                                      |   |   |  |
|--------------------------------------|---|---|--|
| <sup>d</sup> Nin-ib-gal              | 163   | <i>Nisanmu</i> (m)                      | 19, 168, 281, 298f.,<br>303, 305ff., 381         |
| <sup>d</sup> Nin-imma                | 204, 324  | <i>nql</i> (m)                          | 377ff.   |
| <sup>d</sup> Nin-ki-gigir (m)        | 281   | nu-ru                                   | 141  |
| <sup>d</sup> Nin-kur                 | 344, 347f., 350,<br>352ff., 358, 360  | Numeric month notation                  | 38ff.  |
| <sup>d</sup> Nin-kur ša GU.ZA (m)    | 344   | <sup>d</sup> Nusku                      | 86f., 98, 101, 107,<br>109f., 112, 119, 320, 324 |
| <sup>d</sup> Nin-kur-ra (m)          | 344, 356, 358   | Nuzi                                    | 367ff.   |
| <sup>d</sup> Nin-kur-ra ša kussi (m) | 344   | <i>nysn</i> (m)                         | 299  |
| <sup>d</sup> Nin-lil                 | 308, 312, 328,<br>336, 339ff., 424ff.   | - O -                                   |  |
| <sup>d</sup> Nin-mar                 | 59f., 74f.  | Opening-of-the-Gate                     | 32, 139, 363                                     |
| <sup>d</sup> Nin-mug                 | 204   | - P -                                   |  |
| <sup>d</sup> Nin-sar                 | 53, 55  | <i>p'li</i> (m)                         | 384  |
| <sup>d</sup> Nin-šubur               | 47, 53, 55, 57  | pa <sub>4</sub> -kùš-e (m)              | 183ff.   |
| <sup>d</sup> Nin-tu-zà-ga            | 46, 52  | <sup>d</sup> Pa <sub>4</sub> -kùš-e (m) | 183ff.   |
| <sup>d</sup> Nin-urta                | 84, 86ff., 98, 101,<br>106, 109, 110, 169, 309f.,<br>312f., 315, 319, 323, 330,<br>333f., 337, 343, 345,<br>347ff., 356, 358, 360,<br>420, 426, 452 | pa <sub>5</sub> -kùš-e (m)              | 183ff.   |
| <sup>d</sup> Nin-urta (m)            | 345   | <i>pagru</i>                            | 294  |
| <sup>d</sup> Nin-zadim               | 202ff.  | <i>Pagru</i> (m)                        | 372  |
| Nina                                 | 14, 39, 45f., 51ff.,<br>57, 64, 73  | <sup>d</sup> Palil                      | 318  |
| ninda-buru <sub>x</sub> -maš-ka (m)  | 43f.  | Palmyra                                 | 299f., 309, 332, 335                             |
| ninda maš                            | 43  | <i>Parka</i>                            | 244  |
| Nineveh                              | 316, 342, 403, 405,<br>420f., 424, 426, 436, 453  | <i>pašāšum</i>                          | 27   |
| <i>Nipās</i>                         | 244   | <i>pašru</i>                            | 338  |
| Nippur                               | 15, 79ff., 203, 225ff.,<br>236, 270, 297, 304,<br>306f., 310f., 314, 332,<br>427, 444, 456, 468   | Paternelia                              | 455ff.   |
| Nippur Compendium                    | 309, 313, 315,<br>320, 322, 324, 326,<br>328, 330, 334,<br>338, 340, 451f.  | <i>pašārum</i>                          | 112  |
| <i>Niqahu</i> (m)                    | 18, 343, 351  | Persepolis                              | 366  |
| <i>Niqumum</i> (m)                   | 248, 250, 253f.,<br>256f., 266, 287   | <i>pgrm</i> (m)                         | 377f., 380                                       |
| nisag                                | 167f.   | Phoenician calendar                     | 384  |
| nisag-gu <sub>7</sub>                | 229   | <i>Pit bābi</i> (m)                     | 363  |
|                                      |   | - Q -                                   |  |
|                                      |   | <i>qarrātu</i>                          | 247, 340   |
|                                      |   | <i>Qarrātu</i> (m)                      | 241, 371   |
|                                      |   | <i>Qāti-eršetim</i> (m)                 | 271f.  |
|                                      |   | <i>Qerrētu</i> (m)                      | 254, 266, 371                                    |
|                                      |   | <i>qilāsātu</i>                         | 294  |
|                                      |   | <i>qnyn</i> (m)                         | 319  |
|                                      |   | <sup>d</sup> Quritum                    | 293  |

|   |  |   |   |
|---|--|---|---|
| - R -   |  | sig <sub>4</sub> -a (m)   | 254, 314  |
| <i>Ra-a-tu</i> (m)                                    | 243                                    | sig <sub>4</sub> <sup>giš</sup> NI-šub-ba-gá-gar (m)              | 93, 166   |
| RA.ĦAL (m)  | 366                                    | sig <sub>4</sub> -ù-IGI-šub (m)                                   | 93  |
| Races (see <i>Lismum</i> )                            | 313, 333f.                             | sig <sub>4</sub> <sup>giš</sup> u <sub>5</sub> -šub-ba-gá-gar (m) | 92f.  |
| <i>Reichskalender</i>                                 | 136                                    | sikil   | 34  |
| <i>rēš jani</i> (m)                                   | 377f., 382                             | <i>Sililitu</i> (m)   | 299, 337, 364   |
| Rēš-temple  | 309, 329ff., 428f.                     | <i>Simānu</i> (m)   | 298ff., 303, 314ff.   |
| ri  | 173                                    | <sup>d</sup> Šin  | 306, 309, 312, 315, 323ff., 328, 332, 347ff., 355, 426, 452 |
| ri (m)  | 173                                    | <sup>d</sup> Šin (m)  | 239   |
| Rim-Sin calendar                                      | 227f.                                  | Sin-abušu   | 416   |
| <i>rimku</i>  | 290, 308, 312, 323, 328, 332, 334, 337 | Sin-iddinam   | 234   |
| <i>riš yn</i> (m)                                     | 377f., 382                             | Sippar  | 18f., 269ff., 303   |
| - S -   |  | sízkur-apin-dù-a  | 112   |
| <sup>d</sup> Sa-ma-gan                                | 34                                     | sízkur-ér-gu-la   | 230   |
| Sabium  | 269                                    | sízkur-gu-la (see Great Offering)                                 |   |
| Sacred Marriage                                       | 235f., 311f., 324, 337                 | sízkur-kur-ku <sub>4</sub>  | 115   |
| Sacred Mound (see du <sub>6</sub> -kù)                |  | sízkur-ša-gá-udu  | 61  |
| sag-mu (m)  | 18, 343, 349, 351, 358                 | <i>smnh</i> (m)   | 386   |
| Saggarātum  | 294                                    | Song of the Plowing Oxen  | 86, 90f.  |
| SAGŠU   | 34                                     | Southern-Mesopotamian   |   |
| sàh-da-gu <sub>7</sub> (m)                            | 145f.                                  | Sumerian calendar   | 225ff.  |
| sàh-gu <sub>7</sub> (m)                               | 145                                    | Standard Mesopotamian   |   |
| sàh-kù-gu <sub>7</sub> (m)                            | 145                                    | calendar  | 297ff.  |
| sàh-zé-da-gu <sub>7</sub> (m)                         | 146                                    | su/sù   | 84  |
| <i>Saḥarātum</i> (m)                                  | 251, 254, 266, 400                     | Sultantepe  | 313, 330  |
| <i>Sākurriš</i> (m)                                   | 366                                    | Susa  | 18, 340, 362ff.   |
| <i>Samiyamaš</i> (m)                                  | 366                                    | Syriac calendar   | 300   |
| Samsuiluna  | 269, 297, 300, 302, 304f.              | <i>syun</i> (m)   | 299   |
| <sup>d</sup> Sāppum                                   | 291                                    | - Š -   |   |
| Sargon II   | 424, 441                               | <i>Ša-lul</i> (m)   | 27  |
| <i>Sarqatum</i> (m)                                   | 375                                    | Šarpanitum  | 319   |
| Sennacherib   | 244ff., 403f., 417f., 421, 423ff., 450 | <sup>d</sup> Šilluštāb  | 319   |
| SLA-a archive   | 207f.                                  | <i>Šip'im</i> (m)   | 241   |
| <i>Sibūt sattim</i> (m)                               | 18, 270f., 291                         | <i>Šippu</i> (m)  | 239   |
| <i>Sibūtu</i> (m)                                     | 18, 272, 363, 371                      | <i>Šitaš</i> (m)  | 299, 314  |
| sig ba  | 52                                     | - Š -   |   |
| sig-ba (m)  | 38, 42, 52f., 57                       | <i>ša-am-me</i> (m)   | 373   |
| sig- <sup>d</sup> Ba-ba <sub>6</sub> -e-ta-gar-ra (m) | 38ff., 52f., 149                       | <i>ša kinātīm</i> (m)   | 243   |
|   |  | <i>ša sarātīm</i> (m)   | 243   |

|  |  |  |   |
|--|--|--|---|
| <i>Ša-ni-i</i> (m)                         | 35   | <i>Šerḥum</i> URU <sub>4</sub> .A (m)                              | 364   |
| Ša <sub>6</sub> -ša <sub>6</sub>           | 53, 60   | <i>Šerḥum</i> ZIZ.KIN.KU <sub>5</sub> .A (m)                       | 362   |
| <i>Šabātu</i> (m)                          | 299f., 303, 308, 312, 323f., 337ff., 364   | <i>Šermi</i> (m)   | 365   |
| <i>Šadduttum</i> (m)                       | 254, 259, 273f.  | ŠEŠ (read zaḥ <sub>x</sub> )                                       | 146f.   |
| Šaduppum                                   | 254f.  | ŠEŠ-da-gu <sub>7</sub> (see zaḥ <sub>x</sub> -da-gu <sub>7</sub> ) |   |
| <i>Šakultu</i> - <sup>d</sup> INANNA       | 210  | <i>Šibari</i> (m)  | 365   |
| Šamaš                                      | 270, 274f., 279, 311f., 320, 323, 328, 330, 332, 335, 338, 347f., 359                  | <i>Šigūšu</i> -plant   | 330   |
| Šamši-Adad                                 | 245f.  | ŠIM (m)  | 116, 222  |
| <sup>d</sup> Šāra                          | 166, 168ff., 178, 181, 184f.   | ŠIM ḥal-la (m)   | 116   |
| <sup>d</sup> Šāra- <sup>d</sup> En-lil-gar | 188  | šm[...] (m)  | 377f., 380  |
| <i>Šarrāni</i> (m)                         | 206  | šu-[...] -um (m)   | 376   |
| šb' (m)                                    | 386  | šu ak  | 96  |
| šb <sub>1</sub> (m)                        | 300  | šu du <sub>8</sub>   | 97, 112   |
| še gur <sub>10</sub> -gur <sub>10</sub>    | 120f.  | šu-eš  | 130   |
| še-il-la (m)                               | 76f.   | šu-eš-gi   | 130   |
| še-il-la- <sup>d</sup> Nanše               | 163f., 167, 185  | šu-eš- <sup>d</sup> Inanna   | 130   |
| še-kar-ra-gāl-la (m)                       | 166f.  | šu-eš- <sup>d</sup> Nanna (m)                                      | 130   |
| še-kin-a (m)                               | 66f., 69, 76, 121  | šu-eš-ša (m)   | 154ff., 232   |
| še-kin <sub>x</sub> -a (m)                 | 65, 76, 120ff., 202  | šu-gar (m)   | 201f., 205  |
| še-kin-kù (m)                              | 227  | šu-ḥa-a-sāḥ-a  | 146   |
| še-kin-ku <sub>5</sub> (m)                 | 15, 33, 39, 41f., 54, 70, 76f., 119ff., 125, 133ff., 140ff., 165f., 202, 266, 287, 298 | šu-ḥa-a-zaḥ <sub>x</sub> (SEŠ)-a                                   | 146   |
| še-kin-ku <sub>5</sub> II (m)              | 33, 124  | šu-mar-ra (m)  | 205   |
| še ku <sub>5</sub>                         | 123  | šu-mu-ḥa-al-še (m)   | 373   |
| še-nisag-gā                                | 168, 170, 172, 198, 200  | šu-ni-gi-na (m)  | 96, 227   |
| še-numun (m)                               | 95   | šu-ni-gi-na (m)  | 96, 227   |
| še-sag                                     | 123  | šu-numun (m)   | 66ff., 95ff., 135, 165, 170, 174f., 202f., 221, 250 |
| še-sag-ku <sub>5</sub> (m)                 | 120, 122, 165f.  | Šu-Sin   | 102f., 117, 124, 133f., 144, 155f., 159, 163, 185   |
| še-sag-sig <sub>6</sub> -ga (m)            | 123, 205ff.  | šu su/sù   | 63  |
| <i>Šebūtu</i> (m)                          | 363  | šu-še-numun (m)  | 96  |
| <i>Šehali ša</i> <sup>d</sup> Nergal (m)   | 369  | šu-x (m)   | 206   |
| <i>Šehali ša</i> <sup>d</sup> Tešup (m)    | 368  | <sup>d</sup> Šuba <sub>3</sub> -nun-na                             | 203   |
| <i>Šehlu</i> (m)                           | 365  | Šubat-Enlil  | 255ff.  |
| <i>Šer'i</i> EBUR (m)                      | 362  | SUKU (m)   | 32  |
| <i>Šer'i ša erēši</i> (m)                  | 364  | SUKU.BI (m)  | 274   |
| <i>Šer'i ša ešēdi</i> (m)                  | 362  | <sup>d</sup> Šul-ša-ga-na  | 47, 53, 55  |
| <i>Šerḥum</i> SE.KIN.KU <sub>5</sub> (m)   | 362  | Šummum (m)   | 254   |
|  |  | Šurpu  | 307   |
|  |  | - T -  |   |
|  |  | Take the hand of Bēl   | 450f.   |

|   |  |       |
|---|--|-------|
| <i>Tamḥārum</i> (m)   | 251, 254, 256ff.,<br>266, 287, 364       | - T - |
| Tammuz (see <sup>d</sup> Dumuzi)                                |  |       |
| <i>Tam(m)uzu</i> (m)  | 370                                      |       |
| <sup>d</sup> Tašmētum   | 247, 311f.,<br>319, 337f., 427, 453      | - U - |
| <i>Tašnītum</i> (m)   | 280                                      |       |
| <i>tašritum</i>   | 276, 326, 345                            |       |
| <i>Tašritu</i> (m)  | 299, 303, 323, 326ff., 345               |       |
| <i>Te'inātīm</i> (m)  | 239, 242                                 |       |
| Tell al-Wilayah   | 207                                      |       |
| Tell ed-Dēr   | 271ff., 326                              |       |
| Tell Rimah  | 255ff.                                   |       |
| <i>temrum</i>   | 289                                      |       |
| <i>te'qūfat haššānā</i>   | 6  |       |
| <i>Terītum</i> (m)  | 267, 371                                 |       |
| Terqa   | 286, 294, 371                            |       |
| <i>te'sūbat haššānā</i>   | 6  |       |
| ti-ra-ās  | 46f.                                     |       |
| Tiamat  | 420ff.                                   |       |
| Tiglath-Pileser I   | 299ff.                                   |       |
| <i>Tīru</i> (m)   | 36, 253, 256f.,<br>267, 269ff., 278, 287 |       |
| <i>tīru</i>   | 253, 475                                 |       |
| <sup>d</sup> Tišpak   | 251ff., 255, 264, 267                    |       |
| <i>tmuz</i> (m)   | 299                                      |       |
| <i>trlt</i> (m)   | 386                                      |       |
| <i>tšrh</i> (m)   | 386                                      |       |
| * <i>tšrt</i>   | 327                                      |       |
| <i>tšry</i> (m)   | 299                                      |       |
| tu-ra-sū  | 34                                       |       |
| Tubā  | 291, 294                                 |       |
| <i>Tuhtuḥāni</i>  | 244                                      |       |
| Tukulti-Ninurta I   | 246, 418                                 |       |
| tum-al (m)  | 79                                       |       |
| tum-ma-al (m)   | 79                                       |       |
| Tummāl 16, 78f., 81ff., 93, 107, 109                            |  |       |
| Tūram-ilī archive   | 207                                      |       |
| <i>Turmar</i> (m)   | 391                                      |       |
| <i>Turnabaziš</i> (m)   | 391                                      |       |
| Tuttul  | 294                                      |       |
| <i>ibt</i> (m)  | 300                                      |       |
| <i>Tebētu</i> (m)   | 298ff., 335ff.                           |       |
| ū-sag   | 144, 163f., 219, 229, 234                |       |
| ū-ti-it-ḥi (m)  | 373                                      |       |
| ū-ud-ri-im (m)  | 119, 226                                 |       |
| <sup>d</sup> Ū-gul-lá (m)                                       | 251, 254, 267                            |       |
| u <sub>4</sub> ū-si-pu  | 33                                       |       |
| u <sub>4</sub> e-ru-ba-tum                                      | 138                                      |       |
| u <sub>4</sub> è-ru-ba-tum                                      | 138                                      |       |
| u <sub>4</sub> elum   | 252                                      |       |
| u <sub>4</sub> ezem- <sup>d</sup> En-ki                         | 158                                      |       |
| u <sub>4</sub> ezem-má-nu-ru                                    | 141f.                                    |       |
| u <sub>4</sub> GĪR×gunū <sup>mušen</sup>                        | 34                                       |       |
| u <sub>4</sub> ḥimmatim   | 234                                      |       |
| u <sub>4</sub> ḥulūti   | 289                                      |       |
| u <sub>4</sub> IB.ŠEŠ.2   | 33                                       |       |
| u <sub>4</sub> kas-a  | 334                                      |       |
| u <sub>4</sub> ma-wa-tim  | 34                                       |       |
| u <sub>4</sub> ni-ba <sup>d</sup> BE SAL <sup>d</sup> Ni-da-KUL | 34                                       |       |
| u <sub>4</sub> nidbā <sup>d</sup> En-ki lú                      |  |       |
| giš-nu-kiri <sub>6</sub>  | 34                                       |       |
| u <sub>4</sub> <sup>d</sup> Qurītum in-kar-ra                   | 253                                      |       |
| u <sub>4</sub> tu-ra-sū   | 34                                       |       |
| u <sub>4</sub> SAGŠU  | 34                                       |       |
| u <sub>4</sub> ŠUKU   | 32                                       |       |
| u <sub>4</sub> tīru   | 253                                      |       |
| u <sub>4</sub> <sup>g</sup> zē                                  | 34                                       |       |
| u <sub>5</sub> -bi <sup>mušen</sup>                             | 148                                      |       |
| u <sub>5</sub> -bi <sup>mušen</sup> -gu <sub>7</sub> (m)        | 147f.                                    |       |
| ub-bi <sup>mušen</sup> -gu <sub>7</sub> (m)                     | 147f.                                    |       |
| UD.DU (m)   | 32                                       |       |
| ud-du-ru-u (m)  | 119                                      |       |
| ud-rà (m)   | 119                                      |       |
| úd-duru <sub>5</sub> (m)  | 118f.                                    |       |
| ud <sub>5</sub> -dè-gù-ra-a (m)                                 | 63                                       |       |
| udra (m)  | 226                                      |       |
| udu- <sup>d</sup> Nin-gír-su-ka-ka-                             |  |       |
| si-bi-dúb-ba (m)  | 63                                       |       |
| udu-šè-še-a-il-la (m)   | 38f.                                     |       |
| udu-šè-še-a-il-la- <sup>d</sup> Nanše (m)                       | 48, 63f., 76                             |       |

|   |  |   |
|---|--|---|
| udu-šè-še-a-il-la-                                |  | - W -   |
| <sup>d</sup> Nin-gír-su (m)                       | 37f., 48, 76   |   |
| Ugarit  | 19, 303, 377ff.  | Warad-Sin 231   |
| Ulmašītum   | 102, 136ff., 154, 210,<br>215, 472ff.  | - Y -   |
| Ulūlu (m)   | 104f., 298f.,<br>303, 321ff., 370  | <i>yrh smnh</i> (m) 386<br><i>yrh šb'</i> (m) 386   |
| ūm erēšim ša <sup>d</sup> Adad                    | 293  | - Z -   |
| ūm ḥiari Ištār                                    | 374  |   |
| ūm kimit <sup>d</sup> Dumu-zi                     | 262, 278, 479  | <i>Za'-a-na</i> (m) 25  |
| ūm tašritim                                       | 326  | <i>Za'-a-na-at</i> (m) 25   |
| UM (read giri <sub>x</sub> )                      | 126ff.   | <i>Za'-a-tum</i> (m) 15, 23, 25   |
| <sup>d</sup> UM(read giri <sub>x</sub> )-dagal-la | 127  | <i>Za-LUL</i> (m) 27  |
| UM(read giri <sub>x</sub> ) ki ra-ra              | 128  | Zabalam 161   |
| Umma  | 17, 83, 93ff., 97, 108,<br>116, 120ff., 135ff., 144f.,<br>153, 157, 161ff.,<br>205, 222, 477f.   | zag-gal-gar (m) 80<br>zag-gar-ra 80<br>zag-mu 14, 16, 80f.,<br>143f., 168, 211  |
| ur  | 68   | zag-mu (m) 18, 343  |
| ur (m)  | 67f., 192  | zag-mu- <sup>d</sup> Šara 162, 200  |
| Ur  | 15, 102, 108f., 112, 118f.,<br>125ff., 177, 228ff.,<br>401f., 406ff., 469f., 472f.   | zaggukku 14<br>zah <sub>x</sub> (SES)-da-gu <sub>7</sub> (m) 145ff.<br>zah <sub>x</sub> -da-gu <sub>7</sub> <sup>d</sup> Nanna 147<br>zarāq ekallim 293 |
| Ur- <sup>d</sup> Ba-ba <sub>6</sub>               | 68   | <i>Zaratu</i> (m) 345, 347ff., 357, 359   |
| <sup>d</sup> Ur-da (m)                            | 345  | <i>Zarpakim</i> (m) 366   |
| Ur- <sup>d</sup> Nammu                            | 130, 144, 149f., 159,<br>259, 263  | <i>Zarqatum</i> (m) 375   |
| Ur-tūr  | 64   | zbbšmš (m) 384  |
| Urāḥum (m)  | 282, 288   | zé 146  |
| <sup>d</sup> Uraš                                 | 427  | gišzé 34  |
| Uruk  | 54, 62, 102f., 108, 112,<br>115, 118, 136ff., 145, 150,<br>152, 154, 158ff., 177, 208ff.,<br>306ff., 311, 314, 318, 323f.,<br>332, 334ff., 342, 401, 403,<br>405, 415, 426ff., 470, 472ff. | <i>Zeratu</i> (m) 345<br>zhh (m) 384<br>zi-ga-zé-na 210<br><i>Zibnum</i> (m) 206, 249f., 254, 267<br><i>Ziklū</i> (m) 366<br><i>Zillatam</i> (m) 366    |
| Uruku   | 48, 55, 61, 71   | ZIZ.A (see úd-duru <sub>5</sub> )   |
| Urusagrig   | 102  | <i>zūk/gru</i> 343, 346ff.  |
| <sup>d</sup> Ušur-amassu                          | 427  | zv (m) 385  |
| <sup>d</sup> Utu (see Šamaš)                      | 3, 203, 456  | [...]si-mú-mú (m) 221   |
| uzu-a-bal   | 85, 88, 101, 106, 109,<br>118, 156, 211ff.   | [x]-sīg-ur <sub>4</sub> -ra-a (m) 61<br>[...]su-um (m) 375  |

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